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THE

BIBLICAL COMPANION:

OR,

An Introduction

TO THE

READING AND STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

COMPRISING

A COMPREHENSIVE DIGEST

OF THE

PRINCIPLES AND DETAILS

OF

**BIBLICAL CRITICISM, INTERPRETATION, THEOLOGY, HISTORY,
NATURAL SCIENCE, ETC.**

COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORS, ANCIENT AND MODERN, BRITISH AND FOREIGN,
AND ADAPTED FOR POPULAR USE.

By **WILLIAM CARPENTER,**
AUTHOR OF "LECTURES ON BIBLICAL CRITICISM," "DICTIONARY OF SYNONYMES," &c.

"We should not regard it as the great object of attention, simply to hear another interpret what the Bible contains,
but rather this, to ASCERTAIN HOW WE MAY BE ABLE OURSELVES TO DISCOVER ITS CONTENTS." PROFESSOR PLANCKE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THOMAS TEGG AND SON, 73, CHEAPSIDE;

AND SOLD BY

J. MASON, 14, CITY ROAD; R. GRIFFIN AND CO., GLASGOW; AND TEGG, WISE, AND CO., DUBLIN.

1836.

108.d.2.



LONDON: JOHN HADDON, CASTLE STREET, FINSBURY SQUARE.

PREFACE.

THE object of the following work is sufficiently indicated in the title-page to supersede the necessity of any more formal or particular exposition of it here. It is believed that nothing is there promised, beyond what will be found more or less satisfactorily treated of in some part of the work, and, as the author ventures to hope, in a manner adapted to meet the wants of those by whom such introductory works as the present are more especially sought after. The various branches of Biblical Criticism, Interpretation, Theology, History, Natural Science, and Archæology, are treated of in a connected order, as forming the several parts of one great whole; and in as intelligible language, and with as much freedom from technical phraseology and scholastic rules, as the nature of the topics will admit of. Some pains have been taken to simplify and reduce the number of rules laid down by the best writers on sacred hermeneutics; with what success, it must be left for those who will take the pains of examining and comparing to determine. If the author has failed to remove some of the difficulties which stood in the way of the more immature student, it has not been for want of the will to do so, but of the power to accomplish it: he ventures to hope, however, that he may have contributed something towards popularizing a science which, in its objects as well as in its results, is of the very first importance.

In the compilation of the following pages, all available authorities have been consulted and laid under contribution, but not without the most scrupulous acknowledgment of obligation, whenever it has been incurred. The numerous references throughout will not only indicate the sources whence the author has derived his materials, but will also enable the student to prosecute his researches by the aid of higher and more erudite authorities. In

some cases, the eye of the reader may detect that which he has previously met with, and is here unacknowledged as having been borrowed from any other source ; but in all such cases the author has borrowed from one who will not complain—himself. The fact is, that two of his preceding works, upon the topics treated of in the following pages, had for some time been out of print, and it was thought better to incorporate such portions of them as were deemed to be worth preservation in the BIBLICAL COMPANION, rather than to reprint them, as separate works, according to a previous intention. Thus much it has been thought proper to state, in order to prevent misconception.

The author is not aware that it is desirable to say any thing as to the structure and details of the several Parts of the following work ; these have been generally indicated in a few introductory remarks prefixed to each Part, and will be found, therefore, where they are required. He has throughout endeavoured to unite brevity with perspicuity, and to furnish, within the compass of a single volume, a comprehensive digest of what had previously been scattered through many works, and not unfrequently shut up from general use, by the scholastic and uninteresting form in which it was clothed. It is not presumed that the BIBLICAL COMPANION is faultless, either in its plan or its details, but the author ventures to hope that it may be deemed to possess some features of utility, not to be met with in any preceding work of the kind.

W. C.

March 21st, 1836.

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THE BIBLICAL COMPANION.

PART I.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVIVAL AND PROGRESS OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Revival of Biblical Learning in the Fifteenth Century—Impetus given to Sacred Literature in the Last Century—Philological and Illustrative Writers—Present state of Biblical Learning—Character of Works on Biblical Interpretation—Advantages derivable from Biblical Studies—Divisions of Biblical Learning—Object and Plan of the present Work.

1. THE progress of sacred literature in modern times furnishes a topic of gratifying and instructive inquiry, and is fraught with considerations eminently calculated to excite the gratitude and strengthen the convictions of the Christian student. A few remarks upon this subject will therefore appropriately introduce the various scriptural topics described and treated of in the present volume.

2. From the fifth to the fifteenth century, biblical learning was in a deplorably low state. Religious feuds were the curse and disgrace of Christendom. Bitter controversies touching the forms of religion, or, more properly speaking, touching the powers and functions of those who assumed to be its authorized and exclusive propounders and guardians, absorbed the attention of the Christian world. The Scriptures were only resorted to as the arsenal in which were deposited the aggressive arms of the spiritual combatants; and these were used against each other in the most arbitrary and unskilful manner. All desire for true learning became extinct; the principles of interpretation were lost sight of and forgotten; and there were few who could even read, and much less understand, the text of the sacred books. In the twelfth century, the Scriptures were torn in pieces between two parties: the scholastic theo-

gians, who by a perverse use of the Aristotelian philosophy reduced the doctrines of religion to a number of absurd subtleties, incomprehensible by all minds—not excepting their own; and the biblical doctors, who by a system of mystical and allegorical interpretation perverted and darkened the sublime truths of Scripture, and rendered their meaning a matter of doubt and uncertainty. The insane religious wars called the crusades were not without their use, being overruled by Providence to the most beneficial purposes. By introducing into Europe a number of learned Greeks, they originated a spirit of inquiry in Italy and elsewhere; while the universities that were shortly afterwards established, and in which the oriental languages were cultivated, tended greatly to the revival of learning, and prepared the way for an improved system of interpretation for the sacred volume.

3. As early as the latter end of the fifteenth century, some vigorous efforts were made to promote the rational interpretation of the sacred writings. The labourers, however, were few, and the aids they possessed for the elucidation of the text were scanty and imperfect. Early in the seventeenth century, their numbers were greatly increased, and we find many names distinguished in the republic of letters, who were then successfully cultivating this branch of learning. By the middle of this century, the number of biblical students was considerably augmented, and the result of their labours was proportionately increased. After all, however, those who were at this time devoted to

the pursuit of scriptural inquiries formed but an insignificant band, and were regarded by their contemporaries as the students of an isolated branch of learning, too uninteresting in its aspect and too limited in its results to command or reward general attention.

4. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, biblical learning was brought into more general favour, and assumed a more popular and inviting form. It was no longer viewed as the exclusive possession of the clerical body, but as forming part of the common property of the republic of letters. Numerous and valuable acquisitions were made to the previously existing stock of materials for the criticism and interpretation of the Bible, and the success with which these were applied, stimulated numerous minds to further inquiries and research for the discovery of new sources of information.

5. The enlightened and indefatigable exertions of Mill, Wetstein, Griesbach, and Kennicott, were directed to a restoration of the integrity or purity of the sacred text; while the learned and ingenious Shaw, whose "Travels and Observations, relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant," appear to have attracted the notice of the celebrated Harmer, pointed out a new source of biblical illustration. The "Observations on various passages of Scripture, placing them in a new light, and ascertaining the meaning of several not determinable by the methods commonly made use of by the learned, from relations incidently mentioned in books of voyages and travels into the East," are too well known and valued to require more than this passing remark. The hope expressed by the indefatigable author, as to the result of his labours, has been fully realized: "If my design succeeds, commentators will not, I hope, for the future, think they have extended their inquiries far enough, when they examine a text with grammatical nicety; they will, along with that, pay an *unbroken attention to the customs of the eastern people*, and look upon this *additional care* as absolutely necessary to make a *good commentator*." About the same period, the learned Michaelis was engaged in a similar course, on a large scale, for the illustration of the Scriptures; and he had induced the king of Denmark to send a deputation of learned travellers, to pursue the necessary inquiries, under his directions, in Egypt and Syria. The result of their voyage was given, in French, by Mons. Neibuhr, in a work which, as to the part connected with these subjects, was never translated into English. The labours of Michaelis and his followers, on the continent, and those of Mr. Harmer and his successors in England, aided by the observations of a series of intelligent and learned travellers, have completely

established that new era of sacred criticism which Mr. Harmer anticipated.

6. From this period, the sphere of biblical research and illustration has been gradually enlarging. The metaphysician and the naturalist, the antiquary and the traveller, the philologist and the historian, have contributed their respective shares towards the criticism and exposition of the Bible. The materials now collected for elucidating the sacred text are numerous and valuable, and scarcely a month passes without furnishing the most unquestionable evidence that their value is well understood by those competent to employ them, in removing obscurities, clearing up difficulties, eliciting new beauties, or educing further instruction from that Book which is above all price. But such persons are comparatively few; and much remains to be done before the aids we possess for interpreting and illustrating the Scriptures can be rendered available for general use.

7. Hitherto, with but one or two exceptions, the method in which the several branches of criticism and interpretation have been treated, has had the effect of restricting the study of these topics to those whose professional engagements have rendered such study imperative; or to those whose learning and leisure have induced them to look upon the study as a source of mere intellectual enjoyment. It does seem strange that it should scarcely have entered into the minds of those who have written upon these topics, that the great bulk of the Christian community is individually and immediately interested in them, and that the stores of learning which have now been thrown open, might be rendered available for the purposes of general instruction. Treatises on biblical criticism and interpretation are, with scarcely an exception, so elaborate and profound, so abstruse and technical, that an ordinary mind, unused to severe study, cannot fail of being deterred from making an attempt to investigate the principles of these interesting and important themes.

8. It must not be inferred from what is here said, that it is conceived to be possible for any valuable acquisitions to be made in this department of learning, without a close application to study; or that a competent knowledge of its principles may be attained by a mind naturally sluggish or obtuse. But on the other hand, it may be maintained, without fear of successful contradiction, that much of that description of learning which the art of interpretation requires may be brought within the reach and be adapted to the comprehension of persons whose minds are not above the ordinary standard, and whose circumstances require that much of their time and attention should be given to other affairs. The

advantages of such an extension of biblical knowledge would soon be apparent, in the growing maturity and perfection of the Christian character, and in the increased usefulness and efficiency of the Christian ministry.

9. Biblical learning is usually divided into two principal branches; namely, CRITICISM and INTERPRETATION.

(1) BIBLICAL CRITICISM treats of the laws by which the genuineness or *purity* of the *text* is decided, and by which it is to be restored where it may have been corrupted.

(2) BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION treats of the rules by which the *sense* of the *text* is to be educed and exhibited, and embraces all those various branches of learning usually comprehended under the head of biblical antiquities.

10. From this statement of the objects of these two branches of biblical learning, it will be perceived that the one is intimately connected with the other; and that some knowledge of each of them is indispensable to constitute a good interpreter.

11. The object of this work being to furnish the unlearned as well as the more erudite with a comprehensive and practically useful digest of the several topics connected with the interpretation of the Sacred writings, BIBLICAL CRITICISM will be dispatched in a much more summary way than the matters incident to INTERPRETATION. The reason for this is, that CRITICISM pertains to the *original* text, and not to a *translation*—with which, only, we shall assume our readers to be *familiar*; all attempts to go into the *minutiae* of this branch of the subject, therefore, would tend only to perplex and annoy, without affording any compensating advantage. We shall endeavour, however, to give such a general view of this part of biblical science

as will satisfy all reasonable curiosity, and enable those who desire it, to make a proper application of those principles and rules that relate to the other branch of our subject.

12. The following, then, will be the method of proceeding, in treating on the various topics comprised in this part of our work. First, we shall direct our attention to the text of the Bible, with a view to ascertain, in a general way, its original character, and the securities we possess for its present integrity. This will bring under review the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and the various accidents to which literary compositions are liable in passing down the stream of time, from a period antecedent to the invention of printing; more particularly those which have occurred to the sacred writings. Thence we shall be led to inquire into the character and value of various readings, or the different wording of the same passage in the several manuscripts and other extant documents comprising the sacred text, or portions of it; the sources in which they have originated; and the means we possess for correcting the errors that may have crept into the text. We may then review the progress that has been made towards restoring the text to its original purity, and the methods by which this has been effected. Having thus ascertained the actual state of the books, the contents of which it is proposed to investigate, we may proceed, step by step, through the several rules of interpretation. This will exhibit the means that may be legitimately employed for educing the sense of the language used by the sacred writers, on the subjects of which they treat. Thus we shall be introduced to almost every variety of subject comprised in the Bible, and clearly ascertain the nature of those qualifications that are indispensable to the sound interpretation of its contents.

CHAPTER II.

BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

1. THE immediate object of sound *criticism*, as will have been perceived, is not to understand and interpret the Holy Scriptures, but to examine their genuineness and uncorruptness, to assign reasons for deeming any particular passage to have been altered from its original state, and to propose the surest means by which such passage may be restored, with the greatest certainty or probability, to its pristine condition.

2. The purpose of criticism is, therefore, twofold: in the first place, to discover the changes that have taken place in the original text; and then,

to restore the original readings that have been excluded by them.

3. There are four principal sources from which criticism may draw those indications and helps on which it is principally to rely, partly to ascertain what changes have taken place, and partly to restore the original readings. The *first* is, an accurate acquaintance with the peculiarities of the language wherein, not merely the sacred Scriptures in general, but each particular book was composed. The *second* is a comparison of the various manuscripts or copies which we have of them, origi-

nating at various periods. The *third* consists of the various translations which have been made of them into foreign languages. The *fourth* and last, which must be employed but seldom, springs from the writings and remains of the earlier Fathers, and generally of the earlier ecclesiastical writers, who have made some use of the Bible.*

4. The sections comprised in this chapter, will be devoted to a review of the several topics pertaining to the criticism of the Bible, for the purpose of elucidating, as far as is necessary for general purposes, its materials and objects.

SECTION I.

THE HEBREW AND GREEK SCRIPTURES.

The Original Languages of Scripture—The Aramean Language—Language in which Matthew's Gospel and the Epistle to the Hebrews were written—Peculiar style of the New Testament—The Genuineness of the New Testament demonstrable from its Style—Importance of Hebrew and Greek Learning to an Interpreter—Historical Account of the Hebrew Language—Various Schools of Hebrew Philology.

1. **SPEAKING** in general terms, it may be stated that Hebrew and Greek are the two languages employed by the Author of revelation, to convey a knowledge of his will and purpose to mankind.

2. **THE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT** were, with the exception of a few passages, composed in the Hebrew tongue. The exceptions relate to passages written in the Chaldee dialect, the reasons for employing which in the places where it occurs, are sufficiently obvious. They are passages either consisting of transcripts from original documents, or comprising information specially designed to be communicated to the people by whom this dialect was employed. Thus, Jer. x. 11, which is pure Chaldee, introduced into the midst of a Hebrew composition, was to be addressed by the Jews to the Babylonian idolaters: "*Thus shall ye say unto them, The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens.*" Several passages in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Ezra, consist of copies of original letters and decrees, in the Chaldee tongue; and the book of Daniel, from the second chapter to the seventh, which is in this language, treats exclusively of the affairs of Babylon, and was, therefore, with the utmost propriety so written.

3. **THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT** are all in the Greek language, which, being the most prevalent at the time they were penned, was the best adapted for works designed for general circulation.

4. There are but two of these books about which

the learned are not agreed, as to the language in which they were originally composed; namely, the Gospel of Matthew, and the Epistle to the Hebrews, the latter of which is attributed to Paul, upon very conclusive evidence. These books, it has been thought by very able critics, were written in the Hebrew, or rather in the Syro-Chaldaic tongue, which was the vernacular language of the Jews in the time of our Saviour;† and, consequently, that our present Greek text is only a translation from the originals. To enter into a critical investigation of this disputed topic would not accord with our present purpose; but a few remarks seem to be called for.

5. The notion of a Hebrew original of these two compositions seems to have been suggested merely by the consideration, that they were intended primarily and specially for the instruction and use of Hebrew converts. It has been maintained by some writers, that several of the early Christian Fathers testify to the existence of a Hebrew text; but it will be found, upon examination, that those passages in their works upon which reliance is placed, are nothing beyond inferences or conjectures, which we are at liberty to take for what they may be deemed to be fairly worth. Their opinion was evidently founded upon the circumstance to which we have adverted—the adaptation of the books for the instruction of the Hebrews—and not upon any facts relating to the actual existence of a Hebrew text.

6. But such an assumption is as unnecessary as it is gratuitous. There is ample evidence that the Greek language was very commonly used by the Jewish people, after their subjugation by the Macedonian Greeks; and, what is perhaps still more to the purpose, that great numbers of them, in, as well as out of, Judea, read their own Scriptures in this tongue, in the version of the LXX. It was not necessary, therefore, that the books in question should be composed in the Hebrew language, either for the purpose of rendering them intelligible to the Jews, or of inducing the Jews to peruse them. The Greek tongue had been already consecrated by the Septuagint translation, which was highly esteemed and venerated by the Hebrews. But if there were no real necessity for employing the Hebrew language in these works, there are, without doubt, very urgent reasons for thinking that the Greek was used. In the first place, a great multitude of Jews, especially those who resided in Egypt, and in whose necessities the Septuagint version originated, were altogether ignorant of the Hebrew language. The employment of it in these writings,

* See Planck's Sacred Philology, chap. iv. Bib. Cabinet, vol. vii.

† See note on page 7.

therefore, would have effectually shut out such persons from their perusal, and thus have defeated the very object which their authors are supposed to have had in view by adopting it.* In the next place, it is to be remembered, that, although the gospel of Matthew and the epistle to the Hebrews may have been intended for the special use of the descendants of Abraham, they nevertheless contain unquestionable evidence that they were not intended for their *exclusive* use. Similar in their design to every other part of the sacred volume, and necessary to its completion, they were given for the use of *all* the churches of the saints (many of the earliest of which were composed of Greeks), and meant for universal dissemination. Such being the case, it was obviously proper that they should be written in Greek, because that language was then universally understood.†

7. We have already intimated, that there are other arguments, of a critical character, that oppose the theory of a Hebrew original of these two works; but we cannot, consistently with our plan of proceeding, do more than thus allude to them. Referring, then, those persons who may be desirous to see more upon the subject, to those works in which it is discussed,‡ we close these suggestions with a good remark from Macknight, which will apply to Matthew's gospel, equally as to the epistles:—"It was proper that all the apostolical epistles should be written in the Greek language; because the different doctrines of the gospel being delivered and explained in them, the

explanation of these doctrines could with more advantage be compared, so as to be better understood, being expressed in one language, than if in the different epistles they had been expressed in the language of the churches and persons to whom they were sent. Now, what should that one language be, in which it was proper to write the Christian revelation, but the Greek, which was then generally understood, and in which there were many books extant that treated of all kinds of literature, and on that account were likely to be preserved, and by the reading of which, Christians in the after ages would be enabled to understand the Greek of the New Testament? This advantage none of the provincial dialects used in the apostles' days could pretend to. Being limited to particular countries, they were soon to be disused; and few (if any) books being written in them which merited to be preserved, the meaning of such of the apostles' letters as were composed in the provincial languages, could not easily have been determined."||

8. It must not be supposed, however, that the Greek of the New Testament is of the pure classical style. On the contrary, it is of a very peculiar structure, partaking of the Alexandrian and oriental idioms, with a very large admixture of the peculiarities of the Hebrew phraseology. Hence it has not improperly been called Hebraic-Greek. This topic has been very elaborately discussed by critics, but *the result* of their labours is all that is practically valuable to the interpreter

* We hope we shall not be considered as speaking dogmatically upon a question involving so many and various considerations as the one under notice. The mere fact of being opposed to such scholars and critics as Grotius, Mill, Campbell, and Michaelis, with others too numerous to mention, would be alone sufficient to deter us from this.

† "If, from the prevalence of the Greek language at the time of the apostles, we extend our view to the state of the Christian church in its earliest period, we shall find increasing probability of a Greek original. All the Gentile churches, established by the apostles in the East, were Greek churches; namely, those of Antioch, Ephesus, Galatia, Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, &c. Again, the first bishops of the church of Rome were either Greek writers, or natives of Greece. According to Tertullian, Clemens, the fellow-labourer of Paul, was the first bishop of Rome, whose Greek epistle to the Corinthians is still extant. But whether Clemens or Linus was the first bishop of Rome, they were both Greek writers, though probably natives of Italy. Asenectus was a Greek, and so were the greater part of his successors to the middle of the second century. The bishops of Jerusalem, after the expulsion of the Jews by Adrian, were Greeks. From this state of the government of the primitive church by Greek ministers—Greeks by birth, or in their writings—arises a high probability that the *Christian Scriptures* were in Greek."—(Bishop Burgess, in his *Appendix to the "Vindication of 1 John v. 7."*) We should be chargeable with disingenuousness, however, were we not to assure the reader that the learned prelate from whom we have quoted these remarks, did not employ them for precisely the

same purpose as we have done; and it is highly probable that he would object to the application which is here made of them. Nevertheless, we cannot but think, that, taken in connexion with that view of the matter which we have above suggested, they are as cogent against the hypothesis of an exclusive Syro-Chaldaic original of Matthew and the Hebrews, as they are against the paradoxical notion of the learned author of "*Palæoromana*."

‡ On the original of Matthew's gospel, the following works, which are easy of access, may be consulted: Lardner's Works, vol. ii. p. 147, 4to.; Townson's Works, vol. i. p. 30; Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 112; Whitby's General Preface; and Campbell on the Gospels, vol. iii. p. 2. On the epistle to the Hebrews, we need but refer to the first volume of professor Stuart's very elaborate and judicious "*Commentary*," which has been reprinted in this country under the eye of Dr. Henderson.

|| New Literal Translation of the Apostolical Epistles, preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews, sect. ii. and iii. It is proper to name a third hypothesis, relative to the original of Matthew's gospel, namely, that there were two editions published by the Evangelist, one in the Syro-Chaldaic language, for the information of the Jews in Judea; the other in the Greek language, for the use of those in the provinces, and also for the Gentile churches. It will be perceived, that *all* the objections which have been urged against the other hypothesis do not apply to this, and as it removes some of the discrepancies by which the subject has been embarrassed, it may, perhaps, be deemed the best of the three.

of Scripture. Michaelis has thus characterized the style of the several writers of the New Testament; and his description will be found sufficiently minute for general purposes.*

9. The gospels of Matthew and Mark exhibit strong vestiges of the Hebraic style; the former presents harsher Hebraisms than the latter; and the gospel of Mark abounds with still more striking Hebraisms. The epistles of James and Jude are somewhat better; but even these are full of Hebraisms, and betray in other respects a certain Hebrew tone. Luke has, in several passages, written pure and classic Greek, of which the first four verses of his gospel may be given as an instance. In the sequel, where he describes the actions of Christ, he has very harsh Hebraisms; yet his style is more agreeable than that of Matthew or Mark. In the Acts of the Apostles he is not free from Hebraisms, which he never seems studiously to have avoided; but his periods are more classically turned, and sometimes possess beauty devoid of art. John has numerous, though not uncouth, Hebraisms, both in his gospels and in his epistles; but he has written in a smooth and flowing language, and surpasses all the Jewish writers in the excellence of narrative. Paul, again, is entirely different from them all: his style is, indeed, neglected, and full of Hebraisms, but he has avoided the concise and verse-like construction of the Hebrew language,† and has, upon the whole, a considerable share of the roundness of Grecian composition. It is evident that he was as perfectly acquainted with the Greek manner of expression as with the Hebrew; and he has introduced them alternately, as either the one or the other suggested itself the first, or was the best approved.‡

10. Neither the limits nor the plan of this work will permit us to enlarge upon this topic. Mr. Horne has given numerous instances of the Hebraisms, Syriasms, and Latinisms, found in the New Testament; and also the canons which have been laid down by Ernesti and his commentator, Morus, by which to determine their force and meaning. §

11. It would be out of place here, to advert at any great length, to the argument deducible from the style of the sacred writings, in favour of their genuineness; but we may be permitted to remark,

that this furnishes one of the most incontestable and satisfactory proofs of that important fact. The variation in style that prevails in the Old Testament books, is found to correspond most exactly with the changes which the Hebrew language underwent, from time to time, by reason of the intercourse of the Jewish people with the adjacent nations; while the peculiarity of composition by which the New Testament books are characterized, affords decisive evidence of their Hebrew authorship, as well as of the particular era at which they were penned. ||

12. From what has now been said on the original character of the sacred volume, the value and importance of Hebrew and Greek learning to an interpreter of Scripture will be sufficiently obvious. A critical dissertation upon the original languages of Scripture would be wholly out of place in a work intended for popular use; but it will be expected that we should give some historical account of these languages, in so far as that is necessary in a bibliographical account of the sacred text.

(1) The *Hebrew language* was so named by the forefathers of the Israelitish nation; but whether from *Heber*, one of the descendants of Shem (Gen. x. 21, 25; xi. 14, 16, 17), or after Abraham, who, from the circumstance of his having come from the other side of the Euphrates, was called העברי *the Hebræw*, “the over passenger” (from the root עבר *aber*, to pass over), has long been a matter of controversy amongst the learned. It is a point not likely to be settled, nor is it of the slightest importance that it should be. It might also have been called the *Jewish language*, as being that employed by the subjects of the Jewish kingdom (2 Kings xviii. 26; 2 Chron. xxxii. 18; Isai. xxxvi. 11), and also the *Canaanitish* (Isai. xix. 18), not only because it was used in the country of Canaan by the Israelites, but also because the language of the Canaanites was, in its origin and genius, the same with that of the Hebrews. The Jews, after their return from Babylon, conferred upon it the title of the *holy language*.

(2) The antiquity of the Hebrew language is very great, and its original, in the opinion of the most learned men, must be referred to an age long prior to the origin of the Israelitish race.

* Those who wish to see more upon this subject, may consult Michaelis on the New Testament, vol. i. p. 143, &c.; Schaeferi Institutiones Scripturæ, pars i. p. 137, &c.; Morus Acroases, vol. i. p. 202, &c.; Campbell's first Preliminary Dissertation to the Gospels; Planck's Essay, “De verâ naturâ et indole Orat. Græc. Nov. Test.” translated in the second volume of the Biblical Cabinet; and Stuart's “Grammar of the New Testament,” Andover, 1834.

† The reader may see reason to modify this opinion, after reading chap. iii. sect. 7, on the Scripture Parallels.

‡ Michaelis, Introduction to New Test. vol. i. p. 112.

§ Critical Introd. vol. ii. p. i. ch. 1, sect. 3.

|| On this topic the reader may consult Michaelis, Introd. vol. i. p. 116, &c.; or Campbell's Preliminary Dissertations, vol. i. p. 50, &c.

Nay, it even seems to have been coeval with the human race, and to have been the language which, surviving the deluge with Noah, was the only dialect in the new world, and common to the succeeding generations (Gen. xi. 1). It afterwards contracted a degree of diversity among the different nations which bordered upon each other, such as we observe in the dialects of one and the same language; but, among the Hebrews, it seems probable, that, approaching nearest to its primitive nature and genius, it of all the others retained the clearest marks of that simplicity which is peculiar to children, and points in no obscure manner to the infancy of the human race. Its *adolescence*, or the period of its development towards that degree of perfection which we find it to have attained in the writings of the

* This dialect is frequently called the Chaldaic, but very erroneously. With the language of Babylon, as Pfannkuche observes, we are well acquainted; but the true Chaldaic, which was, probably, more intimately related to the Persic, Median, Aramean, and Kurdic, nobody knows.

† Upon the change that was effected in the language spoken in Palestine, after the return from Babylon, Dr. Pfannkuche's Treatise on the language of Palestine in the age of Christ unfolds a theory which may now be considered as settled, and finally received among the learned. He maintains that the language of Palestine was, in ancient times, the common language of Western Asia THE ARAMEAN, the same as that which was spoken by the CANAANITE natives, and which, subsequently, by the Hebrews—the progeny of Abraham, who was a new settler in that country—was called the Hebrew language, it being the peculiar language of that nation; that, by the Babylonian captivity, this old Hebrew tongue was expatriated by the Aramaic, which was current in Babylon, and which, as its pronunciation was somewhat broad and vulgar, bore the same relationship to the Hebrew as the lower Saxon dialect does to high German (or, as his translator suggests, as lowland Scottish does to English); and that this Babylonian Aramaic soon became the national language of the Jews, the ancient Hebrew for some time still remaining the language of literature. By way of distinguishing this from other dialects, he proposes to call it by the simple name of PALESTINIAN ARAMAIC, or PALESTINIAN SYRIAC; Aramaic and Syriac being completely equivalent. See his 'Treatise on the Language of Palestine, in the age of Christ and his apostles,' in the BIBLICAL CABINET, vol. ii.

Dr. Röhr, who adopts Pfannkuche's theory, in all its essential points, has some remarks upon this subject, which, as they are brief and valuable, we shall transcribe in this note. They will supply information that we could not with propriety introduce into the text.

"At the time of Jesus Christ, the ancient Hebrew was completely extinct, even in its character of language of literature, and all the Jews of that period, residing in Palestine, spoke and wrote the Aramaic. Jesus, too, spoke this language; and the names *Κεφαλας* (John i. 42), *Βοanerges* (Mark ix. 17), *Βαρναβας* (Acts iv. 36), as also the expressions, *Ταβιθα Κουμ* (Mark v. 45), *Αββα* (Ib. xiv. 36), *Ελὶ, Ελὶ, &c.* (Matt xxvii. 46), are specimens of it. [Pfannkuche has collected many additional expressions, as specimens of this language, in the treatise already referred to, pp. 67—69. Josephus has also many Aramaic expressions in his "Antiquities," and Wars, which the same critic has collected, pp. 70, 71.]

"People of biblical education spoke this language as it was written; but the common people, as generally is the case, spoke

Old Testament, does not extend beyond the age of David and Solomon, and the age of the prophet schools established by Samuel; its *golden age* lasted from the time of David to the Babylonian captivity, and, during this period, probably, great part of the sacred writings of the Jews was composed. After the invasion of Palestine by the Assyrian and Chaldean rulers of Babylon, things were completely changed. The Jews of Palestine, along with their political independence, lost also the peculiar character of their language. The Babylonian-Aramaic* dialect expelled the Hebrew, and gradually became the predominant language of Palestine, which it continued to be to the period of the Christian era, if not later. See Acts i. 19; xxi. 40; xxii. 2.†

(3.) There is a difference of opinion among

it in different dialects. The dialect of Jerusalem and Judea was most correct; but that which prevailed in Samaria, and particularly that of Galilee, was much more rude than the former, full of contractions and mutilations; letters were omitted in it, and one guttural exchanged for another; so that, for example, according to the careless and irregular pronunciation of the Galilean dialect, the same word might denote an *ass*, *wine*, *wool*, and a *lamb to be sacrificed*. A Galilean was, therefore, easily recognized by his pronunciation (Matt. xxvi. 73), and was never admitted as a public reader of Scripture in any synagogue of Judea.

"Jews residing abroad in Greek countries, particularly in Egypt, had completely adopted the Greek language as their own; and even in Palestine itself, where abhorrence against every thing foreign was affected, it seems that, partly through intercourse with Jews abroad who spoke Greek, partly through the neighbourhood to Syria and Egypt, where Greek was generally spoken, and partly from Greek residents, of whom, especially in Galilee and Perea, vast numbers dwelt among the Jews, the Greek had become generally known and current. This appears from Acts ii. 7—11, where Jews, from Greek countries and provinces, witnessing the enthusiasm which had seized the apostles and their friends, wondered that they expressed their religious thoughts and sentiments in Greek dialects, which they had been accustomed to hear abroad, and not merely, as was usual, in ancient Hebrew; likewise from Acts vi. 1—6, where a considerable number of the primitive members of the Christian community at Jerusalem is stated to have been *Hellenistic*, or Greek-speaking; and also from Acts xxii. 40, compared with xxii. 2, where the Jews expected Paul, who had been accused by Greek Jews, to address them in Greek, but were delighted to hear him speak to them in the language of the country. Whether Jesus himself spoke Greek, cannot be determined for certain, although it is highly probable; because in Galilee and Perea he was in frequent intercourse with foreigners; because even in Jerusalem an interview with him was sought by Greeks (John xii. 20), and these, surely, spoke no other language but Greek; because we must suppose that the conferences between Judas and Pilate, mentioned in John xviii. 33—37, and xix. 9—11, were certainly carried on neither in Aramaic nor Latin, but in Greek; and because Mary, in her conversation with Jesus (John xx. 14, seq.), seems to have made use of the Greek language, until she recognized him as arisen from the dead, when she instantly returns to the familiar Aramaic, to which, in daily intercourse with him, she was accustomed, and addressed him with the word *Rabboni*. The apostles, too, being Galileans, must be supposed to have been more or less acquainted with Greek, even during the three years of their familiar intercourse with

critics, as to the antiquity of the Hebrew letters now in common use. There is good reason to think that they are substantially the same in form as those originally used in the writing of the Aramaic languages. For, as in the East, the art of writing was in use from the very earliest times, so the same mode of writing these ancient languages always prevailed; which, in the course of time, acquired some diversity in its form, among the different nations to which it was common, but among the Hebrews deviated less from its original form than among the other nations. The letters originally used by the Hebrews were probably more rudely shaped, and in that form continued to be written down to the time of the Babylonian captivity. On the return of the people to Judea, their alphabetic characters underwent some change, by which they were rendered more elegant in their form, but without destroying their identity. This revision of the Hebrew alphabet is with some reason attributed to Ezra, the great Jewish reformer.

(4) Of the *final* Hebrew letters we have no means of determining the antiquity. It is thought that they were in use before the Alexandrian version was made, being originally employed to express numbers greater than those denoted by the common letters of the alphabet, and subsequently placed at the end of words, as a matter of taste for the eye.

(5) The vowel points have long been a subject of controversy, sometimes very bitterly carried on, among the friends of biblical literature. Happily, the controversy may now be considered as closed, and infinitely more important points, touching the philosophy of the language and the science of Scripture, have secured the public attention. There is reason to think that the ancient Hebrews had certain marks for vowels, which, where it seemed necessary, might be attached to the letters; but which, like those used by the Arabians at the present day, and by the ancient Syrians, were very few, probably only three, and those of the most simple form. But it is by no means probable that vowel marks of any sort were of the same high antiquity with the letters. Small points were, perhaps, first added to some words, by which the diversity of pronunciation and signification were indicated. These, in process of time, are likely to have given rise to the vowel points; which were the invention of the Masorites or other learned Jews in later ages, who applied themselves with

unparalleled assiduity to the grammar and criticism of the sacred books. Their object was to transmit to posterity the ancient pronunciation of the words; and, certainly no better method than that of points could be adopted for this purpose. The letters *מט*, called *matres lectionis*, or the principal helps for reading without points, are an invention of modern times, to supply, in some measure, the place of the points.

(6) Nor do the diacritic points, attached to some letters, seem to have been originally employed, although they are certainly, for the most part, adapted to the ancient mode of pronunciation; as, for instance, the point of the letter *ו* or *י*, *dagesh* or *mappik*. The Arabians and Syrians have points of the same kind, the invention of modern times.

(7) The unchanging nature of the Hebrew language, as observable in almost all the writings of the Old Testament, deserves to be remarked. In the great diversity of ages and authors, and of style, both prose and poetical, this language retains the highest similarity. In the writings composed before the Babylonian captivity, very little change is observable in it. But after the Hebrews had been expelled from their country, and were scattered among other nations, they were unable to regain the original purity and strength of their language, even in the best times after their restoration to their country. At last, in consequence of the vicissitudes to which they were subjected, and particularly the final destruction of their state by the Romans, the Hebrew language went altogether out of common use, so that even the more learned and skilful Jews were unable, in their writings, to exhibit its native image when now dead.

(8) The Hebrew writings comprised in the Old Testament, are the only ones that remain in that language; consequently these writings are the only pure source whence a knowledge of the language is to be derived. These, however, will be insufficient in some cases to fix the undoubted meaning of words, especially of those words that are but seldom used. We must, therefore, seek for such additional assistance as we can find; and our safest and most useful resort is to the allied and cognate oriental languages; these being so many dialects of the same original tongue, which, though having peculiarities belonging to each, are radically or primarily the same. The following are the chief

Jesus, although it may have been only at a subsequent period that they, in their vocation as messengers of the gospel, rendered themselves more perfect masters of it, so as to be able to express in writing their thoughts in that language."—Biblical Cabinet, vol. ii. pp. 87—90. It is right that we should apprise

the reader of the objections urged against Pfannkuche's hypothesis, in the tenth section of the first chapter of the second part of Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, p. 33, of the second volume of Wai's translation.

of these,—the Arabic, Aramaean, Samaritan, and Ethiopic; to which some add the Talmudic and Rabbinical.*

(9) The Hebrew language is allowed to possess great simplicity and expressiveness. Of all known languages it is the best adapted to indicate the nature and qualities of objects; and this circumstance, taken in conjunction with the great conformity subsisting between it and our own language, both in structure and in the mode of expression, renders its attainment comparatively easy. The construction of Hebrew words in a sentence enjoys the advantage of being extremely simple, and is free from the elliptical and irregular phraseology that often perplexes the student in other languages. The words commonly stand in their natural order; and sentences admit of being translated into English without any change of the arrangement. The chief exception is, that the nominatives very frequently follow their verbs, and the adjectives their substantives. The rules are few; and the exceptions are not numerous.

13. We may not improperly nor unprofitably close this section with some account of the various schools of Hebrew philology. The following are the principal of these:—

1. The *Rabbinical*. This school, which is properly indigenous among the Jews, derives its acquaintance with the Hebrew from the tradition of the synagogue; from the Chaldee Targums; from the Talmud; from the Arabic, which was the language of some of the most learned rabbins; and from conjectural interpretation. In this school, at one of its earlier periods, Jerome acquired his knowledge of the language; and on the revival of learning, our first Christian Hebraists in the west were also educated in it, having had none but rabbins for their teachers. In consequence of this, the Jewish system of interpretation was introduced into the Christian church by Reuchlin, Sebastian Munster, Sanctes Pagninus, and the elder Buxtorf; and its principles still continue to exert a powerful and extensive influence through the medium of the grammatical and lexicographical works of the last mentioned author, and the tinge which they gave to many parts of the biblical translations executed immediately after the Reformation.

2. The *Forsterian* school, founded about the middle of the sixteenth century by John Forster, a scholar of Reuchlin's, and professor in Tübingen and Wittenberg. This author entirely rejected the authority of the rabbins; and, not being aware of

the use to be made of the versions and cognate dialects, laid it down as an incontrovertible principle of Hebrew philology, that a perfect knowledge of the language is to be derived from the sacred text alone, by consulting the connexion, comparing the parallel passages, and transposing and changing the Hebrew letters, especially such as are similar in figure. His system was either wholly adopted and extended, or, in part, followed by Bohl, Gusset, Driessen, Stock, and others, whose lexicons all proceed on this self-interpreting principle; but its insufficiency has been shown by J. D. Michaëlis, in his 'Investigation of the means to be employed in order to attain to a knowledge of the dead language of the Hebrews,' and by Bauer, in his *Hermeneut. V. T.*

3. The *Avenarian* school, which proceeds on the principle that the Hebrew, being the primitive language, from which all others have been derived, may be explained by the aid of the Greek, Latin, German, English, &c. Its founder, John Avenarius, professor at Wittenberg, has had but few followers; but among these we may reckon the eccentric Hermann van der Hardt, who attempted to derive the Hebrew from the Greek, which he regarded as the most ancient of all tongues.

4. The *Hieroglyphic*, or Cabbalistic system, long in vogue among the Jews, but first introduced into Christendom by Caspar Newman, professor at Breslau. It consists in attaching certain mystical and hieroglyphical powers to the different letters of the Hebrew alphabet, and determining the signification of the words according to the position occupied by each letter. This ridiculously absurd hypothesis was ably refuted by the learned Christ. Bened. Michaëlis, in a Dissertation printed at Halle, 1709, in 4to, and has scarcely had any abettors: but recently it has been revived by a French academician, whose work on the subject exhibits a perfect anomaly in modern literature. Its title is, '*La Langue Hébraïque Restituée, et la véritable sens des mots Hébreux rétabli et prouvé par leur analyse radicale.*' Par Fabre D'Olivet a Paris, 1815, 4to. According to this author, א is the sign of power and stability; ב of paternity and virility; ג of organic or material development; ד of divisible or divided nature; ה a most mysterious sign, expressive of the connexion between being and nonentity, &c. The following specimens of M. D'Olivet's own English version, taken at random from the second volume, will fill our readers with astonishment at the perversion they display, no less of the powers of the human mind, than of the true principles of language, and of the Scriptures of truth.

"Gen. ii. 8. And-he-appointed, IHOHA, HE-the-Gods, an-inclosure (an organical boundary) in-

* Pagan's *Principles of Interpretation*, P. I. sect. 1. ch. 1.
 Pagan's *Essay on the Language of Palestine in the Age of Christ. Biblical Cabinet*, vols. ii., vii.

the-temporal-and-sensible-sphere extracted-from-the-boundless-and-foregoing (time), and-he-laid-up there that-same-Adam whom-he-had-framed-forever.

"10. And-a-flowing-effluence(an emanation)was-running from-this-temporal-and-sensible-place,for-bedewing that-same-organic-enclosure; and-thence it-was-dividing in-order-to-be-henceforth-suitable-to-the-four-fold-generative power.

"22. And-he-restored (in its former state) IHOHA, He-the Being-of-beings, the-self-sameness-of-the-sheltering-windings which-he-had-broken from Adam (the collective man) for (shaping) Aishah (the intellectual woman, man's faculty of volition), and-he brought-her-to-Adam.

"vi. 9. Those-are the symbolical progenies of-Noah; Noah, intellectual-principle, right-proving-of-universal-accomplishments was-he, in-the-periods-his own: together with-him-the-Gods, he-applied-himself to walk, Noah.

"x. 30. And-such-was the-restoring-place-of-them, from-harvest-spiritual-fruits, by-dint-of-spiritual-contriving, to-the-height-of-pristine-time."

Having perused these delectable portions of the translation, which no language but the English was found capable of expressing, our readers will be fully prepared to do justice to the assertions of M. D'Olivet, "that the Hebrew language (which he considers to be the ancient Egyptian) has long been lost; that the Bible we possess is far from being an exact translation of the Sepher of Moses; that the greater part of the vulgar translations are false; and that, to restore the language of Moses to its proper grammar, we shall be obliged violently to shock those scientific and religious prejudices, which habit, pride, interest, and respect for ancient errors, have combined to consecrate, confirm, and guard."

5. The *Hutchinsonian* school, founded by John Hutchinson, originally steward to the Duke of Somerset, and afterwards Master of the Horse to George the First, who maintained, that the Hebrew Scriptures contain the true principles of philosophy and natural history: and that, as natural objects are representative of such as are spiritual and invisible, the Hebrew words are to be explained in reference to these sublime objects. His principles pervade the Lexicons of Bates and Parkhurst; but, though they have been embraced by several learned men in this country, they are now generally scouted, and have never been adopted, as far as we know, by any of the continental philologists. The disciples of this school are violent anti-punctists.

6. The *Cocceian*, or polydynamic hypothesis, according to which the Hebrew words are to be interpreted in every way consistent with their ety-

mological import, or, as it has been expressed, in every sense of which they are capable. Its author, John Cocceius, a learned Dutch divine, regarded every thing in the Old Testament as typical of Christ, or of his church and her enemies; and the lengths to which he carried his views on this subject considerably influenced the interpretations given in his Hebrew Lexicon, which is, nevertheless, a work of no ordinary merit. This system has been recently followed by Mr. Von Meyer, of Frankfort, in his improved Version of the Holy Scriptures, with short notes.

7. The *Schultensian* school, by which, to a certain extent, a new epoch was formed in Hebrew philology. Albert Schultens, professor of the oriental languages at Leyden, was enabled by his profound knowledge of Arabic, to throw light on many obscure passages of Scripture, especially on the Book of Job; but, carrying his theory so far as to maintain that the only sure method of fixing the primitive significations of the Hebrew words is to determine what are the radical ideas attaching to the same words, or words made up of the same letters in Arabic, and then to transfer the meaning from the latter to the former, a wide door was opened for speculative and fanciful interpretation; and the greater number of the derivations proposed by this celebrated philologist and his admirers have been rejected as altogether untenable, by the first Hebrew scholars, both in our own country and on the continent. The great faults of the system, consisted in the disproportionate use of the Arabic, to the neglect of the other cognate dialects, especially the Syriac, which, being the most closely related, ought to have the primary place allotted to it; want of due attention to the context; an inordinate fondness for emphasis; and far-fetched etymological hypotheses and combinations.

8. The last school of Hebrew philology, is that of *Halle*, so called from the German university of this name, where most of the Hebrew scholars have received their education, or resided, by whom its distinguishing principles have been originated, and brought to their present advanced state of maturity. Its foundation was laid by J. H. and Ch. B. Michaëlis, and the superstructure has been carried up by J. D. Michaëlis, Simon, Eichhorn, Dindorf, Schnurrer, Rosenmüller, and Gesenius, who is allowed to be the first Hebraist of the present day.

(1) The grand object of this school is to combine all the different methods by which it is possible to arrive at a correct and indubitable knowledge of the Hebrew language, as contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament:—allotting to each of the subsidiary means, its relative value and authority, and proceeding, in the application of

the whole, according to sober and well-matured principles of interpretation.

(2) The first of these means, is *the study of the language itself*, as contained in the books of the Old Testament. Though by some carried to an unwarrantable length, it cannot admit of a doubt, that this must ever form the grand basis of scriptural interpretation. Difficulties may be encountered at the commencement; but when, as we proceed, we find from the subject matter, from the design of the speaker or writer, and from other adjuncts, that the sense we have been taught to affix to the words must be the true one, we feel ourselves possessed of a key, which, as far as it goes, we may safely and confidently apply to unlock the sacred writings. When, however, the signification of a word cannot be determined by the simple study of the original Hebrew, recourse must then be had to the *ancient versions*, the authors of most of which, living near the time when the language was spoken in its purity, and being necessarily familiar with oriental scenes and customs, must be regarded as having furnished us with the most important and valuable of all the subsidiary means, by which to ascertain the sense in cases of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα; words or phrases of rare occurrence, or connexions which throw no light on the meaning. Yet, in the use of these versions, care must be taken not to employ them exclusively, nor merely to consult one or two of them to the neglect of the rest. It must also be ascertained, that their text is critically correct, in so far as the passage to be consulted is concerned; and the biblical student must not be satisfied with simply guessing at their meaning, or supposing that they either confirm or desert what he may have been led to regard as the sense of the original; but must be practically acquainted with the established usage obtaining in each version, and the particular character of their different readings.

(3) The *Rabbinical Lexicons and Commentaries* furnish the next source of Hebrew interpretation. Not that this source is to be admitted as a *principium cognoscendi*, or an infallible criterion, by which to judge of the true signification of Hebrew words; but, considering that the rabbins of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, whose works alone are here taken into account, possessed a knowledge of the Arabic as their vernacular language, or in which, at least, they were well versed; that they were familiar with the traditional interpretation of the synagogue, as contained in the Talmud and other ancient Jewish writings, or transmitted through the medium of oral communication; and, that they were mostly men of great learning, who rose superior to the trammels of tradition, and did not scruple to give their own views

respecting the meaning of certain words and phrases, in opposition to the voice of antiquity; it must be conceded, that no small degree of philological aid may reasonably be expected from their writings.

(4) The last means consists in a proper use of the *cognate dialects*. These are the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Samaritan, Phœnician, and the Talmudical Hebrew. All these dialects possess, to a great extent, in common with the Hebrew, the same radical words, the same derivatives, the same mode of derivation, the same forms, the same grammatical structure, the same phrases, or modes of expression, and the same, or nearly the same, signification of words. They chiefly differ in regard to accentuation, the use of the vowels, the transmutation of consonants of the same class, the extent of signification in which certain words are used, and the peculiar appropriation of certain words, significations, and modes of speech, which are exhibited in one dialect to the exclusion of the rest.*

(5) These languages, when judiciously applied to the illustration of the Hebrew Scriptures, are useful in many ways. They confirm the precise signification of words, both radicals and derivatives, already ascertained or adopted from other sources. They discover many roots and primitives, the derivatives only of which occur in the Hebrew Bible. They are of eminent service in helping to a knowledge of such words as occur but once, or at least, but seldom in the sacred writings, and they throw much light on the meaning of phrases, or idiomatical combinations of words—such combinations being natural to them all, as branches of the same stock, or, to some of them in common, in consequence of certain more remote affinities.

(6) It is to the superiority which the school of Halle has attained, in the combined application of these different means to the interpretation of the Hebrew Bible, that we are indebted for the flood of light which has been poured upon its pages.

SECTION II.

CRITICISM OF THE HEBREW TEXT.

Purity of the Sacred Text—Criticism of the Hebrew Bible—Labours of the Jewish Literati to preserve the integrity of the Original Text—Early printed Editions of the Hebrew Bible—Influence of the Samaritan Pentateuch on the Hebrew Text—Critical Editions of Athias, Jablonaki, Van der Hooght, Michaelis, Houbigant, Kennicott, and De Rossi—Uses of an Acquaintance with the Literary History of the Original Text—Celebrated Exemplars of the Hebrew Scriptures.

I. One of the first and highest objects of criticism is to ascertain and determine the purity or

* Congregational Magazine, Jan, 1828.

integrity of the text. Next to the genuineness and authenticity of the Scriptures, the purity of the text is obviously of the utmost importance. It will be plain to every mind, that the biblical books may have been originally written by divinely inspired persons; but that, during the lapse of ages, and by passing through various hands, they may have been so greatly corrupted as to have had their original character destroyed, and to have been rendered wholly unworthy of reception, as a revelation of the divine will and purpose. This topic, then, claims our first attention; and we shall therefore proceed to show the evidences we possess for establishing the identity of the text now extant with that delivered to the church by the inspired prophets, evangelists, and apostles.

1. With regard to the Hebrew Scriptures, comprising the books of the Old Testament, it must in candour be admitted, that our knowledge of the formation of the present text is very imperfect and unsatisfactory. Dr. Kennicott contends that almost all the existing manuscripts were written between the years 1000 and 1460;* whence it has been reasonably inferred, that the older manuscripts were destroyed, after having been used by the Jewish literati, in revising the common text.

2. We know nothing of the method by which the revisors proceeded in the prosecution of their task, nor of the precise amount of those errors in the older copies that induced them to undertake its revision. But let it not be inferred from this admission, that the sacred text may therefore have been subjected to unauthorized alterations, or wilful corruptions. Did we possess no means of detecting such corruptions, if introduced (but which we do possess in abundance, in the ancient versions, quotations, &c.), the profound and almost superstitious veneration which even the most irreligious and immoral Jews are known to cherish for every tittle of their Scriptures, and the labour they have expended in preserving its purity, would alone assure us of the fact, that in their critical duties they were influenced by the most scrupulous integrity. Upon this subject it may be interesting as well as satisfactory, to show the excess of care the Masorites bestowed in making their copies, with a view to the preservation of the integrity of the text. In transcribing the sacred writings, it has been a constant rule with them, that whatever is considered as corrupt, shall never be used, but shall be burnt, or other-

wise destroyed. A book of the law, wanting but one letter, with one letter too much, or with an error in one single letter, written with any thing but ink, or written on parchment made of the hide of an unclean animal, or on parchment not purposely prepared for that use, or prepared by any but an Israelite, or on skins of parchment tied together by unclean strings, shall be holden to be corrupt: that no word shall be written, without a line first drawn on the parchment; no word written by heart, or without having been first pronounced orally by the writer: that before he writes the name of God, he shall wash his pen; that no letter shall be joined to another; and that, if the blank parchment cannot be seen all around each letter, the roll shall be corrupt. There are settled rules for the length and breadth of each sheet, and for the space to be left between each letter, each word, and each section. These Maimonides mentions, as some of the principal rules to be observed in copying the sacred rolls. Even to this day, it is an obligation on the persons who copy the sacred writings to observe them; and those who have not seen the rolls used in the synagogues, can have no conception of the exquisite beauty, correctness, and equality of the writing.

3. But the attention of the Jews was not confined to the *penmanship* of the Holy Word; they also made incredible exertions to preserve the genuineness and integrity of the text. This produced what is termed the *Masora*, which has been justly pronounced to be the most stupendous monument in the whole history of literature, of minute and persevering labour. The persons who were employed in it, and who afterwards received from it the name of *Masorites*, were some Jewish literati, who flourished after the commencement of the Christian era. With a reverential, not to say superstitious, attention, of which history does not furnish an instance to be urged in comparison with it, they counted all the verses, words, and letters of all the twenty-four books of the Old Testament, and of each of those twenty-four books, and of every section of each book, and of all the subdivisions of each section. They distinguished the verses where they thought there was something forgotten; the words which they believed to be changed; the letters which they thought superfluous; the repetitions of the same verses; the different reading of the words which are redundant or defective; the number of times that the same word is found in the beginning, middle, or end of a verse; the different significations of the same word; the agreement or conjunction of one word with another; the number of words that are printed above; which letters are pronounced, and which are turned upside down; and such as

* M. de Rossi has divided Hebrew MSS. into three classes, viz., (1) More ancient, or those written before the twelfth century; (2) Ancient, or those written in the thirteenth and fourteenth century; (3) More recent, or those written at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century.

being perpendicular; all these enumerations they made, and took the number of each. Such was their scrupulosity, that though it might have been plain that one letter was put for another, or that a word was pushed out of its place, still they would not vary the text, but indicated these changes by a particular mark, supposing that some mystery had occasioned the alteration. They distinguished the degrees of certainty which they attributed to their critical corrections or insinuations by three words: *KREI, read*;—*CHETIB, write*;—and *SBHIR, conjecture*.*

4. Such critics, it will be admitted by all candid persons, were not likely capriciously or wilfully to alter the text; and their numerous and minute rules rendered it almost impossible that they should do so by accident, at least in any thing very material.

II. But we are not more at a loss to discover the method pursued in the revision of the Hebrew MSS. by the critics of whom we have just spoken, than we are to ascertain the rules adopted by the early editors of the printed editions. The particular MSS. which they used, the way in which they employed their materials, the degree of authority they yielded to preceding editions, and other matters of a similar description, are all beyond our power to learn; for on these points they have maintained a complete silence. We must, therefore, be contented with a brief sketch of the principal editions, and then pass on to notice the process by which our present critical apparatus has been formed.

1. The first printed edition of the entire Hebrew Bible was that executed at Soncino, in 1486, under the editorial care of Abraham ben Chayim. The critical value of this *editio princeps* is very great, but there are only nine copies of it known to be in existence: the Bodleian library, and that of Exeter College, Oxford, possess the only two copies in England. The variations between this edition and that of Van der Hooght are stated by Kennicott to amount to some thousands, though none of them are of any great moment.

2. This was followed, in 1494, by an edition at Brescia, edited by Gerson, son of Rabbi Moses, which deserves special attention, from having been used by Luther for his German translation, and also from having formed the basis of several subsequent editions, of which may be noticed that in the Complutensian Polyglott.

3. These two editions, with a third, printed in 1517, without the name of any place, are called

the *Soncino*, being printed by Jews of a family, which came originally from Germany, and established themselves at Soncino, a town in Lombardy, between Cremona and Brescia. They were the first Hebrew printers.†

4. We need only mention another edition, namely, that published by Daniel Bomberg, in 1525, at Venice. This edition, the Brescia edition of 1494, and the Complutensian edition of 1517, form the basis of almost all subsequent editions.

III. But whatever variations may be found in the text of these and subsequent early editions of the Hebrew Scriptures, it must not be supposed that they resulted from any deviation on the part of the respective editors from the MSS. they employed. Christians, as well as the Jews, confided most implicitly in the immaculate purity of the text; to have questioned which would have been regarded as an act of the utmost temerity, if not of impiety. Hence it is not to be wondered at, that Buxtorf, who published his *Tiberias*, or an exposition and defence of the Masoretic doctrines, in 1620, should confirm the affirmation of Elias Levita, by saying of the Hebrew MSS., *Omnium librorum, qui vel in Asiâ, vel in Africâ, vel in Europâ sunt, sine ullâ discrepantiâ, consonans harmonia cernitur*. It so happened, however, that in the early part of the seventeenth century, the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, the existence of which was well known to some of the early Christian writers, but which had been lost sight of for upwards of a thousand years, was again brought to light; and its numerous variations from the Masoretic text suggested the idea of a diversity of readings in the Hebrew MSS.‡ The examination of copies which was hence induced, issued in the detection of actual and numerous mistakes, and thus prepared the way for that corrected and purer text which we now possess.

1. The first person who boldly and determinately impeached the purity of the Hebrew text was the learned Morinus, a Roman Catholic priest, of the Oratory at Paris, who first published his *Exercitationes Ecclesiasticae et Biblicae*, in 1633. In 1650, he was followed by the erudite Capellus, in the same country, and in 1658, by our own celebrated and justly venerated countryman, Bishop Walton. The *Critica Sacra* of Ca-

† Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ*, p. 77.

‡ This had, indeed, been affirmed by Elias Hutter, in the preface to his edition of the Hebrew Bible, published at the latter end of the sixteenth century; but his statements do not appear to have produced any effect, since Buxtorf does not mention them in his *Tiberias*, which was published about thirty years afterwards.

* See Lewis' *Origines Hebrææ*, vol. iv., p. 156. Calmet's *Dictionary*, vol. ii., p. 122, 5th edit.; and Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ*, p. 40.

pellus should not be passed over without notice. This elaborate production, the work of thirty-six years of the industrious author's life, Capellus could not get printed in the Protestant States; but at length, through the influence of Morinus and other Catholics, it was printed, by royal license, at Paris, under the care of his son. The integrity or purity of the Hebrew text was here assailed at great length, and with nearly as much success as he had formerly evinced in attacking the divine origin of the points. He contended that verbal mistakes had crept into the Hebrew Scriptures, as into all ancient authors; that the printed editions were not always correct, and did not always agree with each other; and that the ancient Versions might be properly employed as one means of correcting the text. In six books, he established the existence of various readings. (I.) From the juxtaposition of different parts of the Old Testament. (II.) From a collation of the parallel passages of the Old and New Testaments. (III.) From collations of the Masora, the Samaritan, and the most ancient printed editions of the Scriptures. (IV.) From a collation of the Septuagint with the Hebrew text. (V.) From a comparison of the Hebrew text with the Chaldee paraphrase, the Greek Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the Latin Vulgate, and the rabbinical commentators. In Book VI. he treats of the errors of transcribers, and of conjectural emendations of the text.

2. The labours of these critics having destroyed the confidence which had been hitherto reposed in the integrity* of the Hebrew text, originated an inquiry respecting the means for ascertaining the extent to which it had suffered, and the sources whence materials were to be obtained for restoring its purity. It seems not to have occurred to these learned men, however, that a collation of MSS. would furnish the most satisfactory evidence of the actual state of the text, as well as the materials for its improvement. The only standards by which Morinus had thought of measuring it, were the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Septuagint or ancient Greek Version: wherever it differed from these, he concluded that its verity was impaired. Nor was the critical apparatus of Capellus much more extensive, as is evident from the account just given of his work; although he avoided many of the errors into which his predecessor had fallen, by exercising a sounder judg-

ment as to the criterion by which the purity of the Hebrew text was to be determined. "He considered the ancient Versions, when applied under proper restrictions, as *one source* of critical authority in ascertaining the purity of disputed passages: but he did not consider with Morinus that a deviation of the Hebrew from the Septuagint, or from the Vulgate, was a reason for supposing, that in such places the Hebrew was incorrect. In short, his *principles* of criticism were such as the best judges have applied to ancient authors in general. Where Capellus failed, he failed in the *application* of his principles."†

3. The attention of the learned world having been thus excited to the subject, it was soon determined that the only satisfactory mode of proceeding, was by a collation of MSS. and ancient Versions. This was accordingly undertaken by competent persons; and the result of their labours was given to the world in the successive editions of Athias, Jablonski, Van der Hooght, Michaelis, and Houbigant. It was reserved for the indefatigable Kennicott, however, to institute an extensive collation of MSS., and to produce the first critical edition of the Hebrew Bible, upon a magnificent scale. During the thirty years in which he and his coadjutors were employed in this work, under the patronage of the learned and wealthy in all parts of Europe, upwards of six hundred Hebrew MSS., and sixteen copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, were either wholly or partially collated. Nor was this the full extent of his labours. Ardently desirous of giving consistency and permanency to the text, this industrious scholar added to the collation of MSS. a collation of the most valuable printed editions, and an examination of the quotations from the Hebrew Bible which were found in the works of the Jewish literati. The first volume of Kennicott's Bible was published in the year 1776, and was followed by the second volume in 1780.

4. "That the mass of various readings exhibited in this edition, which greatly exceed in *number* the various readings collected by the industry of three centuries for the Greek Testament, contains but few of *real importance*, is no subject of reproach to the learned editor," says Bishop Marsh, "who could only produce what his authorities afforded. Nor is he to be censured for giving *all* that he had, without regard to their relative value. His was the first attempt ever made, to give a *copious* collection of Hebrew readings; and he could hardly have been justified, if he had exercised his own discretion in regard to the portion which should be laid before the public. He

*The text of an ancient author may be said to have preserved its *integrity*, if it is *upon the whole* in such a state as when it left his hands. Here, however, the term is used in a higher sense, as denoting its purity, or freedom from all error.

† Bishop Marsh's Lectures, p. 210.

wisely, therefore, afforded the opportunity to his readers of selecting for themselves: and though his extracts are rarely of much value for the purpose of critical emendation, they enable us, both to form an estimate of the existing Hebrew MSS., and to draw some important conclusions in regard to the integrity of the Hebrew text.*

i. The major part of this immense collection of readings consists in mere variations of orthography, in the fulness or defectiveness of certain words, in the addition or subtraction of a *mater lectionis*,† of a *vau*, or a *yod*. And if we further deduct the readings, which are either manifest errors, or in other respects are of no value, the important deviations will be confined within a very narrow compass. In short, Dr. Kennicott's collation has contributed to establish the credit of the Masora. We learn from it this useful lesson, that although a multiplication of written copies will, notwithstanding all human endeavours, produce variations in the text, the MSS. of the Hebrew Bible have been so far protected by the operation of the Masora, that all which are now extant, both the oldest and the newest, might be compared with those MSS. of the Greek Testament which Griesbach refers to the same edition.†

6. A few years after the publication of Dr. Kennicott's Bible, De Rossi, the Hebrew professor at Parma, and the friend and fellow-labourer of Kennicott, added considerably to the collections previously made, by publishing the various readings of seven hundred and thirty-one MSS., and three hundred and ten editions, some of which were unknown, and others but little known. The whole number of MSS. collated on this occasion, therefore, amounted to thirteen hundred and forty-six; and of editions, to three hundred and fifty-two; making a total of sixteen hundred and ninety-eight; containing several hundred thousand various readings. And yet not one doctrine or precept of revelation is affected by them.

7. There is one circumstance connected with this undertaking worthy of note; namely, the proof thereby afforded, that the marginal words of the Masora, printed opposite to the text in the rabbinical Bibles, and hitherto regarded as materials of interpretation, transmitted by oral tra-

dition from the sacred writers, are in fact nothing more than various readings of the Hebrew text. Out of a *thousand* of them, as printed by Van der Hooght, there were but *fourteen* not found in the text of some one of the MSS. examined by Kennicott.

IV. Such is the history of the Hebrew text; from which the progress hitherto made in its criticism may in some measure be gathered. The necessity for this review may not at present be apparent; but, as sacred criticism has for its object an aggregate of literary labours, undertaken at different periods, and for different purposes; and as its principles are general conclusions deduced from these literary labours, it will ultimately be seen, that the reason or foundation of those laws cannot be comprehended, without a previous knowledge of the nature and amount of these labours. By such a review of the several stages through which the criticism of the Bible has passed, we discover not only the means by which it has acquired its present form, but also the propriety of those rules which the critics have laid down for directing and regulating their operations.‡

V. This section may close with a brief notice of those celebrated copies of the Hebrew Scriptures which have been adopted by the Jews, as exemplars of all subsequent copies.

1. The copy of HILLEL, who is thought to have lived about the year A. D. 1000, was preserved at Toledo, in Spain, where Kimchi, who lived in the twelfth century, states that he saw it. Rabbi Zacuti, who lived near the close of the fifteenth century, says that part of it had been sent into Africa.

2. The copy of AARON BEN ASHER, one of the doctors of the celebrated academy at Tiberias, about the middle of the eleventh century, was preserved for many years at Jerusalem as a standard copy; and Maimonides, who made his own copy of the law from it, assures us that it was universally appealed to. From this exemplar all the MSS. of the western Jews, as well as all the printed copies of the Hebrew Bible, are almost wholly derived.

3. The copy of JACOB BEN NAPHTALI, who was president of the other famous Jewish academy at Babylon, and contemporary with BEN ASHER, was adopted by the oriental Jews.

4. The Codices of JERICHO and SINAI, and one called SANBOUKI, are highly commended for their accuracy.

* The letters (א) *aleph*, (ו) *vau*, and (י) *yod*, are called *mater lectionis*, because employed to assist the reader of an unpointed MS. how to pronounce the words in which those letters are contained, being considered chiefly as props to those points by which they are usually accompanied. Where MSS. are pointed, they are sometimes inserted, sometimes omitted, at the discretion of the writer.

† Bishop Marsh's Lectures, pp. 221, 222.

‡ Should the reader desire to see more on the propriety of this mode of treating the subject, he may consult Bishop Marsh's first lecture on the Criticism of the Bible.

5. The CODEX MALABARICUS, obtained by the late Dr. Buchanan from the black Jews in Malabar, whence it takes its name, though forming a distinct class, should not be passed by without notice. It is evident, as Bishop Marsh has suggested, that the copies of the Pentateuch preserved in India must have descended from the autograph of Moses through very different channels to those in the west of Europe, and therefore the close agreement of the one with the other (the Indian copy presenting only *four* peculiar readings) is a proof that they have preserved the original text in great purity. Whether this copy was formed from the Masoretic text, is by no means certain; for although it was probably written much later than the period when the Masorites finished their labours, it is probable that their influence never reached the mountainous district in the south of India.*

SECTION III.

EARLY VERSIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The Samaritan Pentateuch—The Septuagint—Greek Versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus—Labours of Origen—Value of the Septuagint to an Interpreter—Relationship between the Samaritan Pentateuch and the LXX.—Early Revision of the Hebrew Text—Value of Various Readings.

I. Mention has been made, in the preceding section, of the SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH, in reference to the influence it has had on the criticism of the Hebrew Scriptures; but before we proceed to notice the criticism of the Greek Testament, some further account of this venerable work, and also of the SEPTUAGINT Version, is called for.

1. The existence of the PENTATEUCH, or five Books of Moses, written in the peculiar alphabetic character employed by the Samaritans,† was known in very ancient times to such of the Christian Fathers as were acquainted with the Hebrew language. Origen, in his commentary on Numb. xiii. 1, and xxi. 13, distinctly speaks of it; as does Jerome, in his prologue to the Book of Kings, and in other places.

2. These, with one or two similar references in Origen, constitute the evidence we have, that the Samaritan Pentateuch was known in very ancient times to such of the Fathers as devoted themselves to the critical study of the Hebrew Scriptures. From the time of Jerome down to the first quarter of the seventeenth century, however, no traces appear, in the history of criticism and sacred literature, of the existence of the

Samaritan copy of the law of Moses. In the year 1616, Petrus à Valle bought of the Samaritans at Damascus, a complete copy, which was sent in 1623, by A. H. de Sancy, to the library of the Oratory at Paris. J. Morinus briefly described this copy, not long afterwards, in the preface to his edition of the Septuagint, A. D. 1628. Soon after this, he published his "*Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*;" in which he extols very highly the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, preferring it above the common Hebrew text. About the same time, from the copy purchased by à Valle, Morinus printed the Samaritan text of the Paris Polyglott; and from this, Walton printed the Samaritan text in the London Polyglott, with very few corrections.

3. In the mean time, between the years 1620 and 1630, Archbishop Usher, so distinguished for his zeal in sacred literature, as well as for the knowledge of it which he himself acquired, had succeeded, by persevering efforts, in obtaining six additional copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch from the East, some of which were complete, and others incomplete. Five of these are still in England, deposited in different libraries; one, which the archbishop presented to Ludovicus de Dieu, appears to have been lost.

4. In 1621 another copy was sent to Italy, which is now in the Ambrosian library at Milan. About the same time, Peirese procured three copies; two of which are in the royal library at Paris, and one in that of Barberini at Rome.

5. To these copies others have since been added; so that Kennicott, as we have already stated, was able to extend the comparison of Samaritan MSS., for his critical collection of various readings, to the number of *sixteen*: most of them, however, were more or less defective, in regard to parts of the Pentateuch.

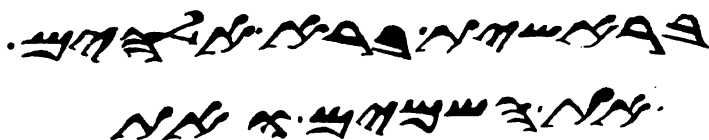
6. The external appearance of these MSS. agrees, in some respects, with that of the synagogue rolls of the Jews; but in many others it differs. All the Samaritan copies in Europe are in the form of books, either folio, quarto, or still smaller; although the Samaritans in their synagogues make use of rolls, as the Jews do also. The letters in the Samaritan copies are simple, exhibiting nothing like the *litera*, *majuscula*, *minuscule*, *inversa*, *suspensa*, &c., of the Hebrews. They are entirely destitute of vowel points, accents, or diacritical signs, such as are found in Hebrew and Chaldee. Each word is separated from the one which follows it, by a point placed between them; parts of sentences are distinguished by two points; and periods and paragraphs by short lines, or lines and points.

* See Yent's Collation, p. 40.

† For some account of these people, see Part III., chap. 3, sect. 1.

7. The following is a fac-simile of the first line of the MS. preserved in the British Museum (Bibl. Cotton. Claudius, B. 8.), which was one of

the six copies belonging to Archbishop Usher, and by him presented to Sir Robert Cotton :—



It is a small folio in size, and consists of two hundred and fifty-four pages, written on vellum. It has fortunately escaped injury by the fire which damaged and destroyed so many valuable articles in the Cottonian library, in 1731, and is in an excellent state of preservation.

8. The MSS. differ, however, in some unimportant particulars. Words of doubtful construction are sometimes marked by a small line over one of the letters. The margin is empty, unless, as is sometimes the case, the Samaritan or Arabic Version is placed by the side of the original text. The whole Pentateuch, like the Jewish copy, is divided into paragraphs, which they call *Ratzin*. But while the Jews make only fifty-two or fifty-four divisions (one to be read on each sabbath in the year), the Samaritans make nine hundred and sixty-six.

9. The age of some of the Samaritan copies is determined by the date, which accompanies the name of the copyist; in others it is not found. Kennicott has endeavoured to ascertain the date of all the Samaritan MSS. which he compared. But he resorts to conjecture in order to effect this; conjecture supported by no well-grounded rules of judging. The Codex Oratorii, used by Morinus, he supposes to have been copied in the eleventh century; while all the others, except one, are conceded to be of more recent origin. One he assigns to the eighth century. The reasoning of Kennicott and De Rossi, about the age of Hebrew and Samaritan MSS., rests, however, on very uncertain grounds.

10. The materials on which the Samaritan MSS. are written, are either parchment or silk paper. Ordinary paper has been used, in recent times, only to supply some of the defects in them.

11. The Christian world, before Morinus published his famous "*Exercitationes Ecclesiasticæ in utrumque Samaritanorum Pentateuchum*" (1631), had been accustomed, as we have seen, to resort only to the Jewish Hebrew Scriptures, as exhibiting the well authenticated and established text of the Mosaic law. But the publication of Morinus soon excited a controversy, which, even at the present time, has not wholly subsided. As the Samaritan copy of the law, in a multitude of places, agrees with the Version of

the Seventy, Morinus maintained that the authority of the Samaritan, particularly when supported by the Septuagint, was paramount to that of the Jewish text. He laboured, moreover, to show that, in a multitude of passages, which in that text, as it now stands, are obscure and difficult, or unharmonious, the Samaritan offers the better reading; that the Jews have corrupted their Scriptures by negligence, or ignorance, or superstition; and that the safe and only way to purify them, is to correct them from the Samaritan, in connexion with the Septuagint.

12. The signal was now given for the great contest which ensued. Capellus, in his "*Critica Sacra*," followed in the steps of Morinus; but De Muis, Hottinger, Stephen Morinus, Buxtorf, Fuller, Leusden, and A. Pfeiffer, each, in separate works published within the seventeenth century, attacked the positions of Morinus and Capellus. Their principal aim was to overthrow these positions, rather than to examine the subject before them in a critical and thorough manner.

13. Much less like disputants, and more like impartial critics, did Father Simon, Walton, and Le Clerc, conduct themselves, relative to the question about the value and authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch. In particular, Simon has thrown out suggestions which imply, for substance, the same opinions, on many controverted points, that the latest and best critics, after all the discussion that has taken place, have adopted.

14. But during the latter part of the last century, when the fierceness of the controversy seemed to have abated, Houbigant, treading in the steps of J. Morinus, renewed it in the Prolegomena to his Bible. With him other controvertists united. Kennicott, in various works, A. S. Aquilino, Lobstein, and Alexander Geddes, have all contended for the equal or superior authority of the Samaritan Codex. Houbigant was answered, in a masterly way by S. Ravius, in his "*Exercitationes Philologicæ*, 1761, and recently, Michaëlis, Eichhorn, Bertholdt, Bauer, and Jahn, have discussed the subject with a good degree of moderation and acuteness. They have all inclined to attach considerable value to many of the Samaritan readings; although most of them consider the Samaritan Pentateuch, on

the whole, to be of inferior authority to the Hebrew.

15. Thus the matter stood, when Gesenius entered upon the discussion of it, in his treatise "De Pentateuchi Samaritani Origine, Indole, et Auctoritate, Commentatio Philologico-critica," 1815. The great extent of critical and philological knowledge which he had acquired, fitted him in a peculiar manner for the difficult task which he undertook; for difficult it would seem to be, to settle a question that had been so long disputed by the master critics, and still not brought to a termination. He did not disappoint the expectations that were raised by the announcement of his design; and if he have not for ever settled the question about the authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch compared with that of the Hebrew, he has shown the nature of the various readings it exhibits to be such, that but little critical reliance can be placed upon them. They are all, or nearly all, as he insists, the effect of design, or want of grammatical, exegetical, or critical knowledge; of studious conformity to the Samaritan dialect; or of effort to remove supposed obscurities, or restore harmony to passages apparently discrepant.

16. Gesenius has divided the various readings, which the Samaritan Pentateuch exhibits, into *eight* different classes, for the sake of more orderly and exact description.

(1) The first class consists of such as exhibit *corrections merely of a grammatical nature*.

(2) The second class consists of *glosses received into the text*.

(3) The third class consists of those in which there is a *substitution of plain modes of expression, in the room of those which seemed difficult or obscure in the Hebrew text*.

(4) The fourth, of those in which *the Samaritan copy is corrected from parallel passages, or apparent defects are supplied from them*.

(5) The fifth is made up of *additions or repetitions respecting things said and done*; which are drawn from the preceding context, and again recorded, so as to make the readings in question.

(6) The sixth, of *such corrections as were made to remove what was offensive in respect to sentiment, that is, which conveyed views, or narrated facts, that were deemed improbable by the correctors*.

(7) The seventh class consists of those in which *the pure Hebrew idiom is exchanged for that of the Samaritan*.

(8) The eighth, of those passages *where alterations have been made so as to produce conformity to the Samaritan theology, worship, or mode of interpretation*.

17. Some of the classes of various readings

here described are hardly intelligible, perhaps, to the cursory and general reader; nor will the difference between some of them (for example, between the second and third class) be plain to any reader, who does not consult the work of Gesenius, and compare the examples proposed. Under each of the classes he has produced a multitude of examples, almost to satiety, for the purpose of removing all rational doubt as to the positions which he advances. Only four various readings in the whole Samaritan Pentateuch are considered by him as preferable, perhaps, to the Hebrew text. These are the well-known passages in Gen. iv. 6, xxii. 13, xlix. 14, xiv. 14. Many critics, however, who will acquiesce in the general conclusion of Gesenius, will, it is apprehended, be found to differ from him as to the precise number of such passages as these.

18. The result of Gesenius's labours has been, then, to ruin the credit of the Samaritan Pentateuch, as an *authentic* source of correcting the Hebrew records; a result of no small importance, considering the thousands of places in which it differs from the Hebrew, and the excessive value which has been set upon it by critics of great note, in different parts of Europe.

19. As to the age of the Samaritan Codex, Gesenius regards that time as the most probable from which to date its origin, when Manasseh, the son-in-law of Sanballat, the Samaritan governor, and brother of the high-priest at Jerusalem, went over to the Samaritans, built a temple on Mount Gerizim, by the aid of his father-in-law, and instituted the Mosaic worship there. Many of the peculiar readings of the Samaritan Codex, he thinks, can be accounted for by such a supposition; and, at all events, we must suppose that Manasseh carried a copy of the Jewish law along with him. But an able writer in the North American Review assigns to this codex, upon what appear to be indisputable grounds, a much earlier date, carrying it up to the time of Jeroboam's reign over the ten tribes. This is, indeed, the only hypothesis which gets rid of the difficulties connected with the supposed origin of the Samaritan Codex.

20. It may be necessary to close this account of the Samaritan Pentateuch, by stating, for the purpose of preventing misconception, that although written in the Samaritan character, it is in the Hebrew language, like the Pentateuch in our Hebrew Bibles. There is, however, a translation of the Hebrew Samaritan Pentateuch into the proper Samaritan dialect, a medium between the Hebrew and Aramaean languages, which is thought to have been made as early as the close of the first century. Besides this Version of so ancient

a date, there is also a Version made by Abusaid, in the eleventh or twelfth century, into the Samaritan Arabic dialect; that is, the Arabic as spoken by the Samaritans. There are also a few scattered remains of an ancient Greek Version, made from the Samaritan Pentateuch, some of which have been collected together by Morinus, Hottinger, and Montfaucon; but they are too scanty to be of much critical value.

II. The SEPTUAGINT Version of the Old Testament is the most ancient and valuable of all the translations of the sacred books; but there is scarcely a subject of sacred literature upon which more has been written, or of which less, with any degree of certainty, is known. The most ancient account of it is written in Greek by Aristæas, who states himself to have been an officer in the guards of Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, at the time it was made. The following is the substance of his narrative:

1. Ptolemy Philadelphus, wishing to establish an extensive library at Alexandria, committed the charge of it to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian, who collected from various quarters twenty thousand volumes. In the course of his inquiries after curious and valuable books, he was informed of the Law of Moses, in the Hebrew language. This intelligence he communicated to the king, and urged the importance of a translation of it into the Greek language. Ptolemy adopted measures for obtaining it; and accordingly directed that an embassy should be sent to Eleazar, the high-priest at Jerusalem, to request him to transmit a correct copy of the law, and to send a certain number of grave and learned men, who should be capable of translating it out of Hebrew into Greek. Aristæas, Sosibius, and Andreas, three noblemen of Ptolemy's court, and persons friendly to the Jews, embraced the opportunity for soliciting the liberation of the Jewish captives, taken prisoners by Ptolemy Soter, and still detained in slavery. Their suit was successful, and the king ordered twenty drachmas to be paid to their possessors for each of them, whether man, woman, or child. The sum expended in their ransom was six hundred and sixty talents, liberating one hundred and ninety-eight thousand captives. Aristæas and Andreas were afterwards commissioned to carry the official letter from Ptolemy to Eleazar, and their embassy was accompanied with gifts for the temple, and money for the sacrifices there offered, and the general service of the sanctuary; viz., one hundred talents; fifty talents in utensils of gold, and twenty talents in utensils of silver, beside the precious stones with which they were adorned, and which were of twice the value of the gold. Their embassy

succeeded, and Eleazar sent to the Egyptian king a copy of the law, written in letters of gold, upon skins of parchment of exquisite fineness and beauty. Six elders out of every tribe, men of acknowledged reputation and learning, were chosen to execute the translation, who returned to Alexandria with the messengers of Ptolemy. On their arrival, the seventy-two elders were graciously received by the king, who not only expressed his satisfaction at receiving the law, and his astonishment at its execution, but also feasted the elders for several days; and during the festival, fully satisfied himself of their wisdom and ability, by proving each of them by seventy-two different questions. The seven days of feasting being ended, each of the elders received three talents as a mark of the royal favour, and was then conducted by Demetrius to a sumptuous habitation, prepared for them in a retired situation in the isle of Pharos, near Alexandria. Here they pursued their important undertaking with the utmost diligence, daily collating their separate versions with each other, and then dictating the approved version to Demetrius, who acted as their scribe. In seventy-two days they completed the whole translation, which was afterwards read in the presence of the king, who expressed his approbation in the most decided manner, and rewarded each of the elders with three rich garments, two talents of gold, and a cup of gold of the weight of one talent. He afterwards sent them honourably back to Jerusalem, loaded with the most valuable gifts to Eleazar the high-priest; and commanded the Version itself to be lodged with the utmost care in the Alexandrian library.

2. This account, which was in the main adopted by the Christian Fathers, and to which some of them contributed additional circumstances, is now, however, generally exploded. That Demetrius Phalereus was ever librarian to Ptolemy Philadelphus is extremely doubtful, and it is by no means to be reconciled with the well-known facts in his life. Besides, it is very unlikely that a peripatetic philosopher, of Demetrius's character, should have paid so much respect to the books of the Jews, as to request such an exertion of the royal authority as this account attributes to him. The prevailing opinion now is, that the Septuagint translation was made at Alexandria, at different times, and by different interpreters. That it was not all the work of the same translator or translators, is manifest from the very great diversity of style, and the various modes of translating, that prevail in it. The Pentateuch, which is the most accurate part of the entire work, was probably executed in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, by some learned Jews, for the use of their brethren

then resident in Egypt, and who used the Greek language; and the remaining books, at different times, as the necessity of the case demanded, or the providence of God permitted.* It is thought, that when the Alexandrian Jews found this public exposure of their sacred oracles, or their translation into a profane language, to be displeasing to their brethren in Palestine, they invented the Aristeian story, to give their Version the sanction of royal authority.

3. The two most noted MSS. of the Septuagint known to be extant, are the Codex Alexandrinus and the Codex Vaticanus.

(1) The *Codex Alexandrinus*, or Alexandrian

copy, is now in the British Museum, where it was deposited in 1753. It was presented to King Charles I. by Cyrillus Lucaris, patriarch of Constantinople, who obtained it at Alexandria, where it is thought to have been penned. It is written in uncial or capital letters, without any accents or marks of aspiration. A fac-simile of the New Testament has been published by Dr. Woide; and a fac-simile of the Old Testament has also been completed, under the superintendence of the Rev. H. H. Baber, late one of the librarians of the British Museum. The following specimen of this precious MSS. will perhaps be acceptable. It is Psalm i. 1.

ⲙⲁⲕⲁⲣⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲏⲣⲟⲥ ⲟⲩⲕⲉⲧⲧⲟⲣⲉⲩ
ⲑⲏⲉⲛ ⲃⲟⲩⲗⲏⲁ ⲥⲉⲃⲱⲛ
ⲕⲁⲓ ⲉⲛⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲙⲁⲣⲧⲱⲗⲱⲛⲟⲩ ⲕⲉⲥⲧⲏ
ⲕⲁⲓ ⲉⲧⲧⲓ ⲕⲁⲑⲉⲁ ⲣⲁⲗⲟⲓⲙⲱⲛⲟⲩ
ⲕⲉⲕⲁⲑⲓ ⲥⲉⲛ

The date of this MS. has been strongly contested by biblical critics; some referring it to the middle of the fourth century, while others contend that it could not have been executed earlier than the tenth.†

(2) The *Codex Vaticanus*, so called because preserved in the library of the Vatican at Rome, is a most valuable MS., and is greatly preferred by some critics to the Codex Alexandrinus. It is written in the uncial or capital letters, and originally contained the entire Bible, but is now imperfect in both Testaments. It is supposed to have been written some time in the fourth century, before the time of Jerome; though some refer it to the sixth or seventh century.‡

4. Although the Septuagint Version was originally made for the use of the Egyptian Jews, it at length acquired so high a degree of authority among the Jews of Palestine, who understood the Greek language, that, for a time, it was read in their synagogues instead of the Hebrew; and it is in very many passages quoted by the inspired writers of the New Testament. It was early translated into Latin, and became the text book

of the Western, as well as of the Eastern churches. It was the only copy of the Old Testament Scriptures they generally used; and the only one they appealed to in all their controversies, particularly with the Jews, employing it most advantageously in confuting those from whom they had received it; proving to them from it, by the most irrefragable arguments, that their expected Messiah must have already come, in the person of Jesus Christ. This circumstance at length led the Jews to have it in abhorrence, and a national annual fast was instituted to deplore the same event which they had before commemorated by a solemn festival; so that, by the end of the first century, it was expelled from every synagogue.

III. The Hebrew, however, had become so completely a dead language, not only to the Hellenists, but to the Jews generally, that they could obtain no knowledge of their Scriptures but through the medium of a translation; and therefore, to supply the place of the Septuagint, a new Greek Version was made, about the year 129, by Aquila of Pontus, first a convert from Paganism to Christianity, and then a proselyte to Judaism.

* The learned Hugh Broughton thought that he discovered, in the larger books of the Septuagint, internal marks of a change in the translator at the close of portions, averaging each about fourteen chapters of the present division. "They were not all," he says, "equally competent. The translators of the Pentateuch have shown much ability, though he who rendered the words of God to Cain (Gen. iv. 7) either intentionally concealed their meaning, or was a mere child in Hebrew. The translators of the historical books were very able, as also those of the Proverbs and Psalms. The translator of Job was a reader of the Greek poets, and was more

careful to employ classical idioms, than to produce an uniformly exact version. The translator of Ecclesiastes understood Greek better than Hebrew. The translator of Amos was the best of all; of Ezekiel, very learned—they often abridge rather than translate; as in Esther, and in many places of the Prophets."—See Dr. Pye Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. i., pp. 398, 399.

† Hug has a good account of this MS. in Introduction, N. T. vol. i., p. 267, seq. Dr. Wait's translation.

‡ Ibid., p. 262, et seq.

His version, which is now lost, is reported to have been very obscure. Of course another was called for, and that of Theodotion made its appearance about the year 184. This translator, who had been a disciple of Tatian, then a Marcionite, and lastly a Jew, retained as much of the Septuagint Version as suited his purpose, but altered, added to, or retrenched, to make it conform to such Hebrew MSS. as the Jews put into his hands. The Jews, as might be expected, were well pleased with this Version; and the Christians were not offended, because it so much resembled the Septuagint.

IV. Towards the end of the same century, or early in the next, appeared another Greek translation, less literal, and much more elegant than either of the former ones. It was the work of Symmachus; who, according to Eusebius, was first a Jew, then a Christian, and lastly an Ebionite. In this last communion, and for the use of its members, he composed his work, which he afterwards seems to have remodelled, in a second edition. The Version of Symmachus is often and deservedly praised by Eusebius and Jerome; and the latter is thought to have made it, in a great measure, the pattern of his Latin translation.

V. Besides these Greek Versions of the Old Testament, there are three others mentioned by the early Christian writers, called the *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh*; because their respective authors or editors are unknown. They seem to have comprehended only or chiefly the poetical books of Scripture. Whether they were made by Jews or Christians, it is difficult to say. Dr. Geddes thinks that the *sixth*, which bears strong marks of Christian extraction, was only an interpolated edition of the Septuagint.

VI. All these Versions were collected by the indefatigable Origen, and placed, together with the Septuagint and original Hebrew text, in his famous Polypla: and this, perhaps, is the last entire copy of them that ever was made; for the Talmudists having gradually excluded all Greek Versions from the synagogues, and the Christians universally adhering to the old translation, the rest were either totally neglected, or only such parts of them copied into the margins of Bibles and commentaries, as were deemed the most worthy of attention.*

1. Thus it was, that the Septuagint Version triumphed, at length, over all its rivals, and remained, for several ages after, the sole Scripture standard in all the Christian churches.

2. We are not to imagine, however, that it was exactly the same in every church, or that any church possessed a copy of it that was perfectly correct; much less, that any such copy now exists. It had contracted many blemishes in the days of Origen; and it was principally with a view to remove them, that he designed and executed the most celebrated of his works. No man, says Geddes, could be better qualified for such an undertaking; to a strong constitution, a clear head, and a most prodigious memory, he had joined an immense and universal erudition, by the most assiduous and incessant application that, perhaps, ever was made. His insatiable thirst for learning made him pry into every corner for rare and curious books; and the liberality of his rich friends put it in his power to purchase them.

3. With all these advantages he began, about the year 231, to compile his *Tetrapla*; which contained, in so many separate columns, and in the following order, the four Greek Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodotion.

4. But the very considerable differences, which Origen could not but observe, between the Septuagint and the three other Versions, so recently made from the originals, and so nearly agreeing with one another, induced him to suspect that it was much more erroneous than he had formerly thought it to be; and suggested the idea of a work which should, both by its magnitude and importance, totally eclipse the former one. This produced, in succession, the *Hexapla*, *Octapla*, and *Enneapla*; so denominated from the number of columns, which each contained. In the *Enneapla*, which had nine columns, the last three contained the three anonymous Greek Versions before mentioned; the four immediately preceding them were the same with those of the *Tetrapla*; and in the first two stood the original Hebrew letters, with the pronunciation by its side in Greek characters.

5. Here it would have been well had the biblical labours of this indefatigable critic terminated; but his judgment was not commensurate with his learning. He now determined upon a revision of the Septuagint Version, for the purpose of making it more conformable to the Hebrew text. The materials which he employed in this undertaking are now utterly unknown, nor is it possible to say in how many respects his revised text differs from the older copies, which have long since been destroyed. But for this evil, to its full extent, Origen himself must not bear the blame. The text itself he left untouched; and only pointed out, by certain marks, the differences between that and the Hebrew text with which he had collated it. His admirers and followers, however, did not show the same respect to the

* Of such fragments Montfaucon composed his *Hexapla*, in 2 vols., folio.

old text, but *altered* it, according to his suggestions, in the copies which they made; and the loss of the autograph renders it impossible to ascertain the extent to which this was carried. From this revised text all our present copies of the Septuagint are derived.

VII. As a source of interpretation for the New Testament, the Septuagint Version is invaluable. Desirous of possessing in Greek a faithful representation of the Hebrew Scriptures, and being themselves Jews, the translators retained Hebrew *forms* and *modes* of expression, while the *words* which they were writing were Greek. The language, therefore, of the Septuagint is a kind of *Hebrew-Greek*, which a native of Athens might sometimes have found difficult to understand. But, as this Version became the Bible of all the Jews, who were dispersed throughout the countries where Greek was spoken, it became the standard of their Greek language. Paul himself, who was born in Tarsus, and was accustomed from his childhood to hear the Septuagint read in the synagogue of that city, adopted the Hebrew idioms of the Greek Version. And when he was removed to Jerusalem, and placed under the guidance of Gamaliel, the Hebrew tincture of his Greek could have suffered no diminution. The other apostles were all natives of Palestine; as was the Evangelist Mark, and probably, also, the Evangelist Luke. Their language, therefore, was Syriac, or Aramean, of which the turns of expression had a close correspondence with those of the *ancient* Hebrew. Consequently, when they wrote in *Greek*, their language could not fail to resemble the language which had been used by the Greek translators; and as every Jew, who read Greek *at all* (which they who *wrote* in it must have done), would read the Greek Bible, the style of the Septuagint again operated in forming the style of the Greek Testament. Both the Hebrew Bible, therefore, and the Greek Testament, are so closely connected with the Septuagint, as well in their language as in their matter, that the Septuagint is a source of interpretation, alike important to the one and to the other.*

* Dr. Adam Clarke says, "About the year 1785, I began to read regularly the Septuagint, in order to acquaint myself more fully with the phraseology of the New Testament; as I found that this truly venerable Version was that to which the evangelists and apostles appear to have had constant recourse, and from which in general they make their quotations. The study of this Version served more to illuminate and expand my mind, than all the theological works I had ever consulted. I had proceeded but a short way in it before I was convinced, that the prejudices against it were utterly unfounded; and that it was of incalculable advantage toward a proper understanding of the literal sense of Scripture."—Gen. Preface to Comment., p. xiv.

2. It will not be expected that we should give an account of the various editions of the Septuagint that have been published at different times; but it would be unpardonable to omit noticing the valuable and splendid edition that issued from the Clarendon press, at Oxford. This edition, which was commenced by the late Dr. Holmes, and since completed by Mr. Parsons, contains the various readings of all the MSS. and editions that could be procured throughout Europe, and those, also, which are preserved in the quotations made by the early Christian writers. It is every way worthy to accompany the Hebrew labours of Kennicott and De Rossi; and only wants some future Griesbach to estimate the comparative claims of those readings to genuineness: an arduous task, on account of the intermixture of the other Versions with that of the Seventy.†

VIII. But relative to the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint Version, there is a circumstance of a highly interesting nature, affecting their critical character and value, which remains to be noticed.

1. It is well known, that although, considered in a general point of view, the Pentateuch in the Septuagint is a good Version of the original, it nevertheless departs in very many cases from the exactness of the Hebrew text. In regard to these departures, there is one circumstance of a very interesting nature; which is, that in more than a thousand cases of them, the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch are harmonious, both differing from the Hebrew, and agreeing in their differences. In most of these cases, the discrepancies with the original Hebrew are peculiar to the Samaritan and Septuagint codices, the ancient Versions being only now and then accordant with them. The departures from the Hebrew, in the Septuagint and Samaritan, are thus classified by Gesenius, in the work to which we have already referred.

(1) Those which are mere glosses, or conjectural emendations of difficult passages. For example, Gen. ii. 2, 24; xiv. 19.

(2) Very minute changes, not affecting the sense, and depending on the omission, trans-

† A translation of the first chapter of Dr. Holmes's learned preface to his edition of the LXX. may be seen in the twentieth volume of the Christian Observer, to which the reader is referred for a more ample account of the editions of this Version of the Old Testament. The twenty-first volume contains a summary of the second and third chapters of the preface, which give an account of the principal MSS. used for Dr. Holmes's edition. Students will find Valpy's edition of the Septuagint a very acceptable one. It is comprised in a single volume, and is carefully printed from the Oxford edition of Bos and Holmes.

position, or permutation of letters, &c. For example, *aw* prefix is added to the text, in the Samaritan, about two hundred times where it is not found in the Hebrew copy, and removed about one hundred times where it is found in the Hebrew; in nearly all of which cases, it is closely followed by the Septuagint. On the other hand,

(3) The Septuagint agrees with the Hebrew, in cases like No. 2, in almost a thousand instances, where the Samaritan differs from both. For example, Gen. xvii. 17, xxi. 2, 4, xxiv. 55, xli. 32, &c.

(4) Both the Samaritan and the Septuagint sometimes depart from the Hebrew, in labouring to remove difficulties; but they pursue different courses in order to accomplish this. For example, Gen. xxvii. 40; Exod. xxiv. 10, 11; and the genealogies in Genesis, chaps. v. and xi.

(5) The Septuagint accords with the Hebrew, and differs from the Samaritan, in all those daring interpolations mentioned under the eighth class of various readings, in the former part of this section.

(6) The Septuagint differs from the Hebrew and Samaritan both, in a few cases of minor importance, depending on permutation of letters, &c., or the introduction of parallel passages.

2. Castell has displayed all these discrepancies in the sixth volume of Walton's Polyglott, p. 19, seq. In regard to most of the cases, in which the Septuagint and Samaritan agree, when they differ from the Hebrew, it is perfectly plain that this could not have been the result of any concerted regular plan of alteration, such as we see in the Samaritan and Septuagint in respect to the chronologies in Genesis, chaps. v. and xi. Most of the discrepancies in question are entirely of an immaterial nature, not at all affecting the sentiment of the sacred text.

3. Such are the *facts*. But a more difficult question remains. How are these facts to be accounted for? A question that leads to some considerations demanding a good degree of acquaintance with the business of criticism. Three ways have been proposed, to account for such a surprising accordance of the Septuagint and Samaritan, in so great a number of cases, against the Hebrew.

(1) *The Seventy translated from a Samaritan codex.* So Lud. de Dieu, Selden, Hottinger, Hassencamp, Eichhorn, and others. But this is altogether improbable. The mortal hatred which existed between the Jews and Samaritans in Palestine, at the time when the Version of the Seventy was made, extended in the same manner to the Jews and Samaritans in Egypt. Josephus tells us that in the time of the Ptolemies (therefore at

or near the time when the Septuagint Version was made), the Jews and Samaritans disputed violently before the Egyptian king; and that the Samaritans, who were worsted in the dispute, were condemned to death.* But Hassencamp and others labour to show, that many of the departures in the Septuagint from the Hebrew text can more easily be accounted for by the supposition that they used a MS. written in the Samaritan character; inasmuch as the similar letters in this character might easily lead them into the mistakes which they have made in their Versions, while the Hebrew square character, which has different similar letters, would not mislead them. It is unnecessary now to relate what former critics have replied, in answer to these and all such arguments, depending on the forms of Hebrew letters. Since Hassencamp and Eichhorn defended the above position, and since Gesenius replied to them, Kopp has published his "*Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*," which contains an essay on Themitish palæography, that bids fair, it is thought, to end all disputes about the ancient forms of Hebrew letters. Instead of tracing back the square letter to Ezra, and to Chaldea, as nearly all the writers before him, not excepting Gesenius himself, had done, he has shown, by matter of fact—by appeal to actually existing monuments, that the square character had no existence until many years, probably two or three centuries, after the Christian era commenced; and that it was, like the altered forms in most other alphabets, a gradual work of time, of calligraphy, or tachygraphy. He has exhibited the gradual formation of it, from the earliest monuments found on the bricks of Babylon, down through the Phœnician, the old Hebrew and Samaritan inscriptions stamped on the Maccabæan coins, and the older and more recent Palmyrene or Syriac characters, to the modern Hebrew. The reasoning employed by him, and the facts exhibited, are so convincing, that Gesenius himself, in the last edition of his Hebrew Grammar, has yielded the point, and concedes that the square character of the Hebrew is descended from the Palmyrene, that is, such characters as are found in the inscriptions upon some of the ruins at Palmyra. All argument, from this source, then, is fairly put out of the question, by the masterly performance of Kopp. As the Septuagint is well known, and universally acknowledged, to be a Version made by the Jews for their own use at Alexandria, there cannot be even a remote probability that this Version was made from a copy in the hands of the Samaritans, whom they abhorred as the perverters of the Jewish religion.

* Antiquities, b. 13, chap. vi.

(2) *The Septuagint has been interpolated from the Samaritan codex, or the Samaritan from the Septuagint.* Not the first; for the Jews certainly never loved the Samaritans sufficiently well, to alter their Greek Scriptures from the Samaritan codex, so as to make them, at the same time, discrepant from their Hebrew codex. Not the second; for the Samaritans would have been as averse to amending their own codex from a Jewish-Greek translation, as the Jews would have been to translate from the Samaritan codex. Besides, the greatest part of the discrepancies between the Samaritan and the Hebrew are of such a nature as never could have proceeded from any design; inasmuch as they make no change at all in the sense of the passages where they are found. Although, then, critics of no less name than Grotius, Usher, and Ravius, have patronised this opinion, it is too improbable to meet with approbation.

(3) Another supposition, in order to account for the agreement of the Septuagint and Samaritan, and their departures from the Hebrew text, has been made by Gesenius. This is, *that both the Samaritan and Septuagint flowed from a common recension of the Hebrew Scriptures; one older, of course, than either, and differing in many places from the recension of the Masoretes, now in common use.* This is certainly a very ingenious supposition; and one which we cannot well avoid admitting as quite probable. It will account for the differences and for the agreements of the Septuagint and Samaritan. On the supposition that two different recensions had long been in circulation among the Jews, the one of which was substantially what the Samaritan now is, with the exception of a few more recent and designed alterations of the text, and the other substantially what our Masoretic codex now is; then the Seventy, using the former, would of course accord, in a multitude of cases, with the peculiar readings of it, as they have now done. If we suppose now, that the ancient copy from which the present Samaritan is descended, and that from which the Septuagint was translated, were of the same genus, so to speak, or of the same class, and yet were of different species under that genus, and had early been divided off, and subjected to alterations in transcribing, then we may have a plausible reason, why the Septuagint, agreeing with the Samaritan in so many places, should differ from it in so many others. Add to this, that the Samaritan and Septuagint, each, in the course of being transcribed for several centuries, would receive more or less changes, that might increase the discrepancies between them. This seems to be the only probable way in which the actual state of

the Samaritan and the Septuagint texts, compared with each other and with the Hebrew, can be critically accounted for.

IX. But here we are treading on sacred ground. If these suggestions are well founded, then must it follow that, in the time of Ezra, and previously to his time, there existed recensions of the Jewish Scriptures which differed, in some respects, very considerably from each other. From this conclusion many will spontaneously revolt. All who have not made sacred criticism a study, or who, at least, have not been fully apprised of the character of various readings, and the sources in which they have originated, will be agitated with some unnecessary and ill-grounded fears.* But be this as it may, the position can be rendered highly probable, and is no more dangerous than many other positions which all enlightened critics of the present day admit.

1. It is probable; because, as it has been already shown, the actual state of the Samaritan and Septuagint codices renders it necessary to admit the position. Moreover, the Jews have from the most ancient times uniformly held a tradition, that Ezra with his associates, whom they style the great Synagogue, restored the law and the prophets, that is, renewed and corrected the copies of them, which had become erroneous during the captivity. Certainly, there is nothing at all improbable in this tradition. The corrected copies were the originals, probably, of our present Masoretic recension, which has in every age been in the keeping and under the inspection of the most learned Jews. The Samaritan copy, and that from which the Septuagint was translated, most probably belonged to the recension in common use among the Jews, and which, having been often copied, and by unskilful hands, had come to differ in very many places from the corrected recensions of Ezra.

2. How far back some of the errors in this common recension may be dated, it is difficult to say; but in all probability more or less of them must be traced even to the very first copies taken from the original autographs. Such we know to have been the case, as is now universally admitted, in respect to the early copies of the New Testament. Is the Old Testament under a more watchful and efficient Providence than the New? Or has it ever been so? Nothing but the belief of a miraculous aid, imparted to every copyist of the Hebrew Scriptures, can, it is presumed, stand in the way of admitting the fact as it is now stated; and with such a belief, after several hundred thousand different readings have been actually

* See the section on this subject.

selected from the MSS. of the Old Testament, it would not be worth while to expostulate.

X. In justice, however, to this subject, and to allay the fears of well-meaning persons, who are not experienced in matters of criticism, and therefore often exposed to be agitated by groundless fears, a few words must be added, with respect to the dangers of the position that has been now discussed.

1. A great part of it is evidently imaginary; for out of some eight hundred thousand various readings, about seven hundred and ninety-nine thousand are of just as much importance to the sense of the Hebrew Scriptures, as the question in English orthography is, whether the word *honour* shall be spelt with *u*, or without it. Of the remainder, some change the sense of particular passages or expressions, or omit particular words or phrases, or insert them; but not one doctrine of religion is changed, not one precept is taken away, not one important fact is altered, by the whole of the various readings collectively taken. This is clearly the case in respect to the various readings which are found in the Samaritan and Septuagint, if we except the very few cases of alteration in them which plainly are the result of design, and which belong to more modern times. There is no ground, then, to fear for the safety of the Scriptures, on account of any legitimate criticism to which the text may be subjected.

2. Jerome long ago had shrewdness enough to say, that "the Scripture was not the shell, but the nut;" by which he meant, that the *sentiment* of the Bible is the word of God, while the costume, that is, the words in which this sentiment is conveyed, were of minor importance. So the apostles and so the Saviour thought, for they have, in a multitude of cases (indeed, in almost all the appeals recorded in the New Testament), appealed to the authority of the Old Testament, by quoting the Septuagint Version of it; a Version incomparably more incorrect, and differing from the original Hebrew in incomparably more places, than the very worst Version made in any modern times. But *de minimis non curat lex*; a truly noble maxim, yet one which superstition or ignorance knows not well how either to use or to estimate.

3. There is, then, no more danger in supposing that very early there were different recensions of the Hebrew Scriptures, than in supposing that there are different ones of the Scriptures of the New Testament, which all now admit; for it is not a matter of opinion and judgment, but of *fact*. The Bible, spreading through the whole earth, and becoming the rule of life and salvation to all nations, is at least as important now, as it was

when only one small nation admitted its claims. It is surely no more objection, then, against the watchful care of Providence over the church and the records of its holy religion, to admit that divers recensions of the Scriptures existed at an early age, than to admit that they now exist.

4. The fact, that various readings are found, not only in different classes of MSS., which have come down to us through different channels, but in cases where the same original documents are inserted in different places of the same class of MSS., is proved beyond contradiction: the first, by the actual comparison of MSS.; the second, by a comparison of different parts of Scripture. Such a comparison may be extended very much further; indeed, to a great portion of the books of Chronicles, by reading them in connexion with the parallel places in the books of Kings, and other parts of the Old Testament. Jahn's Hebrew Bible is not only the best, but the only, work which will enable any one to do this without trouble, as he has disposed of the whole books of the Chronicles in the way of harmony with other parts of Scripture. One thorough perusal and study of this will effectually set the matter at rest with any sober man.

5. Truth needs no concealment; and, at the present day, admits none. The Bible has nothing to fear from examination: it has ever been illustrated and confirmed by it; and so it will, doubtless, be still more so. But all "pious frauds," all "expurgatory indices," all suppression of facts and truths of any kind, only prove injurious at last to the cause which they are designed to aid. This is a sufficient reason for abjuring them for ever; not to insist on the disingenuousness which is implied in every artifice of this nature.*

SECTION IV.

THE GREEK TESTAMENT.

Causes of Error in the Text of the Greek Testament—Early Editions of the Text—Critical labours of Erasmus, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, and others—Modern Critical Editions of the Greek Testament.

I. We have now to sketch the literary history of the Text of the Greek Testament, as we have done that of the Hebrew Bible.

* This section has been compiled from Hodgk., *Dias. Cont. Aristem*, 1684, et de *Bibl. Text*, 1705; Prideaux's *Connexion*, sub anno 409 and 277; Owen's *Inquiry*, sect. 2, 11, 13; Du Pin, *Biblioth. Pat. Prel. Dissert.*, sect. 3; Geddes's *Prospectus*, pp. 23—40; Enfield's *Hist. Philosoph.*, vol. i., p. 298, ii., p. 152; Butler's *Horæ Biblicæ*, pp. 14—19; North American Review, vol. xxii., pp. 274—317, N. S.; Bishop Marsh's *Lectures*, Lect. ii.; and Townley's *Illustrations of Bib. Literature*, vol. i., pp. 59—64.

1. The same causes that gave rise to various readings in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament operated to produce them in the Greek text of the New. From the periods of the original publication of these books down to the invention of printing—a period of fourteen hundred years—the only method by which they could be multiplied, and thus rendered available for the purposes of general instruction, was that of transcription or writing; and as this process is so much more precarious than our present method of producing copies of literary works, it is evident that without a continued miracle, which we have no reason to expect, many deviations from the autographs of the sacred authors must have occurred. Letters would occasionally be exchanged, omitted, or improperly inserted; syllables and words be mis-spelt or transposed; and sentences be occasionally left out or repeated. Happily for us, however, the great multiplication and extensive circulation of copies furnish the materials for correction, and thus the causes of the errors become the means of their removal.

II. A summary account of the principal critical editions of the Greek Testament will show the progressive improvement of the text, and prepare the way for a discussion of the causes, the character, and the value of various readings.

1. The first edition of the New Testament appeared in the year 1516, under the editorship of the celebrated Erasmus. The MSS. upon which he formed his text, were only four in number; and the three of which he is found to have made the greatest use, contained only parts of the New Testament, and in other respects were not of very high value. In addition to his MSS., Erasmus consulted the writings of some of the Greek Fathers, and also the Latin Vulgate; and where, in cases of difficulty, these afforded him no assistance, he corrected from conjecture. It is plain, therefore, from the character of the materials of which Erasmus was possessed, that however learned and acute he may have been, his edition of the Greek text cannot possess the very highest degree of excellence. True it is, that in his subsequent editions he made numerous alterations; but, notwithstanding that many of them are real improvements, they do not materially alter the character of his text.

2. The next edition given to the public, was that printed in the Complutensian Polyglott; which, indeed, professes to have been printed two years prior to the appearance of Erasmus' first edition, though the publication was delayed till 1522. An examination of the Complutensian text has shown it to have been formed exclusively on comparatively modern MSS., and it therefore

contributed little or nothing toward restoring the purity of the Greek text.

3. In the year 1546, Robert Stephens, the celebrated printer at Paris, published the first edition of his New Testament, which is proved to be little more than a compilation from the Erasmean and Complutensian texts. In 1550, he published a third edition, which was once supposed to have had its text formed on the authority of Greek MSS., as professed by the editor in his preface; but a careful examination has shown it to be hardly anything more than a reprint of the fifth edition of Erasmus.

4. Beza's edition followed next in order (1565); but although he possessed some valuable materials for correcting the errors which had crept into the common text, he only amended that of Stephens in about fifty places, and this not always for the better.

5. The first of the Elzevir editions, in which was established the text now in common use, and known as the *Textus Receptus*, was published in 1624. It was taken from Beza's edition, except in about fifty places, where the readings were borrowed partly from the margin of Stephens' edition, and partly from other editions. "The *Textus Receptus*, therefore," it seems, "was copied with a few exceptions from the text of Beza. Beza himself closely followed Stephens, and Stephens (in his third edition) copied solely from Erasmus, except in the Revelation, where he followed sometimes Erasmus, and sometimes the Complutensian editors. The text, therefore, in common use, resolves itself at last into the Complutensian and the Erasmean editions. But neither Erasmus nor the Complutensian editors printed from ancient Greek MSS.; and the remainder of their critical apparatus included little more than the latest of the Greek Fathers, and the Latin Vulgate." It is obvious, therefore, that but little had yet been effected towards giving consistency and permanency to the Greek text. For the attainment of so desirable an object, however, there were not wanting able and laborious critics. Walton, Usher, Curcellæus, and Fell, respectively contributed towards it by the collation of MSS. and the comparison of ancient Versions.

6. Between the years 1653-7, the London Polyglott made its appearance: and in 1707, Dr. Mill published his critical edition of the Greek Testament, upon which he had expended the labour of thirteen years. The text adopted by Mill was that of Stephens' third edition, but it was accompanied by no fewer than thirty thousand various readings, collected not only from Greek MSS., and previously printed editions, as

well as the oriental and other ancient Versions, but also from the quotations made by the early Fathers in their respective works. The prolegomena give a full and distinct account of the sources from which they were drawn.*

7. It is to be remarked, however, that from the time at which Beza published his edition of the New Testament, no alterations had been made in the text. The several critics, to whose labours we have adverted, contributed largely to augment the materials for its improvement; but they left the application of these, in the emendation of the text, to those who should succeed them in this department of criticism.

8. The earliest edition of the Greek Testament, in which the critical apparatus of Mill was applied to the revision of the text, was the one undertaken by Dr. Edward Wells, and published between the years 1713 and 1718. In 1734, Bengel, a learned professor in Germany, furnished a still more valuable edition for critical purposes, in which he added to the materials collected by Mill, extracts from upwards of twenty Greek MSS., from several of the ancient Latin Versions, and also from the Armenian translation. These, however, he did not venture to apply to the revision of the text, except in the Apocalypse; in the other books, they were printed under the text, and classed according to their respective values.

9. We have now arrived at the period when the elaborate and splendid edition of Wetstein made its appearance, superseding all that had gone before. The text adopted by Wetstein was that of Elzevir, or the one in common use, but it was accompanied by nearly a million of quotations, in the margin, collected from various sources. But "though Wetstein very considerably augmented the stock of critical materials; though he drew from various sources, which had hitherto remained unopened; though he collected, not by other hands, but by his own; and though few men have possessed a greater share either of learning or of sagacity, yet no alteration was made in the Greek text. He *proposed*, indeed, alterations, which he inserted in the space between the text and the body of various readings, with reference to the words which he thought should be exchanged for them; and where a reading should,

in his opinion, be omitted without the substitution of another, he prefixed to it a mark of *minus* in the text. But these proposed alterations and omissions are, in general, supported by powerful authority, and are such as will commonly recommend themselves to an impartial critic. Though, among the various readings, he has occasionally noted the conjectures of others, he has never ventured a conjecture of his own; nor has he made conjecture, in any one instance, the basis of a proposed alteration."† Wetstein's edition may therefore be regarded as not only the most elaborate, but also as the most valuable, critical edition of the Greek Testament extant. It is in two folio volumes, and was published in the years 1751 and 1752.

10. Eleven years after this, Mr. Bowyer published an edition of the Greek text, in which he adopted such of the various readings collected by Wetstein as that eminent critic has suggested to be preferable to the textual readings: it is therefore valuable as a critical edition, but requires to be used with caution and judgment.

11. The last edition of the Greek Testament, which the plan of this work requires us to notice, is that of Griesbach, the first impression of which appeared in the years 1775 and 1777; but was afterwards materially improved, and republished in 1796-1806. In this laborious work, Griesbach employed all the materials that had been collected by his predecessors, as well as many more procured from Greek manuscripts by his own industry. The various readings of Bengel, Mill, and Wetstein were subjected to a scrupulous examination, as were those collected by Matthæi, Alter, and Birch; the Latin Versions published by Blanchini and Sabatier, and the Sahidic, the Armenian, and the Slavonian Versions, as well as the fragments of the two very ancient Greek MSS. preserved at Walfenbittel, were carefully collated (though some of them not expressly for this work) and then the whole of the materials, thus accumulated, were applied to the revision of the text.‡ The design of Griesbach was to collect in a small compass the critical apparatus which lay dispersed

† Bishop Marsh's Lectures, p. 152.

‡ Of the MSS. used by Griesbach, he has given a complete catalogue in his Prolegomena, with an account of the age and character of each, its state of preservation, and the portions of the New Testament it contains. In the second volume is contained a complete and accurate collection of the quotations from the New Testament that are found in the writings of Origen and Clement of Alexandria. The quotations, in the works of these Fathers, it has been truly observed, are so numerous, that, had all the other documents been lost, nearly the whole of the New Testament might have been restored from the writings of Origen alone. To Griesbach's system of revisions we shall have to advert in the next section.

* Dr. S. T. Bloomfield has recently published a very valuable edition of the Greek Testament, with English notes, critical, philological, and exegetical, in 2 vols. 8vo. It is beautifully printed; the text (which is formed on the basis of the last edition by R. Stephens, adopted by Mill, without deviation, "except on the most preponderating evidence") occupying the upper part of the page; and the notes, in two columns, the lower.

in various works, and to prepare an edition of the Greek Testament, which should contain a text freed from considerable errors, accompanied by such helps as might facilitate interpretation; to exhibit the more important various readings, and the authorities on which they are supported, together with the judgment of the editor respecting them.

"That Griesbach has fulfilled the duties which he owed to the public," says Bishop Marsh, "that his diligence was unremitted, that his caution was extreme, that his erudition was profound, and that his judgment was directed by a sole regard to the evidence before him, will, *in general*, be allowed by those who have studied his edition, and are able to appreciate its merits. That his decisions are always correct; that, *in all cases*, the evidence is so nicely weighed, as to produce unerring results; that weariness of mind, under painful investigation, has, *in no instance*, occasioned an important oversight; that prejudice or partiality has *no where* influenced his general regard for critical justice; would be affirmations which can hardly apply to *any* editor, however good or great. But, *if* at any time he has erred, he has, at the same time, enabled those who are competent judges to decide for themselves, by stating the contending evidence with clearness and precision. Emendations, founded on conjecture, however ingenious, he has introduced not in a single instance: They are *all* founded on quoted authority. Our attention is even solicited and directed to that authority, the *adopted* readings being always printed in *smaller* characters than the rest of the text, and with reference to the *rejected* readings, which are printed in the inner margin in the *same* letters with the text, while both of them refer to the respective evidence which is produced below. If readings are added, where none existed before, or are withdrawn without substitution, the changes are marked with equal clearness, and are equally supported by critical authority. When the evidence is not sufficiently decisive to warrant an alteration in the text, the readings worthy of notice are placed in the inner margin, with different marks expressive of their different claims." Such is the character of this important work, which, with the prolegomena belonging to it, forms a treasure of biblical learning, of incalculable value.*

12. There have been several editions of the Greek Testament, in which the most important of

Griesbach's adopted readings have been inserted; in some of them there are additional corrections. The following are deserving of special notice.

(1) Dr. Knapp's edition, which has been reprinted in London, in 1 vol. 8vo.

(2) Professor Schott's edition, also in 1 vol. 8vo. (Lipsiæ, 3rd edit., 1825), in which the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin version. This, as far as we have examined it, is strongly tinged by the prevalent and heterodox theology of Germany.

(3) Professor White's edition (2 vols. 8vo., Oxford, 1808) consists of the *Textus Receptus*, or common text, but exhibits very distinctly those readings which Griesbach would remove from the text; those which he considers of equal or superior value to the received text; and those insertions into the text which he conceives the authority of MSS. to justify.

(4) Aitton's edition of Griesbach's text was issued from the Glasgow University press, in 1821, in 1 vol. 32mo.; and the publisher of this work has subsequently sent forth an equally correct and beautiful reprint of it in the same form.

(5) The Greek Testament published by Mr. Bagster, and forming part of his beautiful, accurate, and cheap Polyglott Bible, in a single folio volume, is printed from the text of Mill, but exhibits in twenty-two pages, at the beginning, the various readings of Griesbach which are referred to in the text by appropriate marks. The low price and portable form of this edition, give it strong claims to preference. But the enterprising publisher has also issued the following:

(6) The Greek Testament (in fcp. 16mo., about the length of one's finger), in which the received text is adopted, but having in a centre column of the page, the whole of the *various readings* of Griesbach, as contained in his edition 1805, in which, besides his amended text, he has given the more important of those readings that differ equally from his own and the received text. In addition to these, are inserted the *themes of difficult words*, after the plan of Hoole, but differing from his Testament in this material respect, that whereas his work was exclusively adapted to the Lexicon of Pasor, in which the Greek words are all arranged under their primitives or roots, the present edition is adapted to the generality of Lexicons, in which the words are arranged alphabetically. The more important *elliptical words* from Bos, Schættgen, Leisner, and others, are added: and to render the work still more useful, a great variety of *texts* are inserted, to illustrate *Greek words* and *phrases*. There are also two very beautifully executed maps; one of *Judea*, the other illustrative of the travels of the apostles. This is a critical edition of the Greek Testament of an unique description, and lays the student under deep obligations to its projector. It has been followed by the two following works, in the same form and size, which we cannot pass by, though they do not properly belong to the topic treated of in this section. Their utility to the student will plead our apology.

A *Concordance* to the Greek Testament, containing

* In purchasing Griesbach's work, care should be taken to procure the second edition, that is, the one printed at Halle, in 1796 and 1806; or else the London edition of 1818. It is in 2 8vo. vols. A new edition of Griesbach's text is now in course of publication, in Germany, with many important additions, by Dr. Schulz. The first volume was published in 1827.

all the principal words in the Greek Testament, in the manner and on the basis of the celebrated work of Schmidt, which affords the same facilities of reference to the Greek text, as Cruden's renowned work does to the English.

A *Lexicon* to the Greek Testament, in Greek and English, comprehending every word in the New Testament, as well as those in the various readings of Griesbach; the various diffuse definitions of larger works being abridged with care, and rendered clear, simple, and precise.

We need only add, that the entire cost of these three works does not exceed *seventeen shillings*; that their size will permit a person to carry them in his pocket, although the type is not small; and that the philological attainments and well known industry of the lamented editor have rendered them more correct, perhaps, than any similar works extant.

SECTION V.

VARIOUS READINGS.

Accidents to which Literary Works are liable: the Scriptures not secured against these — Various Readings: their sources, number, and value — Prescribed Rules for correcting the Text where faulty: the Process adopted by Griesbach — Recensions of the Greek Text — Concluding Remarks on Various Readings.

I. Having taken a review of the principal critical editions of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and of the progress that has been made towards the attainment of a pure or genuine text, it only remains to give some account of the sources of those various readings about which so much has been said, and to suggest some considerations for determining their real value.

II. In order to form an adequate conception of the nature of various readings, it will be necessary to take a glance at the accidents to which literary works are liable in the progress of transcription, and in their passage down the stream of time. In this respect the sacred writings stand in precisely the same circumstances as other ancient works. An original document was committed to the keeping of the church, by an inspired prophet or apostle, who designed it, in conformity with the divine purpose, for general and constant use. In order to carry this purpose into effect, copies of the document had to be multiplied by transcription, in precisely the same manner as the literati of Greece and Rome multiplied copies of their classic authors. Now, it must be obvious that in such a process, the sacred text would be liable to be affected by the usual inconveniences of copying, unless a continued miracle were wrought to ensure its integrity. It would be a mere waste of time to argue that no real advantage could have been derived from such an interposition of the divine power; because, as must be obvious to all persons, it would lie beyond the ability of man to demonstrate the fact of such

an interposition, on the mere ground of an uniformity of reading in the various MSS. extant. Such an uniformity *might* have been the result of other and objectionable causes, and therefore could have furnished no proof of a divine superintendence. But, in fact, we need no such supervision; the materials we possess are adequate to procure a sufficiently authentic text, while we are relieved from the necessity of repelling the charge of a concerted agreement among its several depositaries, for the purpose of giving a perfect unity of reading. True it is, that the great multiplication of these writings has induced a proportionate variety of readings, or variations in existing copies; but this, instead of being the cause of permanent inaccuracy, affords, above all things, the means of correcting errors where they have really crept in.

1. The first step in the inquiry, then, and that upon which the propriety of every attempt to correct the text of an ancient work must depend, is to ascertain the probable causes of those various readings which the existing copies present. This lies at the foundation of every thing; because it is obvious, that if two MSS. present a various reading of the same passage, the true one can only be ascertained and fixed with certainty, by a previous acquaintance with the sources whence errors in the copies of literary works may spring. This knowledge is one of the main ingredients in the science of critical conjecture, which is of so great importance in the matter of which we are treating.

2. The following may be considered as the chief sources of error in works of this description.

1. Imperfections in the original MSS.
2. The accidental mistakes of transcribers.
3. The assumption of marginal glosses into the text.
4. Designed alterations of a literary kind.
5. Wilful corruptions made for party purposes.

Upon each of these sources of error a word or two may be offered.

1. It is evident that an original MS. might contain such imperfections as would induce a diversity of reading in two or more copies taken from it; which imperfections might have been caused either by the ordinary ravages of time, or by the particular accidents to which it had been exposed. Thus, if a word or letter had been rendered illegible, and there were no other MS. at hand which made up the deficiency, a transcriber would probably supply the deficiency by conjecture: and, since it is probable that more than one letter or word would suit the connexion of the passage, two transcribers might vary in their insertions. This would, of course, give birth to a variety of reading, in all the copies subsequently made from these.

2. The accidental departures of transcribers

from their exemplars, independent of the imperfections just noticed, would occasion a large number of various readings.

The mistakes originating these variations might be of several kinds.

(1) If the copier wrote after a person who read the original to him,

a) He might mistake one word for another similar in sound; or the reader might mispronounce a word, and mislead him.

Thus, $\lambda\iota$ *la* is put for $\iota\iota$ *lu* fifteen times, and $\iota\iota$ *lu* for $\lambda\iota$ *la* twice, according to the Masora; perhaps oftener. In 1 Cor. xiii. 3, for $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\theta\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, *kauthesomai*, the Alex. reads $\kappa\alpha\upsilon\chi\eta\sigma\omega\mu\alpha\iota$, *kaucho-somai*; and in 1 John iv. 2, instead of $\gamma\iota\omega\sigma\kappa\epsilon\tau\epsilon$, *ginoskete*, "ye know," several MSS. and some Versions read $\gamma\iota\omega\sigma\kappa\iota\tau\alpha\iota$, *ginosketai*, "is known."

b) He might transpose two or more words;

c) He might omit one or more words;

d) He might unite two words together, making them one; or separate one word into two.

In either of these cases, there would be a departure from the original, and a consequent disagreement with other copies, which had been correctly taken.

(2) If the transcriber had the work before him,

a) He might mistake *similar letters*.

Thus, in the Greek MSS. which are written in uncial letters, a person might easily interchange such letters as Θ Θ Θ Θ ; Υ Υ Υ Υ ; Λ Λ Λ Λ .* In the Hebrew MSS. the greater similarity between some of the characters would proportionately augment the chances of error. This may be seen in the case of such letters as the following: החח ; וון ; ךרך ; ננ ; ככ ; טט .

As a specimen of such mistakes, we may notice 2 Kings xx. 12, where ב (*b*) has been written for מ (*m*) in the name of the king of Babylon, as will be seen by comparing it with Isai. xxxix. 1. In the former place it is Berodach; in the latter, Merodach. In Numb. ii. 14, ר (*r*) has been written for ד (*d*) Reuel for Deuel, as may be seen by collating the passage with ch. i. 14; vii. 42; x. 20. Similar permutations of letters are found in many MSS. of the New Testament. And it will here occur to the reader, that the chances of mistake would be multiplied, in proportion to the damage which a MS. had sustained.

b) Or, the writer might mistake a *contraction*, of which there are many in ancient Greek MSS.

The following selections will exhibit the nature of some of these contractions, and show the great chances there were of mistakes in copying the MSS. in which they are found, and which are also written without any divisions between the words:

$\kappa\epsilon$	$\iota\epsilon$	$\chi\epsilon$	$\iota\alpha\epsilon\iota\iota$
$\kappa\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$	$\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\tau\epsilon$	$\chi\rho\iota\varsigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$	$\iota\eta\rho\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$
LORD	JESUS	CHRIST	JERUSALEM

It is thought that we have an instance of this kind of mistake in Rom. xii. 11, where, for $\tau\omega$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omega$, *the Lord*, three MSS. which have been collated, read $\tau\omega$ $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omega$, *the time*, the transcribers probably mistaking the usual contraction of $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omega$ ($\kappa\iota$), for a contraction of $\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omega$, which would have been the same.

c) The transcriber might also make a wrong division of words or letters; or he might improperly unite them.

As we have already said, the text was originally written without any divisions between the letters.† The following specimen will be interesting to those unacquainted with the form of ancient Greek MSS., and also illustrate the subject on which we are speaking. It is taken from the fac-simile of a Codex Rescriptus, sometime since discovered in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, published under the superintendence of Dr. Barrett, who brought this precious fragment to light. The passage is Matt. xxii. 43, 44:

$\Lambda\gamma\epsilon\iota\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\omicron\iota\epsilon\tau\tau\omega\varsigma\omicron\gamma\eta\alpha$
 $\epsilon\eta\tau\iota\eta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omicron\tau\omicron\eta\gamma$
 $\epsilon\iota\tau\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\tau\omega\kappa\omega\iota\iota\tau$
 $\omicron\gamma\epsilon\kappa\alpha\epsilon\zeta\iota\omega\eta\iota\tau$
 $\upsilon\epsilon\alpha\eta\theta\omega\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon\epsilon\chi\theta\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\omicron\gamma\tau\tau\omicron\kappa\alpha\iota\tau\omega\tau\omega\eta\tau\omicron$
 $\omega\eta\epsilon\omicron\tau$

The chances of mistake are here multiplied, as already suggested, by the numerous contractions employed. Thus, for $\omicron$ $\iota\eta\varsigma\omicron\tau\epsilon$,‡ we have only $\omicron\iota\varsigma$, as in the first line, where the — is placed above the letters; and in the second and third lines, where similar marks are seen, we have $\kappa\eta$, $\kappa\varsigma$, and $\kappa\iota$, for $\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\eta$, $\kappa\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma$, and $\kappa\tau\iota\eta$. But putting the contractions out of sight,

* The following passage in Galen, an ancient author, is much to our purpose: "It frequently happens," he remarks, "not only to those who are not disposed to commit an error in writing, but also to some who do it by design, that they make *omicron* ($\omicron$) into *theta* (θ), by a line drawn across the middle of the circular letter. The *iota* (ι), too, may be turned into other letters approaching it in shape; so, if from *gamma* (γ) one line be taken away, or if from *rho* (ρ) a member be removed, the form of *iota* (ι) remains. In like manner with regard

to many letters it has happened, that the characters denoting them have suffered variations, some by apposition, some by composition, some by parts taken away."—De Comp. Med. per. Gen. lib. vii. c. 9.

† Hug has some extended remarks upon this topic; Introd. vol. I. § xlv., &c.

‡ We have here employed the modern Greek character, but this will answer the purpose.

it is evident that a number of letters thus united together would sometimes be susceptible of more than one division and upon that which was made would depend the reading and sense of the copy.

Of various readings arising from this source there are several examples, one or two of which may be here noticed. In Hos. vi. 5, a letter belonging to the beginning of one word has been added to the end of the preceding one—**וּמִשְׁפָּטִים**, “and thy judgments the light *goeth forth* ;” this gives no sense ; but all the ancient Versions, except the Vulgate, read **וּמִשְׁפָּטִי כְאֹר** “and my judgment *shall go forth* as the light.”* Ps. lxxiii. 4 presents a very singular reading: “No bands (*distresses*) into their death”—**לְמוֹתָם** ; this has resulted from uniting two words in one, **לְמוֹתָם** *happen* to them ; perfect and firm is their strength.” In James v. 12, the common text reads, with most MSS., “Lest ye fall (*ὑποκρίνησθε*) into hypocrisy ;” but the Alex. and a few others, with some ancient Versions, read **ὑπο κρίνον**, “under judgment.”†

d) Again, a variation from the original or copy used as an exemplar, might be occasioned by the exchange of synonymous words.

It is known that in copying a work, it is usual with a transcriber to fix a short passage in his memory, and then to commit it to writing ; he does not usually take up a single word at a time. Now, in the process of writing, it is by no means unlikely that a synonymous word would be substituted for one in the text. Those who have been in the habit of copying will immediately perceive the liability to errors of this description. Michaëlis has pointed out an instance of such an interchange of words, in Rev. xvii. 17, where, for τελεσθῇ τα ἔργα, seven MSS., quoted by Wetstein, have τελεσθῆσονται οἱ λόγοι ; and seven others, which he has likewise quoted, τελεσθῶσιν οἱ λόγοι.

e) Other accidental variations would be occasioned by what is called the *homoioteuton*, or the recurrence of a word after a short interval; a source of various readings which merits particular attention.

Let it be supposed that the same word stands in different places in a passage, and that the writer, after having transcribed down to the former of the two words, should, in carrying his eye back to his exemplar, alight upon the latter of them, and conceiving it to be the one down to which he had already written, proceed onward in his work. In such case, it is evident, that so much of the passage as was between the two words in question, would be *omitted* in the derived copy.

That such omissions have frequently occurred, we have all the evidence that the subject admits

of. The most remarkable instance of it occurs in Matt. xxvii. 35, where all the words which in the received text stand between *κληρον* near the beginning of the verse, and the same word at the end of the verse, are omitted in ninety-eight known MSS., the principal Versions, and some of the Fathers; upon the authority of which they are rejected as spurious by Wetstein and Griesbach. Michaëlis, however, defends their integrity upon the principle of an homoioteleuton, judiciously arguing that the interpolation of the omitted words so as exactly to suit the context is very difficult to be conceived, whereas their omission, on the principle just mentioned, would be a very natural accident. It cannot, he remarks, be an interpolation from John xix. 24, where the quotation is differently introduced; and, moreover, the author of the quoted Psalm is in the disputed passage styled *ὁ προφητης*, *the prophet*, the application of which title to the Psalmist is peculiar to Matthew.

In the Hebrew Scriptures there is an instance of such an omission, in Judg. xvi. 13, in the latter part of the verse. A reference to the passage will show that its sense is not complete: "And he [Samson] said unto her [Delilah], If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with the web." This ends the address of Samson; and the following verse begins—"And she fastened it with the pin," &c. Now, it seems very strange, that Samson should direct Delilah to weave the locks of his head, and nothing more; and that she should omit to do this, and adopt an expedient which he had not suggested; namely, fasten his hair with a pin. But such is the representation of the passage. It might be thought highly probable, therefore, that there is an omission in our present text; but we are not left to conjecture, for the Septuagint, no doubt following the old Hebrew text, has the following addition to the words of Samson, as they stand in our copies, and are cited above:—"and shall fasten them with a pin in the wall, I shall become weak like other men: and so it was, that when he slept, Delilah took the seven locks of his head, and wove them with the web." Then follows the fourteenth verse, as in our version. This hiatus was no doubt occasioned by a circumstance similar to the one just noticed in Matthew. The part omitted closes with the same words (עַם הַמַּכְנֵת, *with the web*) as those now closing the thirteenth verse; and the copyist, having written onward to the first member of the sentence where they stand, in again looking at his original, alighted on them at the end of the sentence, and, mistaking them for the words he had just written, naturally passed on to the verse following. The consequence was, that all the words lying between, were left out in his copy.

* Kennicott, Diss. Gen. 1. p. 517.

† Gerard's Institutes, p. 296.

But it will be evident, on a moment's reflection, that this same thing, that is, the recurrence of a word after a short space, might give rise to another description of error; namely, a *repetition* of the words lying between. Thus, if a copyist had written down to the place where the word occurred a *second* time, and in returning to his exemplar should take up the place where it occurred the *first* time, and, conceiving himself to be right, proceed in transcribing, such an error as the one supposed would be the consequence; that is, the words lying between would be repeated.

In 2 Kings vii. 13, this appears to have been the case, for we have there a repetition of seven words, which seem entirely useless, though our venerable translators, with most others, have not thought themselves at liberty to reject them. The English Bible, which indicates strongly that the translator has been sadly puzzled to make any thing intelligible of his text, reads thus: "And one of his servants answered, and said, Let *some* take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city (behold, they *are* as all the multitude of Israel that are left in it; behold, *I say*, they *are* even as all the multitude of the Israelites that are consumed), and let us send and see." If any one can understand this, it is to be wished that the public may have the benefit of his discovery. It is to be remarked, however, that the latter part of the sentence here, inclosed in a parenthesis, is, in the Hebrew, a repetition of the preceding part, and if fairly translated, the whole would read thus: "Behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel which remain in it; behold, they are as all the multitude of Israel which are consumed." An inspection of the original will show how easily this repetition might originate, in the manner we have supposed; but to make it as plain as possible, to such persons as know nothing of the language, we have here given it, with the repetition in hollow letters:

נשארִים אשר נשארִנה הנם ככל־ההמון ישראל
אשר נשארִינה הנם ככל־המון ישראל אשר יִחַמו

The *second* word (אשר) recurs, it will be seen, after *six* other words, and to this succeeds the duplicate part of the passage. It is therefore reasonable to infer, that the transcriber, having completed the first seven words, that is, the sentence down to the recurring word, in again turning to the copy before him, alighted upon the former part of the sentence, and catching the same word with his eye, continued to write, supposing it to be the one at which he had previously stopped. This would produce the repetition of all the words

above printed in hollow letters, and destroy, as we have seen, the sense of the passage. If the conjecture here ventured be well founded, the words below inclosed in brackets are spurious: "And one of his servants answered and said, Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city, behold, they are all as the multitude of Israel that [are left in it; behold, I say, they are even as all the multitude of the Israelites that] are consumed."

It may be well to add, that the disputed words are wanting in the oldest of Kennicott's MSS., and in *forty* others collated by him and De Rossi; neither are they contained in the Greek or Syriac Versions.

f) Another source of error that requires notice under this head, is nearly allied to the one just dismissed; namely, the *immediate repetition of letters*, the latter of which, being mistaken for the former, are left out.

To perceive clearly the probability of errors arising from this cause, the manner in which the ancient MSS. were written must be recalled to mind. This, as we have seen, was in a continuous text, without any space being left between the words,* in which case the chances of mistake were much greater and more numerous than they would be according to the present system of writing. To illustrate this, we may refer to Luke vii. 21, where, for *εχαρισατο το βλεπειν*, several MSS. have *εχαρισατο βλεπειν*, omitting the article (το). Now this omission, as the MSS. were originally written, would easily occur; for the words would read thus:

EXAPISATOTOBAEIIEIN

if the article were inserted; and as follows, if it were omitted:

EXAPIZATOBAEIIEIN.

In some cases of this kind, there is no internal evidence to be had for settling a disputed reading; since it is impossible to decide whether the letters in question have been omitted or repeated, where either way of writing the passage makes out a good sense. In such circumstances critics are governed by the number and character of the testimonies on either side. Again,

g) A person, having written one or more words from a wrong place, and not choosing to erase it, might return to the right one, and thus produce the improper insertion of a word or a clause.

This has probably been the case in Matt xxvi. 60, among other passages, where the first *και ουχ ιυρον*, "but found none," is superfluous and improper, and is wanting in one MS. In 1 Cor. xii. 7, the second *ινα μη υπεραυξηθαι*, "lest

* See the Specimen, p. 30, ante.

should be exalted above measure," is wanting in several MSS., and two ancient Versions; it is also superfluous.*

A) When a transcriber, having discovered that he had made an omission, subjoined what he had omitted, he would obviously produce a transposition in the text.

Thus, Matt. v. 4 is subjoined to ver. 5, in Camb. Vulg. Jerome; and Luke xxiii. 17 is omitted in the Alexandrian and one other, while it is subjoined to ver. 19 in Camb.†

3. The third cause of various readings noticed, was the assumption of marginal glosses into the text. This appears to have been a fruitful source of error, and has been occasioned in various ways. Thus, the possessor of a MS. might write in the margin,

- a) An explanation of a difficult passage;
- b) A word synonymous to one in the text, but more easily understood, or less uncommon; or,
- c) The modern name of a place;
- d) A correction of some real or supposed error in his text;
- e) A parallel passage in some other place.

In all, or in any of these cases, where a copyist supposed the marginal notes to have been parts of the text, accidentally omitted in the copy which contained them, and afterwards supplied in this manner, he would transfer them at once into his copy, in their supposed places, and thus produce a discrepancy between that and other copies taken from the same MS., but in which the marginal glosses were omitted. Michaëlis and other critics have produced several various readings, evidently originating in such mistakes. It is likely, too, that there might be variations in two or more copies taken from a MS. having marginal notes, where all the transcribers had inserted them in the text, but not in precisely the same place.

4. By designed alterations of a literary description, is meant such alterations as consist in a correction of supposed errors in the text; the substitution of a modern for an obsolete name or word; of an elegant for a barbarous phrase; or of a common for a dialectic form of speech. Any or all of these changes might be made; and if so, they would, of course, produce a variation among the copies, in proportion to their extent.

5. The last source of various readings pointed out, was the corruption of the text for party purposes; but upon this it is obviously unnecessary to enlarge, except it be to say, that although there is good reason to believe that it has been attempted, the very nature of the writings upon which the fraud was to be practised, and the wide

extent of their circulation, as well as the watchful jealousy with which the different sects of religionists have at all times viewed each other, rendered it impossible to be effected to any material extent.‡

3. We have been thus particular in pointing out the several sources of various readings in the Scriptures, for the purpose of giving a general idea of their nature, and enabling those persons to whom the subject is new, to see that the total value of such variations, although their number should amount to *two millions*, is, comparatively, very insignificant. All those who suppose that the Scripture depends on a word or a letter, so essentially that it is not Scripture if either be changed or omitted, must, if they will be consistent, abandon the whole Bible, in which many changes of this kind, it is past all question, have actually taken place. The critic wonders not that so many have taken place, but that no more have been experienced, as he well may do, if all the circumstances of the case be taken into account.

4. But to return to the real and comparative value of these readings. To what do they amount? To say nothing of those which are mere *errata*—as the interchange of letters or words, the transposing of words in a sentence, the improper division of letters into words, the mistaking of a contraction, and other things of a like kind, about which there would be no difficulty in determining, even if we possessed not a single tolerably correct MS.—it will be evident to any person who takes the trouble to examine (and those who will not, are not entitled to a hearing), that from the abundance of our materials, in the shape of MSS., quotations in ancient authors, and early Versions, added to the knowledge we possess of the causes of existing errors, that nine hundred and ninety-nine of them out of every thousand may be removed, and the original reading restored, with ease, after the critical apparatus has been formed. For this purpose there are certain laws of what is technically called *conjectura critica*; and where the process is conducted according to these, we may place the most unhesitating reliance on the result.

III. To discuss largely the character of these critical laws, would be out of place in such a

‡ Mr. Isaac Taylor has judiciously remarked, that so many are the means we possess for detecting wilful corruptions, drawn from a comparison of different MSS., or from the incongruity of the interpolated passage, that there is perhaps, altogether, more probability that, from some accidental peculiarity of style, genuine passages of ancient authors should fall under suspicion, than that any actually spurious portions should entirely escape it.—*History of the Transmission of Ancient Books*, page 27.

* Gerard's Institutes, p. 238. † Ibid.

work as the present; but the following remarks will probably be interesting to those wholly unacquainted with the subject.

1. It is to be observed that the value of a contested reading is not estimated merely by the number and antiquity of the MSS. in which it is found: not by the *number* of the MSS. merely, because if a hundred copies have been taken from *one* exemplar, their united authority amounts but to that of the *parent MS.*: not by their *antiquity* merely, because a very ancient MS. may have been derived from the original autograph through a greater number of copies than a more modern one may have been; or it may have been written by a less skilful or conscientious person. There are other circumstances to be taken into account, therefore, in determining the preference to be given to a reading.

2. As it regards the Hebrew Bible, we have not the advantage of comparing a number of MSS. derived from the original autographs, through independent sources, as in the case of the Greek Testament; because we know that all the existing copies, excepting the Codex Malabaricus, about which critics are not fully agreed, have been made from MSS. revised by the Masoretic critics after the sixth century of the Christian era.* But we have, nevertheless, as was seen from the considerations suggested on this topic in a previous section, the fullest assurance of the general accuracy of the Masoretic text.

3. But the case is widely different as it respects the text of the Greek Testament, for conducting the criticism of which there are certain canons of a peculiar character; and, as Bishop Marsh has set this matter in a very clear light, we shall avail ourselves of his remarks.

(1) "In determining the *quantum* of evidence for or against a particular reading, the authorities used to be rather *numbered* than *weighed*; so that, if a reading were contained in *thirty* MSS. out of *fifty*, the scale was supposed to turn in its favour. It is true that, under similar circumstances, more importance was attached to *ancient* than to *modern* MSS.; but the modes of *estimating* that importance were so various, that the same premises not unfrequently led to different conclusions. Nor was due attention paid to that necessary distinction between the antiquity of a *MS.* and the antiquity of its *text*. Wetstein, in his *Animadversiones et Cautiones*,

annexed to his Greek Testament, went a great way toward the reduction of sacred criticism to a regular system; but much still remained to be performed, for which we are indebted to Semler, who laid the foundation; and to Griesbach, who raised the superstructure.

(2) "From a comparison and combination of the readings exhibited by Wetstein, it was discerned that certain *characteristic* readings distinguished certain MSS., Fathers, and Versions; that *other* characteristic readings pointed out a *second* class; *others* again, a *third* class of MSS., Fathers, and Versions. It was further discovered, that this threefold classification had an additional foundation in respect to the *places* where the MSS. were written, the Fathers lived, and the Versions were made. Hence the three classes received the names of *Recensio Alexandrina*, *Recensio Constantinopolitana* or *Byzantina*, and *Recensio Occidentalis*; not that any *formal* revision of the Greek text is known, either from history or from tradition, to have taken place at Alexandria, at Constantinople, or in Western Europe. But whatever *causes*, unknown to us, may have operated, in producing the effect, there is no doubt of its *existence*; there is no doubt that those characteristic readings are really contained in the MSS., Fathers, and Versions; and that the classification, which is founded on them, is founded therefore on truth. Hence arises a *new* criterion of authenticity. A majority of *individual* MSS. can no longer be considered, either as decisive, or even as very important, on this subject. A majority of the *recensions*,† or, as we should say, of printed books, a majority of the *editions*, is alone to be regarded as far as *number* is concerned. The testimony of the individual MSS. is applied to ascertain what *is* the reading of this or that edition; but the question of *fact* being once determined, it ceases to be of consequence what *number* of MSS. may be produced, either of the first, or of the second, or of the third of those editions. For instance, when we have once ascertained that any particular reading belongs both to the Alexandrine and to the Western, but not to the Byzantine edition the authority of that reading will not be weakened, even though it should appear, on counting the MSS., that the number of those which range themselves under the Byzantine edition, is ten times greater than that of the other two united. We must argue in this case, as we argue in the comparison of *printed* editions, where we simply inquire, what are the *readings* of this or that edi-

* There is a MS. in the Bodleian library, numbered Laud. A. 172 and 162, 2 v. folio, on vellum, and in the Span. Heb. character, which is thought to have had its text formed before the Masoretic revision, from which it differs no less than 14,000 times: in a great number of these instances it agrees with the ancient Versions; and in the Pentateuch, with the Samaritan text.

† Instead of *Recensio* or *Revision*, Bengel has adopted the term *familia*, *family*; and Michaelis, *edition*. These different phrases, therefore, mean the same thing.

tion, and never think of asking for the purpose of criticism, how many copies were struck off at the office where it was printed. The relative value of those three editions must likewise be considered. For if any one of them, the Byzantine for instance, to which most of the modern MSS. belong, carries with it less weight than either of the other two, a proportional deduction must be made, whether it be thrown into the scale by itself, or in conjunction with another. Such are the outlines of that system which Griesbach has applied to the criticism of the Greek Testament. The subject is so new, and at the same time so intricate, that it is hardly possible to give more than a general notion of it in a public lecture. It requires long and laborious investigation; but it is an investigation which every biblical scholar will readily undertake, when he considers that it involves the question, What is the genuine text of the New Testament? *

IV. The critical observations of Griesbach, and his enunciation of the rules by which he was governed in his selection and adoption of various readings; will be found highly valuable to the student, as well as gratifying to the more general reader, by pointing out the laborious process and extreme precaution through which the amended text of the Greek Testament, now forming the basis of all critical labours, has been obtained. For the following lucid outline of the third section of his Prolegomena, we are indebted to Professor Turner, in the notes to his translation of Planck's Introduction to Sacred Philology, in the seventh volume of the Biblical Cabinet.

I. In examining various readings, the internal

goodness is to be regarded, as well as the weight and consent of testimony. Internal goodness is determined by the fact, that a particular reading suits the manner, style, scope, and other circumstances of the author; or by this, that it can be shown to be probable that all others have sprung from it. In applying this latter criterion, we must keep in mind the general causes which lead transcribers into error, and also the particular causes which affect transcribers of the New Testament, and especially that arising from the difference of its style from that of classic Greek. From that canon of criticism which prefers the reading which will account for the origin of the others with the greatest facility, the following rules among others, are deduced.

(1) A shorter reading is preferable to a longer and more verbose, unless destitute of ancient and weighty authority. The reason is, that transcribers have always been more disposed to add to the text than to omit what belongs to it, and it is more likely that incidental circumstances should give rise to additions than to omissions. He goes on to show particularly in what cases either is to be preferred. †

(2) The more difficult and obscure reading is superior to one extremely plain. ‡

(3) The harsher reading, that for instance which is elliptical, or which contains a Hebraism or a solecism, is preferable to the smoother. §

(4) The less usual to the more common.

(5) The less emphatic phraseology to the contrary, unless the context and design of the writer require emphasis. ||

(6) That reading is to be preferred which conveys a sense seeming at first incorrect, but upon careful examination proved to be true. ¶

(7) Readings which may be traced to an inclination of transcribers to introduce terminations which they had just written or were about to write, are of

* Lectures, Part I. Lect. 6.

† Those readings which are evidently glosses on the text, although they are afterwards mentioned by Griesbach, very properly come under this rule. Comp. John iii. 6, where, after the words *σάρξ ἐστιν*, one MS., a *prima manu*, and some other authorities, add *ὅτι ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐγεννήθη*; and after *πνεῦμά ἐστιν*, the words *ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐστιν*. In Eph. i. 6, after *ἡγαπημένω*, the Clermont MS., a *prima manu*, and three others written in uncial letters, with several of the Versions and Fathers, read *ὡς αὐτοῦ*. In Col. ii. 11, *τῶν ἀμάρτιων* is wanting in ABCD (the last a *prima manu*), and three other MSS. in uncial characters, besides most of the ancient Versions and Fathers: and it seems to be an addition to the text, introduced in order to explain *τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκός*. So also in 2 Peter i. 10, after *σπουδάζατε*, several MSS. and Versions read *ἵνα διὰ τῶν καλῶν (ὑμῶν) ἔργων ἰσχύει ὑμῶν τὴν κλήσιν καὶ ἐκλογὴν ποιῆσθε*, and in Gal. v. 8, a few introduce *θεοῦ* as explanatory of *καλοῦντος*. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of this kind, which are of very frequent occurrence.

: Thus, for instance, in John vii. 8, he considers *οὐκ ἀνάγκη* as preferable to *οὐκ*, although this is the reading of many MSS. and many Versions. Upon the same principle, *ἐν* in Luke ii. 22, is better than *αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτῆς*, for both of which authority may be adduced. But it is necessary to read against an extravagant application of this rule, as a read-

ing is certainly not to be suspected because it is easy. In Matt. xix. 17, the received text has *τί με λέγετε ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, ἐκ μὴ ἐγὼ ὁ Θεός*. This reading is probably the best, while that admitted by Griesbach is hardly intelligible, *τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἰς ἵστιν ὁ ἀγαθός*. Besides this reading looks very like a gloss, written on the margin by some early transcriber, in whose copy the *ἀγαθὸς* of ver. 16 (the authority of which is doubtful) had been lost.

§ The harsher reading, *ἐσφυλμένοι* in Matt. ix. 36, is to be preferred to the smoother *ἐκτεταμένοι*. The same passage may be adduced to illustrate the next rule.

|| Comp. Gal. vi. 15, where *εἰσιν* is probably the genuine reading, in place of which the more emphatic *ἰσχύει* has been introduced.

¶ This rule is illustrated by John i. 28, where *Βηθανία*, the true reading, has been displaced in many MSS., Versions, and Fathers, to make room for *Βηθαβαρά*. This has arisen from supposing that Bethany cannot be the place meant, because it was near Jerusalem, as if there could not be two or more towns of the same name. Comp. Michaelis, Part i., chap. x. sect. i., vol. ii. pp. 399, ss. It is probable, that the difference between the Hebrew text of Exod. xii. 40, and the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Septuagint, may be accounted for on the same principle. A supposed difficulty seems to have given rise to the latter.

no authority; nor those which arise from connected words beginning with the same syllable or letter.

(8) When several readings occur of the same place, that is to be esteemed the best which may be called the medium from which all the others may be shown to have originated.

(9) Those readings are to be rejected which it is admitted were introduced into the text from the commentaries of Fathers or old scholiasts. Although the more modern copies chiefly have been injured by interpolations, yet there is no MS., however ancient, that is entirely free from glosses; and many have flowed from the commentaries and catenæ of the Fathers written on the margin. Still, the rule is to be applied with great caution; and it is always to be recollected, that the agreement of a MS. with scholia, will by no means prove it to have been corrupted by the scholia, as the agreement may have sprung from other causes.

(10) Those readings which have arisen in lectionaries, and add to, or remove, or alter a passage, whether to introduce the lesson or to diminish difficulties, are to be rejected. But here the same caution must be exercised as in the former rule.

(11) Lastly, those are to be condemned which have found their way into Greek copies from the Latin Version. This rule, which is very sound and correct, has been greatly abused by some learned men, who, whenever they discovered a reading differing from that of the common mass of books, and agreeing with the Latin Version, immediately inferred that the MSS. containing it Latinized. But to prove such an interpolation, other marks are necessary besides mere consent. After giving these rules, with two or three others which are here passed over, to ascertain the internal goodness of a reading, Griesbach examines on what the authority of testimony is supported. There must be *weight* and *consent*.

(a) The weight of testimony is determined partly by age, and partly by other favourable circumstances. The age is not to be inferred simply or principally from that of the parchments: it is the antiquity of the text, and not of the transcriber, which is important; and this is ascertained by its frequent agreement with other witnesses, particularly Versions and Fathers, whose age is well known. There are MSS. the text of which is composed sometimes of ancient and sometimes of more modern readings; and it is necessary to examine them with caution, and not to infer the high antiquity of their text from a few readings. Further, a MS. may be of great antiquity and excellence, and yet in certain places it may be corrupted by lectionaries, or by the Latin Version; still, in those parts where there is no reason to suspect any corruption, it may have great weight. Although the learning and ability of a transcriber, and the fact of his having used a good and ancient copy, are circumstances which ought to carry with them great authority, yet it is evidently necessary to apply them with no small care. It is the character of the copy alone which generally assists in determining the question, from what MS. it was transcribed; then, again, the MS., although old, may

have been corrupted, and where it is so, the transcriber's fidelity is of no importance.

The errors of a transcriber are readily distinguishable from the original readings, by separating those peculiar to the MS. from others which it has in common with many MSS.

(b) With respect to the consent of testimonies, it is important to remark that this must not be identified with the exhibition of the same reading by a great number; it is necessary that they be really different witnesses. There are above a hundred MSS. of the gospels, which, being derived from one source, agree in almost every syllable, with the exception of such readings as are caused by errors of copyists, and others arising from peculiar causes. Hence, then, the necessity of distributing testimonies into classes.

2. The author informs us, in his preface, that his plan of distinguishing from each other the different recensions of the Greek text, which from the commencement of the third century, at least, have existed,—of separating as far as possible the primitive readings of each recension from later interpolations,—of distributing MSS., Versions, and Fathers, into different classes, according to the difference of the recension which each one followed,—of reckoning all the witnesses of one class, whether many or few, as one witness only,—and of attributing to each recension its legitimate importance,—was suggested by Bengel, and commenced by Semler. In his Prolegomena he proceeds as follows: Recensions of the text of the New Testament exist, as also of many Latin and Greek works. The want of proper records makes it impossible to trace the history of these recensions. A comparison of Origen with Tertullian and Cyprian proves, that at least in the beginning of the third century there were two. That which, after Clement of Alexandria and Origen, the Alexandrians used, may be called the Alexandrine; the other, which from the time of Tertullian was made use of in Africa, Italy, Gaul, and other occidental countries, the Western, although its use was not confined to the western part of the empire. From each of these recensions in the gospels (to which the author confines his remarks), differs the text of A, which agrees sometimes with the Alexandrine recension, sometimes with the Western, sometimes with both together, but very often varies from both, and approximates somewhat nearer the received text. With this MS. others are kindred, that are marked EFGHS, which, however, have very many modern readings, and are also much more closely allied to the received text. All these (AEFGHS) seem to agree in the gospels, so far as imperfect collations enable us to ascertain, with the Fathers of the fourth century, and of the fifth and sixth centuries in Greece, Asia Minor, and that vicinity: this may be called the Constantinopolitan recension, because it was most generally used in that patriarchate, and there widely disseminated by means of numberless copies. From it came the Slavonic Version. The Syriac Version, as we have it in printed editions, is not like any of these recensions; but neither is it altogether unlike any. In many of its readings, it

agrees with the Alexandrine, in more with the Western, and in some with the Constantinopolitan; yet at the same time it rejects most of those which found their way into this recension in later ages. It seems, therefore, to have been at different periods again and again revised, according to Greek MSS. evidently different. In addition to MSS. which exhibit one of these ancient recensions, some contain a text compiled from the readings of two or three. This is probably the case also with the Ethiopic, Armenian, Sahidic, and Jerusalem-Syriac Versions.

3. That the observations already made may be the more useful in assisting the reader to form an estimate of readings, either belonging to one recension or common to more, the author lays down a few premonitions.

(1) It is necessary for a critic to be well acquainted with the characteristics of a recension, with whatever makes it more or less valuable. The Alexandrine acts the grammarian; the Western, the expositor, and by no means unfrequently without success.

(2) No recension is to be found unaltered, in any MS. now extant. The causes of this are briefly but clearly stated. Yet errors in one MS. are not to be ascribed to the whole recension.

(3) It is of great importance to discover the primitive reading of each recension. This is to be done by comparing all the MSS., Fathers, and Versions, of the same recension, and by selecting from among their readings that which is most strongly recommended, both by testimonies of higher antiquity, and by internal marks of goodness.

(4) Before the genuineness of one reading among many can be determined, we must examine to what recension any one is to be referred. The inquiry is not, how many MSS., now existing, agree in any reading; for all the testimonies of the same recension are to be regarded as one, and therefore two or three MSS. may be of as much weight as a hundred others, because some recensions are preserved in a few only, others in a great number. Greek MSS. are but seldom written in the western provinces after the fourth century, and in Egypt after the sixth; but in the patriarchate of Constantinople, the Greek monks were indefatigable in multiplying copies of the New Testament until the fifteenth.

(5) If all the old recensions originally agreed in any reading, it is undoubtedly the true one, even if afterwards another should have been introduced into a multitude of more modern MSS.

(6) If all the recensions did not originally agree in the same reading, that which has the support of the most ancient is the best, unless there be special circumstances to the contrary, arising from the character of the recension.

(7) From the consent of the Alexandrine recension with the Western, it is concluded, on very good grounds, that a reading common to both is by far the most ancient; and, indeed, if supported by its internal goodness, genuine. If it be destitute of this goodness, the want must be balanced against the consent of the two recensions.

(8) If the Alexandrine agrees with the Constanti-

nopolitan, while the Western differs from both, we are to examine whether the reading which has the sanction of the Western be of a class in which the errors of this last recension are frequent; and at the same time the internal marks of truth or error must be carefully considered.

(9) In the same way must we judge of readings in which the Western recension agrees with the Constantinopolitan against the Alexandrine.

(10) If any recension exhibits a reading varying from those of the others, it is not the number of individual witnesses, but the internal marks of goodness, on which the preference must be founded. No matter how few the witnesses, provided it can be shown that the reading was one in which all the old recensions originally agreed, and there be no special circumstances, arising from the character of the recensions, to weigh against it.

(11) It is to be remarked further, that the Alexandrine MS. follows one recension in the gospels, another in St. Paul's epistles, and a third in the Acts and Catholic epistles. The Vatican, in the former part of St. Matthew, agrees with the Western; in the last chapters, and in the three other Evangelists, with the Alexandrine. In forming an opinion on the consent of testimonies, the critic should carefully attend to mixed MSS. of this kind.

V. Against Griesbach's classification of MSS., some formidable objections were urged by Matthæi, Laurence, and Nolan; and critics of eminence have proposed other recensions in its stead. It may be safely affirmed, however, that no one of these affects the *readings* of Griesbach, generally, but only the *process of reasoning* by which they have been established.*

VI. It may be not unacceptable to notice the Versions and Fathers which are found to agree with the recensions or editions just enumerated.

1. The ALEXANDRINE, or Egyptian edition: with this agree the quotations of Origen, and the Coptic Version.

2. The BYZANTINE, or Eastern edition: with this agree the greater number of the many MSS. written by the monks on Mount Athos. Also the quotations in Chrysostom, Theophylact, Bishop of Bulgaria, and the Slavonic or Russian Version. The common printed text of the Greek Testament has generally the readings of this recension.

3. The OCCIDENTAL, or Western edition, which was formerly used where the Latin language was spoken, agrees with the old *Itala*, the Vulgate, and the quotations in the Latin Fathers.

To those three, Michaëlis has added,

4. The EDESSENE edition; but of this no MSS. are now known.

* There are very able analyses of Laurence's Remarks on Griesbach's Classification, in the *British Critic*, vol. i. N. S.; in the *Christian Observer*, vol. xiii; and in the *Eclectic Review*, vol. iv. N. S.

VII. It only remains to suggest a few additional considerations relative to the various readings in the Scriptures, with a view to remove any unfavourable impressions which may have been created in the minds of persons not conversant with this department of biblical criticism.

1. It is sometimes said, remarks a writer in the *North American Review*, that he who knows nothing, fears nothing. This is occasionally true; but the proverb would have been more generally so, had it been thus: "he who knows nothing, fears every thing." In innumerable cases we see this verified; and it is quite applicable to the subject of various readings in the Scriptures. The first attempts to compare MSS., and to collect these readings, were denounced as being horribly profane and dangerous. Yet the comparison went on. Next, it was admitted to be right in respect to the New Testament, but very wrong in regard to the Old; every word, and letter, and vowel-point, and accent of which, Buxtorf roundly asserted to be essentially the same all the world over. More than eight hundred thousand various readings, actually collected, have dissipated this illusion, and taught how groundless the fears of those were, who were altogether inexperienced in the criticism of the sacred text. The *real* theologian is satisfied from his own examination, that the accumulation of many thousands of various readings, obtained at the expense of immense critical labour, does not affect a single sentiment in the whole Old or New Testament. And thus is criticism, which some despise and others neglect, found to be one of those undecaying columns, by which the imperishable structure of Christian truth is supported.

2. But it would be no difficult matter to show, that the fact of these variations in the text of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, as found in the various MSS., and other documents classed with them by biblical critics, do really afford incontestable arguments in favour of the authenticity of the Bible. No book, as Michaëlis has remarked, is more exposed to the suspicion of wilful corruption than the Scripture, for the very reason, that it is the fountain of divine knowledge; and if in all the MSS. now extant we found a similarity in the readings, we should have reason to suspect that the ruling party of the Christian church had endeavoured to annihilate whatever was inconsistent with its own tenets, and by the means of violence to produce a general uniformity in the sacred text. Whereas, the different readings of the MSS. in our possession afford sufficient proof that they were written independently of each other, by persons separated by distance of time, remoteness of place, and diversity of opinions.

They are not the works of a single faction, but of Christians of all denominations, whether dignified with the title of orthodox, or branded by the ruling church with the name of heretic; and though no single MS. can be regarded as a perfect copy of the writings of the apostles, yet the truth lies scattered in them all, which it is the business of critics to select from the general mass.*

3. On the other hand, we may say, with the most perfect confidence, that the sacred writings have not, in any thing essential, been obscured or hurt by all the changes which have passed upon the original text. The various readings have left to it all its peculiar characteristics, as a work of ancient literature, and a record of revealed religion. Mistakes will be most frequently committed, says Dr. Cook, where the attention of the transcriber, or of those who revise his copy, is most apt to slumber. As the inattention will be greatest in points of little consequence, so it may be expected, that what is of importance will excite more attention, and be more faithfully transmitted. Even the mistakes into which ignorant transcribers, incapable of this discrimination, fall, are limited by the circumstances that are known to give rise to them, and, in general, might be expected either to indicate themselves, or to be discovered by collating different MSS.; while the more serious injury which might arise to the text from the inadvertent or ill-judged intrusion of explanatory readings from the margin, or from the designed corruption of it to serve a purpose, is naturally either prevented or corrected, by the mutual jealousy and vigilance of contending sects. And such, from the most thorough examination of the different channels of evidence that has yet been made, appears to be the state in which the text of the New Testament has been preserved. The various readings have never yet been found to go beyond the limits thus fixed to error. The greatest number is in letters or words which make no alteration upon the sense; and where the sense is affected, it is generally in points of no consequence to any religious truth. As the inquiry concerning the writers of the Scriptures leaves no good reason for doubting that the different books were written by the persons to whom they are attributed, so the inquiry concerning the uncorrupted state of the text affords every reasonable security, that in all essential points it remains at this day as it was at first given to the world. There is not a MS. yet discovered so incorrectly written, that does not bear testimony to this its escape from every vitiation, by which its value, as a treasury of religious truth, could be impaired:

* Michaëlis' *Introduct. chap. vi., sect. 5.*

nor does it appear that all the attention which, since the revival of learning, has been paid to this subject, goes further than to place the evidence of the fact in its proper light, and to contribute towards preserving and illustrating that evidence for the benefit of future ages. For although the printed text cannot be justly considered as having attained, either before or since the labours of modern critics, the highest point of renovated integrity to which it may be brought, by the most extensive collation and judicious selection of readings, from MSS., Versions, and quotations; and although a beautiful field of biblical criticism is thus left open for further research; yet, upon satisfactory grounds, it may be safely asserted, that this possible progress, in its grammatical accuracy, as it has not hitherto brought, gives no promise of bringing, any accession to the information contained in the Scriptures, and threatens no change upon their statement of any important fact, sentiment, or doctrine.*

SECTION VI.

THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

Early English Versions—"The Authorised Version"—Critical Value of the "Authorised Version"—Imperfections in this Version.

I. ALTHOUGH sacred criticism has immediately to do with the Scriptures in their original languages, it is also, though more remotely, conversant with Versions, or translations of the sacred text into other languages. It would be incompatible with the nature of the present work, to attempt a critical review of the character of the principal translations of ancient and modern times; but it would be justly deemed defective, if it did not comprise some bibliographical and critical account of the English Version.

1. The character of the English Bible is not a matter of idle curiosity, or of curious and unprofitable speculation. Every translation is, properly speaking, an interpretation of the original text; and it is surely of the very first importance to ascertain how far that translation, which is in daily and constant use by millions of those to whom the word of promise is addressed, and upon which they are exclusively dependant for ascertaining "the mind of the Spirit," is really a faithful and exact representation of the sense of the sacred writers. This section will be devoted to a discussion of those topics involved in this inquiry.

2. It is in some degree uncertain at what period the Scriptures were originally translated into the languages spoken in the British Islands. Early in the Saxon times we know that they were read in the vernacular tongue, through the translations of Adhelm, bishop of Sherborne (A. D. 706), Egbert, bishop of Lindisferm (A. D. 720), the venerable Bede (a few years subsequently), King Alfred (nearly two hundred years later), and Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury (A. D. 995). There were, in addition to these translations, various glosses or commentaries upon detached portions of the Scriptures, in the vernacular tongue, and intended for common use.

3. About 1390, Wycliffe completed his translation of the Bible, which was very widely circulated, notwithstanding that copies had to be made by the tedious and expensive process of writing.

4. The favour in which this Version was held excited the jealousy of the Romish clergy, who made various ineffectual attempts to suppress it. In 1408, Arundel, archbishop of York, ordained in convocation, that no book or treatise composed by John Wycliffe, or by any other in his time, or hereafter to be composed, should be read by any one, unless approved by the Universities, or," &c., "under pain of being punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy." This intolerant decree was followed by another, more severe in its prohibitions:—"That no one should, by his own authority, translate any text of Holy Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of book, libel, or treatise; and that no one should read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wycliffe, or since, or hereafter to be composed, under pain of the greater excommunication, until the said translation should be approved by the diocesan of the place, or, if occasion require, by a provincial council." He who disobeyed this order was to be treated and punished as a favourer of error and heresy.

5. The rigour of this decree was, however, inadequate wholly to repress that desire to read the sacred volume, which its circulation had created; and many persons were burnt for contumacy in reading out of Wycliffe's translation. In 1415, a law was passed, making it treason to read any of Wycliffe's books. All who were found guilty of so doing were to "forfeit land, cattle, body, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and so be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land."

6. It may readily be supposed, that if these rigorous and cruel measures did not wholly suppress the reading of Wycliffe's Version in private, they at least prevented any addition being made

* See Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, chap. v., sect. 6; and as a further discussion of the principles upon which readings may be estimated, the sixth chapter of part III. of Ernesti's Institutes may be referred to.

to the translations of the Scriptures already extant.

7. There is no doubt that Wycliffe made his translation from the Latin Vulgate, and not from the originals; its authority, therefore, is not of the highest kind.

8. The Old Testament of Wycliffe's Version has never yet been published. His New Testament has passed through two editions. The first was printed under the superintendence of the Rev. John Lewis, in 1731, the second was edited by the Rev. H. H. Baber, A. M., in 1810.

9. The progress of the Reformation in Germany and England removed some of the impediments, at least for a time, that the Romanists had interposed in the way of biblical translations; and in 1526, the first edition of Tindal's translation of the New Testament was published at Antwerp. Its publication revived the fears and hatred of the Romish priests, and Bishop Tonsal was so intent upon its suppression, that he bought up all the copies that could be found, and committed them to the flames at Paul's Cross. Only one copy of this impression is known to be extant. It is very minutely described by Mr. Beloe, in his *Anecdotes of Literature*, to which the curious reader is referred.*

10. The zeal of the Bishop in this case outran his discretion; for the means he employed to suppress the translation of Tindal materially promoted the object which its author had in view when he undertook it. The first edition, thus purchased up and destroyed, was very imperfectly executed; but the money expended by Bishop Tonsal in purchasing it up, enabled Tindal to publish a more correct and better printed edition, three or four years afterwards. In 1530, this edition made its appearance, but, like its predecessor, it was, to a great extent, purchased and destroyed by the Romanists. Nothing daunted, however, Tindal completed a third edition, as also translations of the Pentateuch and the book of Jonah; shortly after which he was seized in Flanders, strangled, and had his body reduced to ashes, A. D. 1536.

11. Various means were employed to stay the progress of Scripture reading and translation; but the work which Tindal had so nobly commenced went forward, and in 1535, Miles Coverdale, who had been one of Tindal's coadjutors, completed a translation of the entire Bible. It was published in a folio volume, and dedicated to Henry VIII. in a spirited Introduction, in which the author reproaches the self-willed and fiery

monarch for having suffered his bishops to "burne God's word, the root of faith, and to persecute the lovers and ministers of it."

12. For this translation, which is said to have been Tindal's, as far onwards as the Second Book of Chronicles inclusive, the royal patronage was obtained during the same year in which Tindal died (A. D. 1536). The Lord Cromwell and Archbishop Cranmer prevailed upon the King to issue an order, that "A book of the whole Bible should be provided and laid in the choir of every church, for every man that would to look and read therein."

13. The hand of persecution having been thus paralyzed, those inspired with a love of Scripture knowledge, and animated with a zeal for the advancement of the Gospel, took advantage of the times, and various editions of the Bible followed each other in rapid succession. John Rogers, who subsequently became the first martyr in the reign of the sanguinary Mary, published, under the assumed name of Thomas Matthewes, an edition of the Bible in 1537. In the following year, Johan Hallybushe printed the New Testament in Latin and English; and in 1540, the whole Bible was reprinted by Grafton and Whitchurch, with a preface written by Archbishop Cranmer, whence it was called *Cranmer's Bible*. After having been ordered by Henry VIII. to be set out and read in every parish church, this capricious prince, within two years afterwards, prohibited its use. In 1550, it received the royal favour of Edward VI., but subsequently shared the fate of the religion it was intended to elucidate. During the reign of this prince several of these early editions of the Scriptures were reprinted, but no new translation was undertaken.

14. The persecution of the Protestants that took place in Mary's reign having compelled Bishop Coverdale, amongst others, to quit England, he took up his residence in Geneva, and there published a revised edition of the Bible with notes. Of the Geneva Bible the New Testament appeared in 1557, and the entire Scriptures in 1560. Eight years subsequently (1568), an edition of the Bible, revised by a number of learned men, several of whom were bishops, presided over by Archbishop Parker, was published. From the official characters of those under whose superintendence it was prepared, this edition was called "The Bishops' Bible."

15. We have now enumerated the principal editions of the sacred writings that preceded the "Authorised" English Version now in common use. It must not be supposed, however, that these were so many new and independent translations. They were, in fact, only so many revisions of

* Vol. III. pp. 52—57, cited in Carpenter's "Guide to the Practical Reading of the Bible," pp. 7—10. Holdsworth and Ball, 1830.

Tindal and Coverdale's Version, with occasional insertions of the additions found in the Latin Vulgate, or in the Septuagint Version. The Geneva Bible purports to be a new translation from the originals; but there can be no doubt that its basis was the previous translation, and that it was only "conferred diligently with the Greek," as the title, in one place, inadvertently admits.

16. To the general accuracy and excellence of Tyndal and Coverdale's translation, all competent judges have borne the highest testimony. "The violent opposition it met with," says Geddes, a Roman Catholic and a stern critic, "seems to have arisen more from the injurious reflections contained in the prologues and notes on the then established religion, than from any capital defects in the Version itself. It was far from being a perfect translation, it is true; but it was the first of the kind, and few first translations will, I think, be found preferable to it. It is astonishing how little obsolete the language is even at this day; and in point of perspicuity, a noble simplicity, propriety of idiom, and purity of style, no English Version has yet surpassed it. The criticisms of those who wrote against it are generally too severe, often captious, and sometimes evidently unjust."

II. From the time at which the Bishops' Bible appeared, A. D., 1568, no translation or revision of the Scriptures of any importance seems to have been undertaken, till 1604. At this period James I. took measures to procure the present "Authorized" Version. He nominated fifty-four learned men, chiefly Professors and Divines from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, whom he charged with the task of "re-translating, revising, or correcting preceding Versions, so as to produce as perfect a translation as possible." Of the fifty-four, however, only forty-seven actually engaged in the work, the others having died or declined the undertaking; or, as some think, they were appointed to be overseers of the rest.

1. There has been a good deal of controversy on the question, whether this edition of the Bible should be considered as a new and independent translation, or as only a revision of those Versions by which it was preceded. If the directions given by the King to those persons charged with the work may be deemed conclusive evidence on the subject, the question will be speedily settled. They were as follow:—

(1) "The ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and a little altered as the original will permit. (2) The names of the prophets and the holy writers, with the proper names in the text, to be retained as near as may be, according as they are vulgarly used. (3) The old ecclesiastical words to be kept; viz., as the

word Church not to be translated Congregation, &c. (4) When any word hath divers significations, that to be kept which hath been most commonly used by the most eminent Fathers, being agreeable to the propriety of the place and the analogy of faith. (5) The division of the chapters to be altered either not at all or as little as may be, if necessity so require it. (6) No marginal notes at all to be affixed, but only for the explanation of the Hebrew or Greek words, which cannot, without some circumlocution, so briefly and fitly be expressed in the text. (7) Such quotations of places to be marginally set down as shall serve for the fit reference of one Scripture to another. (8) Every particular man of each company to take the same chapter or chapters; and, having translated or amended them severally by himself when he thinks good, all to meet together, confer what they have done, and agree for their part what shall stand. (9) If any one company hath dispatched any one book in this manner, they shall send it to the rest, to be considered of seriously and judiciously; for His Majesty is very careful in this point. (10) If any one company, upon the review of the book so sent, shall doubt or differ upon any places, to send them word thereof, note the places, and therewithal send their reasons; to which if they consent not, the difference to be compounded at the general meeting, which is to be of the chief persons of each company, at the end of the work. (11) When any place of special obscurity is doubted of, letters to be directed by authority, to send to any learned in the land for his judgment in such a place. (12) Letters to be sent from every bishop to the rest of his clergy, admonishing them of this translation in hand; and to move and charge as many as, being skilful in the tongues, have taken pains in that kind, to send his particular observations to the company, either at Westminster, Cambridge, or Oxford. (13) The directors in each company to be the deans of Westminster and Chester for that place; and the King's professors in Hebrew and Greek in each University. (14) These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible itself; viz., Tindal's, Matthew's, Coverdale's, Whitchurch's, Geneva. (15) Besides the said directors before mentioned, three or four of the most ancient and grave divines in either of the Universities, not employed in translating, to be assigned by the Vice Chancellor, upon conference with the rest of the heads, to be overseers of the translations, as well Hebrew as Greek, for the better observation of the fourth rule, above specified."*

2. Such were the directions given by James I. to those whom he engaged in this grave undertaking; and it is evident from the "Translators' preface to the reader," in which they speak of "building upon their foundation that went before," of "endeavouring to make that better which they left so good;" and—more conclusive still—in which they aver "we never thought from the beginning that we should need to make a new translation,

* Fuller's Church History, Book x. pp. 46, 47.

nor yet to make of a bad one a good one but to *make a good one better, or out of many good ones*, one principal good one, not justly to be expected against; that hath been our endeavour, that our mark:—it is evident, from these expressions, that, although the translators of James did, with great care and diligence, consult and compare with the antecedent English Versions the Hebrew and Greek texts of both Testaments, they did not, properly speaking, execute a new translation. It is equally obvious, however, from these passages, as well as from the text itself, that the Version they completed was neither a servile copy of any previous Version, nor “a compilation of second-hand translations.” That they were laid under some restrictions cannot be denied, nor that their undertaking has sometimes suffered from them; but the nature and number of these are equally insignificant.

III. The critical value of the authorised English Version of the Scriptures is a question of very grave importance, especially to those to whom this edition of the Bible is alone accessible. There has been some controversy as to the competency of James’s translators to discharge the trust reposed in them; some writers having gone so far as to assert that there was not amongst them a single Hebrew scholar, the Hebrew language having been, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I., most shamefully neglected in our universities.* Nothing, however, can be farther from the truth than both of these statements.

1. In the time of Elizabeth, the Oriental languages were amongst the ordinary philological studies at the two universities; and Fulke in particular speaks of many youths at Cambridge, in 1583, who were intimate with Hebrew and Chaldee.† In the public schools emulation in these studies was excited, as is exemplified in a notice of examinations at Merchant Tailors’ school, in 1572, where the Bishop of Winchester “tried the scholars in the Hebrew Psalter.” Among these scholars was the famous linguist, Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, who afterwards stood at the head of the list of James’s translators. Of his associates we need only enumerate Dr. Adrian Saravia, who was a profound scholar, and tutor to the celebrated Oriental critic, Nicholas Fuller; Dr. R. Clarke, who thoroughly understood the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages; Dr. Sayfield, to whose Hebrew criticisms the learned and acute Gataker often refers with confidence, and whose skill in the Hebrew tongue Minshew sought and acknowledged, when he published his valuable “Guide into

Tongues;” the profound Orientalist, Mr. W. Bedwell, tutor to the eminent Dr. Pocock; Dr. John Rainolds, whose memory was so extraordinary that “he could readily turn to all material passages in every volume, leaf, page, or paragraph, of the multitude of books he had read,” and who “was most prodigiously seen in all kinds of learning, and most excellent in all tongues;” Drs. Holland, Kilby, Miles Smith, and Richard Brett, who have each left in their published works undoubted proofs of their critical skill in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Greek, and Latin tongues; closing with Dr. John Bois, “that eminent light of learning,” who, at five years of age, had read the entire Bible, and before he was six, “could write Hebrew in an elegant hand, and who for ten years was chief Greek lecturer in his college, besides reading lectures in Greek at four in the morning in his own chamber;” and Sir Henry Saville, the celebrated editor of Chrysostom’s works, in Greek, in eight folio volumes, and founder of the professorships of astronomy and geometry at Oxford. These were the qualifications of a few of James’s translators, and it is but fair to presume that their associates could not have been vastly inferior to them in ancient learning and general knowledge.

2. But upon this question we are not reduced to the necessity of inferring the adequacy and excellence of the work from the qualifications of its conductors. Its character and quality are matters of fact, and therefore capable of examination and proof. Let us, then, glance at some of the testimonies that have been borne to these, by witnesses of unexceptionable character and competence.

3. In 1652 (that is, forty years after the publication of the authorised Version, published in 1611), an order was made in the parliament, that a bill should be brought in for a new translation of the Bible into English. The project, however, slumbered for four years, till Bishop Walton had nearly completed the publication of his splendid Polyglott, when the grand committee for religion passed the following order:—

“That it be referred to a sub-committee to send for, and advise with, Dr. Walton, Mr. Hughes, Mr. Castle (Castell), Mr. Clark, Mr. Poulk, Dr. Cudworth, and such others as they shall think fit, and to consider of the translations and impressions of the Bible, and to offer their opinions therein to this committee.”

In pursuance of this order, the sub-committee, which was composed of some of the most learned men of the time, often met, and consulted with others of great attainments in the Oriental tongues. In these conferences were made “divers excellent and learned observations of some mistakes in the translations of the Bible into English; which yet

* Bellamy’s Prospectus of a New Translation, &c.

† Defence of Translations, p. 340.

was agreed to be *the best of any translation in the world.*" Such is the narrative of the lord commissioner Whitlock, who had the care of the business, and who took great pains in the design, which became fruitless by the dissolution of the parliament. Johnson, in his account of the English translations, relates, that the committee and their learned associates "pretended to discover some mistakes in the last English translation, which yet they allowed was the *best extant.*" This judgment, which was confirmed by Walton, personally, in the prolegomena to his Polyglott, was delivered at a time when the nation, as this profound scholar himself has told us, "had more men of eminent skill in languages than ever heretofore."

4. These testimonies, however, only refer to the *comparative* excellence of the English Vulgate; something more positive and unqualified will add to their value. We select the following out of many entitled to equal weight:—

(1) Bishop Walton, in the Defence of his Polyglott Bible (p. 5), says that this translation "may justly contend with any now extant in any other language in Europe."

(2) Dr. Geddes, whose profound and various learning, and extensive acquaintance with biblical literature, entitle his judgment to great respect, while his peculiar theological opinions render his testimony the more independent, and therefore valuable, thus speaks of the authorised Version:

"The means and the method employed to produce this translation promised something extremely satisfactory; and great expectations were formed from the united abilities of so many learned men, selected for the purpose, and excited to emulation by the encouragement of a munificent prince, who had declared himself the patron of the work. Accordingly, the highest eulogiums have been made on it, both by our own writers and by foreigners; and, indeed, if accuracy, fidelity, and the strictest attention to the letter of the text, be supposed to constitute the qualities of an excellent Version, this, of all Versions, must in general be accounted the most excellent. Every sentence, every word, every syllable, every letter and point, seem to have been weighed with the nicest exactitude, and expressed, either in the text or margin, with the greatest precision. Pagninus himself is hardly more literal; and it was well remarked by Robertson, above a hundred years ago, that it may serve for a Lexicon of the Hebrew language, as well as for a translation."*

(3) Dr. Adam Clarke's testimony is highly valuable. After having himself translated every word from the originals, which he made his constant study for more than half a century, and diligently collated the common printed text of the

English Bible with all the MSS. and collections from MSS. to which he could obtain access, he thus speaks of this Version:—

"Those who have compared most of the European translations with the original, have not scrupled to say, that the English translation of the Bible, made under the direction of King James I., is the most accurate and faithful of the whole. Nor is this its only praise; the translators have seized the very spirit and soul of the original, and expressed this almost every where with pathos and energy. . . . The *original*, from which it was taken, is alone superior to the Bible which was translated by the authority of King James. This is an opinion in which my heart, my judgment, and my conscience coincide."†

(4) Dr. Doddridge says:—

"On a diligent comparison of our translation with the original, we find that of the New Testament, and I might also add that of the Old, in the main faithful and judicious. You know, indeed, that we do not scruple, on some occasions, to animadvert upon it; but you also know, that these remarks affect not the fundamentals of religion, and seldom reach any farther than the beauty of a figure, or, at most, the connexion of an argument."‡

(5) The late Rev. William Orme, whose judgment was as sound as his learning was solid, speaks of the English Version in the following terms:—

"Like every thing human, it is no doubt imperfect; but, as a translation of the Bible, it has few rivals, and, as a whole, no superior. It is in general faithful, simple, and perspicuous. It has seized the spirit and copied the manner of the divine originals. It seldom descends to meanness or vulgarity; but often rises to elegance and sublimity. It is level to the understanding of the cottager, and fit to meet the eye of the critic, the poet, and the philosopher."||

5. Such, according to the most competent and independent judges, is the general excellence—the fidelity and high literary qualities, of the English Vulgate. The testimony to this important fact cannot but be gratifying to those whose daily companion it is, and who constantly study its pages for religious instruction and comfort.

IV. We should not be dealing fairly with our subject, however, did we confine ourselves to an exhibition of the higher and more excellent qualities of the English Bible, and put out of sight, or pass over in silence, the defects or other imperfections by which it is characterized. Our object is to give a faithful impression of its critical character and value, and this can only be done by an unreserved examination and statement of the faults

† Preface to Commentary on the Old Testament, p. 19.

* Prospectus of a New Translation, p. 92.

‡ Works, vol. ii., p. 329.

|| Bibliotheca Biblica, p. 37.

as well as of the excellencies of which it partakes. The authorised Version of the Bible having been made at a time when the critical apparatus for ascertaining and restoring the purity of the text of both the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures was very defective, it must partake, of course, in a very large degree, of those imperfections of which mention has already been made in Section V. But independently of these imperfections, which belong to all the early Versions in common, the following intrinsic and peculiar blemishes are observable in the English translation.

1. There is a want of uniformity in the mode of translating—the absence of “an identity of phrasing,” as the translators themselves call it, which greatly impairs its value. We may give a few specimens of this diversity of rendering, both in words and in phrases.

(1) *Of words.* Passing over many others that may, perhaps, be deemed nearly synonymous, as *fountain* or *spring*; *dwelling-place* or *habitation*; *shield* or *buckler*; *mitre*, *diadem*, or *hood*; *to wail*, *to mourn*, or *to lament*; we find the same word translated *locust* and *grasshopper*; *wormwood* and *hemlock*; *lintel* and *door-post*; *owl* and *ostrich*; *nettle* and *thorns*; *hell* and *the grave*; *cormorant* and *pelican*; *law*, *statute*, *decree*, and *ordinance*; *coat of mail*, *habergeon*, and *breastplate*; a *fort*, *hold*, *strong hold*, *castle*, *munition*, and *bulwark*; *vessels*, *furniture*, *instruments*; *stuff*, *armour*, and *weapons*; *nations*, *Gentiles*, and *heathens*; a *pattern*, *likeness*, *form*, *similitude*, and *figure*; *heaven*, *heavens*, *the heavens*, and *air*. This incongruity of rendering is certainly objectionable, since it not only necessarily implies a want of fidelity in giving the exact sense of the original phrases, but also, and perhaps chiefly, because it is calculated to embarrass and perplex the reader.

(2) *Of sentences.* There is a diversity in the rendering of these, especially in the translation of idiomatic phrases in the Hebrew language, in which the translators appear to have been guided by no uniform principle, nor even by any rules of grammatical analogy. “To lift up one’s feet,” for “to remove,” is certainly not a more harsh idiotism than “to lift up one’s eyes,” for “to look up:” yet they every where retain the latter Hebraism; never the former. In like manner, “to deliver one’s self from the eyes of another,” for “to escape from one,” is not more abhorrent from our idiom than “to hide one’s eyes from another,” for “to connive at him;” yet, in the former case, our translators rejected the Hebraism in 2 Sam. xx. 6, but in the latter retained it, in Lev. xx. 4. “To do what is good in one’s eyes,” is a Hebraism which they have generally rendered by “doing what pleaseth or liketh one,” Gen. xvi. 6; Esth. viii. 8.

But in a phrase exactly similar (Judg. xvii. 6), they translate, “Every one did that which was right in his own eyes.” Again, in Gen. xli. 37, they say, “And the thing was good in the eyes of Pharaoh;” but in Numb. xi. 10, they have not translated, “It was also evil in the eyes of Moses,” but “Moses was also displeased.” But there are no phrases, in the rendering of which our translators have shown more variety than in those in which the words *ben* and *aish* make a part. The former of these, which primarily signifies a *son*, and secondarily a *descendant* of any kind, has in the Oriental dialects a much wider acceptation, and is applied, not only to the offspring of the animal creation, but also to productions of every sort; and what is still more catachrestical, even to consequential or concomitant relations; so that an arrow is called “the son of the bow;” the morning star, “the son of the morning;” threshed-out corn, “the son of the floor,” and anointed persons, “the sons of oil.” In rendering such phrases as these, our translators have generally softened the Hebraism, but after no uniform manner. “Sons of Belial” is surely not more intelligible to an English reader, than “sons of oil,” and much less so than “sons of valour,” “sons of righteousness,” “sons of iniquity:” yet, while they retain the first Hebraism, with all its original harshness, and partly in its original form, they mollify the last three into “valiant men,” “righteous men,” “wicked men.” Nay, even in the retention of the Hebraism in the first case, they are not consistent. If once they admitted the word *Belial*, they should have retained it, as Geddes remarks, throughout; and said, “a thing of Belial,” “a heart of Belial,” “a witness of Belial,” “the floods of Belial;” which, however, they render, “an evil disease,” “a wicked heart,” “an ungodly witness,” “the floods of ungodliness.”

(3) Not only in similar phrases have our translators broken the rules of uniformity, but they have often violated them in rendering the same phrase, and that sometimes in the same chapter. “How old art thou?” says Pharaoh to Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 8), instead of, “How many are the days of thy years?” But in Jacob’s answer (ver. 9) we have, “The days of the years of my pilgrimage are,” &c. In ver. 28, they again drop the Hebraism, and translate, “So the whole age of Jacob,” for, “all the days of the years of Jacob.”

(4) Many additional instances of this variety of phrasing might be given; but we have cited enough to show that the English translators were not guided by any uniform rule or fixed principle, especially in dealing with the Hebraisms; and, moreover, that this want of uniformity must often

produce some inconvenience to the reader of the English Bible.

2. The anxiety of the translators to render the original literally into English, has sometimes induced them to adopt modes of expression incompatible with the idiom of the language. It is true, the language which they have employed has become so familiar to our ears, by being the language of the national church, that it is in no way offensive to our feelings; but it has been justly remarked, that a proof of many of the Bible expressions being neither natural nor analogous, is seen in the fact, that they have never yet been able to force themselves into common usage, even in conversation. Any person who should employ them in his discourse, would be supposed to jeer at Scripture, or to affect the language of fanaticism. In short, what Selden said of the authorised Version is strictly just; namely, that it is translated into English words, rather than into English phrase.*

3. We have now enumerated the principal defects by which the otherwise pre-eminently faithful and felicitous text of the "Authorised Version" of the Bible is marred. It is gratifying to the devout mind to perceive that their united amount does not in any degree interfere with Christian doctrine or duty. They resolve themselves almost wholly into matters of literary propriety; and in the worst cases, do no more than leave the reader in a state of doubt as to the precise meaning of some local or historical reference.

SECTION VII.

DIVISIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Ancient and Modern Distribution of the Biblical Books—Original form of the Text; Chapters and Verses; Punctuation—Advantages and Disadvantages of our Present Divisions of the Sacred Text.

1. THE BIBLE—a word denoting THE BOOK, and applied to the Scriptures by way of eminence or distinction, is divided into two principal parts; THE OLD TESTAMENT, and THE NEW TESTAMENT: the former comprising those books that were written antecedently to the birth of our Saviour; the latter embracing those writings that narrate his history and expound his doctrines.

1. THE OLD TESTAMENT resolves itself into two great divisions; the *Canonical Books* and the *Apocryphal Books*: the former were written by persons under the influence of divine inspiration, are a part of the rule of faith and conduct of all believers, and have ever been undisputed in the church, as regards their authority; the latter are

of no divine authority, but some of them are highly valuable as historical documents; particularly the two books of the Maccabees, which help to fill up the history of the interval of time that elapsed between the sealing up of prophecy and the advent of the Messiah. It is to be regretted that some of the other apocryphal books contain gross perversions of truth, and details of an indelicate nature.

2. The Jewish church divided the canonical books into three classes, under which form they were generally referred to and quoted: THE LAW, THE PROPHETS, and the HAGIOGRAPHIA, or holy writings. THE LAW contained the five books of Moses; frequently called *the Pentateuch*, i. e., *the five Books*. THE PROPHETS comprised the whole of the writings now termed *prophetical*—from Isaiah to Malachi, inclusive; and also the books of Job, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther; these books having been either written or revised by prophets—probably the former. THE HAGIOGRAPHIA included the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. It is thought that our Saviour recognised this division of the sacred books when he said, "All things must be fulfilled which are written in the LAW of Moses, and in the PROPHETS, and in the PSALMS, concerning me" (Luke xxiv. 44).

3. The books of THE NEW TESTAMENT are divisible into three classes—HISTORICAL, DOCTRINAL, and PROPHETICAL. The first embraces the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles; the second includes the Apostolic Epistles; and the third, the Book of Revelation. We do not mean, however, that either of these classes excludes the subject of the other; like all the rest of the sacred books, those of the *New Testament* are of a mixed nature; each one containing something of *history*, *prophecy*, and *doctrine*.

(1) In the second and third centuries the New Testament was divided into two parts—the *Gospels* and the *Epistles*, or *Gospels* and *Apostles*. Other divisions have been made in subsequent ages, but it is unnecessary to trouble the reader with a description of them.

(2) THE NEW TESTAMENT is called in the Greek, Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, the *New Testament* or *Covenant*, a title that was early borrowed by the church from the Scriptures (Matt. xxvi. 28; Gal. iii. 17; Heb. viii. 8, ix. 15, 20), and authorised by the apostle Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 14. The word *διαθήκη*, in these passages, denotes a *covenant*; and in this view, THE NEW COVENANT signifies, "A book containing the terms of the new covenant between God and man." But, according to the meaning of the primitive church, which

* Carpenter's Guide to the Reading of the Bible, Part I., chap. 4.

adopted this title, it is not altogether improperly rendered **NEW TESTAMENT**; as being that in which the Christian's inheritance is sealed to him as a son and heir of God, and in which the death of Christ as a testator (Heb. ix. 16, 17) is related at large, and applied to our benefit. As this title implies, that in the gospel unspeakable gifts are given or bequeathed to us, antecedent to all conditions required of us, the title of **TESTAMENT** may be retained, though that of **COVENANT** is more exact and proper.*

(3) The term **GOSPEL**, which is more generally applied to the writings of the four Evangelists, comprising a history of the transactions of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not unfrequently used in a more extended sense, as including the whole of

the New Testament Scriptures, and also that system of grace and mercy which they unfold. This word, which exactly answers to the Greek term *Εὐαγγέλιον*, is derived from the Saxon words, *God* (good) and *spel* (speech or tidings), and is evidently intended to denote the good message, or the "glad tidings of great joy," which God has sent to all mankind, "preaching peace by Jesus Christ, who is Lord of all," Acts x. 36. †

(4) Concerning the chronological order of the New Testament books, biblical writers are not agreed. The following table is compiled from Mr. Townsend's Chronological Arrangement, where the conflicting opinions of chronologists have been considered and decided upon with great care and judgment:

Book.	Author.	Place at which the Book was written.	For whose use it was primarily intended.	A. D.
Gospel of Matthew	Matthew	Judea	Jews in Judea	37
Gospel of Mark	Mark	Rome and Jerusalem	Gentile Christians	41
Acts of the Apostles	Luke			—
Epistle to the Galatians	Paul	Thessalonica		51
First to the Thessalonians	—	Corinth		—
Second to the Thessalonians	—			52
Epistle to Titus	—	Nicopolis		53
First to the Corinthians	—	Ephesus		56
First Epistle to Timothy	—	Macedonia		56 or 57
Second Epistle to the Corinthians	—	Philippi		58
Epistle to the Romans	—	Corinth		—
Epistle to the Ephesians	—	Rome		61
Epistle to the Philippians	—			62
Epistle to the Colossians	—			—
Epistle to Philemon	—			—
Epistle of James	James	Jerusalem	Jewish Christians	—
Epistle to the Hebrews	Paul	Italy	Jews	—
Gospel of Luke	Luke	Achaia	Gentile converts	64
Second Epistle to Timothy	Paul			65 or 66
First Epistle of Peter	Peter		Jews and Gentile converts	—
Second Epistle of Peter	—	Italy or Rome	Jewish and Gentile Christians of the Dispersion	—
Epistle of Jude	Jude	Probably Syria	General	66
Book of Revelation	John	Asia Minor		96
Three Epistles of John	—			96 to 106
Gospel according to John	—			—

4. That all the books which convey to us the history of events under the New Testament were written and immediately published by persons contemporary with the events, is most fully proved by the testimony of an unbroken series of authors, reaching from the days of the Evangelists to the present times; by the concurrent belief of Christians of all denominations; and by the unreserved confession of avowed enemies to the gospel. In this point of view the writings of the ancient Fathers of the Christian church are invaluable. They contain, not only frequent references and allusions to the books of the New Testament, but

also such numerous professed quotations from them, that it is demonstrably certain, that these books existed in their present state a few years after the conclusion of our Saviour's ministry. But this is not the place to enlarge upon this topic; it will be fully treated of in a subsequent Part.

II. From what has now been said, it will be perceived, that the existing arrangement of the sacred books has been made with a view to their subject matter, rather than with reference to their historical connexion; the order of the parts of each division being determined either by the relative importance of the matters to which they

* Michaelis' Introduction, chap. i.; and Bishop Percy's Key, p. 32.

† See Dr. Adam Clarke's Introduction to the New Testament.

relate, the comparative consideration of the persons to whom they are addressed, or some other incidental circumstance of a similar kind. This arrangement, which is adopted in most of the modern Versions of the Bible, was originally borrowed, with some trifling exceptions, from the Latin Vulgate, as settled at the council of Trent. It possesses some advantages for reference and consultation; but it should not govern the student in his Scripture studies, in which the natural order of history and chronology should be generally adhered to. He who has thus studied the Bible, will readily subscribe to the remark of the erudite Lightfoot, who says, "Such a method is the most satisfactory, delightful, and confirmative of the understanding, mind, and memory, that may be. This settles histories in your mind; this brings the things as if done before your eyes; this makes you mark what else you would not; and this suffers you not to slip over the least tittle of a word; and sometimes, in things of doubt and scruple, this strikes all out of question."*

III.—1. The sacred writings had originally, and for a long period of time, no punctuation, nor any such divisions as that of chapter and verse. The words were not so much as separated by intervals from one another. Letter was strung on to letter, and so continued, that every line was like a single word. Hence, the reader was obliged first to separate and re-combine the letters, in order to form words and discover the sense. So late even as the fifth century, the New Testament had none of the ordinary marks of distinction, although Christendom had no lack of grammarians, who might have here found an undertaking worthy of their art. The following passage will give the uninformed reader some idea, though a very inadequate one, of the continuous form of the original text, and of the misconceptions to which it was liable:

NOWWHENHEHADENDEDALLHISSAYING
SINTHEAUDIENCEOFTHEPEOPLEHEENTE
REDINTOCAPERNAUMANDACERTAINCE
NTURION'SSERVANTWHOWASDEARUNTO
HIMWASSICKANDREADYTODIE†

2. It was no easy task for a person not long instructed, or very much used to it, to read the Bible well and intelligibly, in the public assemblies, without adopting for his guide some marks of distinction; for private reading, also, assistance of a similar description was a desideratum.

Hence arose the Masoretic punctuation of the Hebrew text, and the Euthalian divisions in the Greek text. The date of the former is a matter of uncertainty; some refer it as far back as the days of Ezra, while others maintain that it was unknown before the second century of the Christian era. The divisions made by Euthalius, in the fifth century, were very different from those now made by the usual points, or grammatical stops, and consisted in setting just so many words in one line as were to be read uninterruptedly, so as clearly to disclose the sense of the author. Hug has given a specimen of these stichometrical divisions, as they are called, out of a celebrated fragment of Paul's epistles, which Wetstein has marked H. The passage is Titus ii. 3. We give it in English, however, instead of Greek, for the sake of the unlearned:

THAT THE AGED MEN BE SOBER
GRAVE
TEMPERATE
SOUND IN FAITH
IN LOVE
THE AGED WOMEN LIKEWISE
IN BEHAVIOUR AS BECOMETH HOLINESS
NOT FALSE ACCUSERS
NOT GIVEN TO MUCH WINE.
TEACHERS OF GOOD THINGS

It is clear that this mode of writing occupied a very large space, to no good purpose, and copyists soon began to improve upon the system, by running on the *stichoi* or lines, and separating each one by the introduction of a point. The grammarians, however, at length took offence at a mode of punctuation so entirely ungrammatical, and began to introduce distinctions according to fixed rules. This was gradually improved, but did not arrive at any thing like perfection, until very long after the invention of printing.

3. Previous to the introduction of these verbal divisions into the sacred text, there existed other and larger divisions, adopted for the purposes of reference and worship.

4. It appears from the references in the New Testament to the Book of Psalms, that they were at that time, and most likely had always been, divided into distinct odes or songs, as we now possess them. But with the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures it was different. These were divided, for the convenience of reading, into sections, called *Parashim* and *Haptaroth*: the former comprising the law; the latter, the prophets. As these divisions were made for the service of the synagogue, each division included fifty-three *Parashim* or *Haptaroth*, so that by reading one of each on the several sabbaths, the entire Scriptures were publicly read through in the course of the

* Townsend's Chronological Arrangement of the Bible; should be the universal study-Bible.

† The reader may see a specimen in the Greek character, p. 30, *ante*.

year. But, in addition to these larger sections, the *Parashim* were distributed into *Siderim*, or orders; and the whole divided into *Pesukim*, or verses, by means of two great points (:) called *soph-paruk*.

5. The custom of reading the New Testament publicly in the Christian assemblies, would, of course, soon suggest the propriety of some such divisions being made in this as had already been introduced into the Jewish Scriptures. This, in fact, took place. At a very early period, a division was made of the text into church lessons. The books thus divided, were called *lectionaries*, and the sections themselves, *titles* and *chapters*. In the *lectionaries* there were other distinctions, of great use, for the purposes of comparison and quotation. The author of these sections, in the gospels, is supposed to have been Ammonius, of Alexandria, whence they derived the name of *Ammonian sections*; those in the Acts of the Apostles, and in the Epistles, were introduced by Euthalius, of whom we have already spoken.*

6. The inventor of our present chapters was Cardinal Hugo, who flourished about 1240. Having projected an alphabetical index of all the words and phrases in the Latin Vulgate, Hugo found it necessary, in order to facilitate references to the text, to divide it into distinct sections, which were substantially the same as the chapters now commonly adopted. Instead of subdividing the chapters into verses, however, he effected a secondary division, by placing in the margin, at an equal distance from each other, according to the length of the chapters, the first seven letters of the alphabet, or as many of them as the length of the chapters would admit of. Towards the middle of the fifteenth century, Rabbi Nathan, a learned Jew, undertook to provide for the Hebrew Scriptures a Concordance, similar to that which Cardinal Hugo had completed for the Latin Vulgate. But although he followed Hugo in his division of the text into chapters, he improved upon the Cardinal's sub-division, by numbering in the margin every *paruk* or verse.

7. The first editor of the Old Testament who enumerated the verses by subjoining to each verse a figure, according to our present method, was Athias, a Jew of Amsterdam, who, in the years 1661 and 1667, published two very correct editions of the Hebrew Bible, having the verses distinguished in this manner. His plan was followed by Vatablus, in an edition of the Latin Bible printed for him by Stephens, and has since been adopted in most editions of the Scriptures. The division of the New Testament into verses is attributed to Robert

Stephens, who is said to have done it during a journey from Paris to Lyons, about the middle of the sixteenth century.

IV. We have now noticed all the divisions and notes of distinction occurring in the sacred writings. They form, as the reader has seen, no part of the original text, but are mere human contrivances, adopted for the purpose of facilitating references to the text, and of aiding our conceptions of its sense. That they are of great utility is undoubted; but it cannot be denied, that they are sometimes attended with serious inconvenience and evil.

1. The punctuation is often very faulty. In some of the early printed editions the points seem to have been put in almost at random, and even in the present Greek text, as well as in the English Version, the sense and beauty of many passages are marred by injudicious and inaccurate punctuation. The misplacing of a comma will not unfrequently alter the sense of a passage; and the improper insertion of a full stop or a note of interrogation, must, it is evident, be still more subversive of its real sense or meaning. Hence it is plain, that we should not blindly follow and adopt the decisions of those to whom we are indebted for the punctuation of the text: our own judgment and understanding should be employed; and where a passage appears to be obscure or difficult, we may with propriety substitute such a mode of punctuation as will render it perspicuous and intelligible. To do this with propriety, will, of course, demand attention to the laws of criticism and interpretation.

2. The inconvenience attendant upon our divisions into chapters and verses is, that the sense is often interrupted, and sometimes destroyed, by the disjoining of what ought to be connected, and the connecting of what ought to be disjoined. The division of the chapters is frequently improper, but that of the verses is often much more so. There is in many places a full periodical distinction where there should not be so much as the smallest pause. Nominatives are separated from their verbs, adjectives from their substantives, and even letters and syllables are cruelly divorced from the words to which they naturally belong. By these means the chain of reasoning is broken, the sentences mangled, the eye misguided, the attention bewildered, and the meaning lost.

3. But independently of these evils, the divisions both of chapter and verse often exert an unfavourable influence on the attention, and induce, almost unconsciously to the reader, an idea of completion, or the contrary, very unfavourable to an accurate perception of the meaning of the sacred writings. Most persons are in the constant habit of reading the Bible in separate chapters,

* See Hug's Introduction to the New Test., vol. i., chap. v.

one or more at a time, without any regard to the continuity of the subject, or the completion of the sense. It sometimes happens, that, in reading the epistles, the opening of an argument is read on one day, its proofs and illustrations on the next, and its inferences and application on the third or a more distant day still. The consequence of this may be easily conceived. No person thus reading the Scriptures can ever enter thoroughly into the sense and spirit of the sacred penmen, or duly appreciate the powers of argument and illustration they frequently exhibit in the prosecution of their

high object. For the purposes of study, a Bible with an unbroken text, or divided only into sections, according to the real divisions of the subjects, having an enumeration of the verses in the margin, is greatly to be desiderated.* If this is not to be had, the student should be constantly upon his guard against the evils to which we have adverted.†

* Wesley's Testament may be most advantageously used by the student. The verses are to be found in the margin, and the subjects are generally divided into paragraphs.

† See Carpenter's Guide to the Scriptures, pt. I., ch. v.

CHAPTER III.

BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

THE preceding chapter has been devoted to a review of the several topics connected with the art of criticism; the present one will comprise a description of the principles of interpretation, and point out the application of those principles to the sacred text.

If the reader has carefully attended to what has been said in the preceding sections, the distinction between criticism and interpretation will have been clearly perceived. The object of the former is the *genuineness* and *purity* of the *text*; the object of the latter is the *sense* of the text:—the one is concerned with the mere *letter* of Scripture; the other, with its *import*.* It is the province of criticism to ascertain what an author *wrote*; of interpretation, to determine what he *meant*. This distinction has not always been observed by writers upon biblical science; albeit, it is of great importance, and almost indispensable to ensure a luminous view of the subject in its several details. Like every other science, this has its natural boundaries and divisions, and it is only by a clear perception of these, and a rigid adherence to the

methods which they obviously prescribe for an investigation into their principles, that order will be introduced into study, and the mind be preserved from confusion. In the following pages we shall not lose sight of this necessity, for the purpose of securing the *lucidus ordo*.

SECTION I.

DIFFICULTIES CONNECTED WITH THE INTERPRETATION OF THE BIBLE.

Sources of Biblical Difficulties—Advantages derivable from an Acquaintance with the Principles of Interpretation—Commentaries on the Bible—Evils arising from the too early Use of them—Suggestions for studying the Scriptures.

I. It would be unwise, as well as unjust, to attempt to conceal from the novice the numerous difficulties which he will have to encounter in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and the large amount of labour he will be called upon to expend in his efforts to remove them. For a person to remain ignorant of these facts, is to be exposed to the constant danger of resting satisfied with the mere *dicta* of others, instead of applying at once to the source of scriptural knowledge, for the discovery of those truths, upon the immediate perception and personal appropriation of which depend his personal safety and happiness. Let us at once premise, therefore, that in the interpretation of the Bible we have to encounter difficulties of no ordinary magnitude, and such as will call forth all the energies of the mind in a successful attempt to surmount them. To justify the truth of this remark, we must advert somewhat more particularly than we have hitherto done, to the character of those documents, of the interpretation of which we are here speaking.

1. In discussing the object and principles of biblical interpretation, we must view the Scripture

* The science explaining the rules of interpretation is called *Sacred Hermeneutics*, which, when marked as a part of theology, is called *Exegetical Theology*. From this is distinguished what is called *exegesis*, or the art itself of interpreting the sacred volume. Seiler says, "Hermeneutics, which is employed in the discovery and explanation of the sense of a speech or writing, is, objectively considered, a collection of rules, through the application of which the sense of the speech or writing is found and accurately expressed. Subjectively considered, it is the knowledge of these rules, and the ability to apply them judiciously to the discovery and expression of that sense. This ability, obtained by exercise in explaining according to rules, constitutes a *interpreter*. The individual who, without the aid of fixed rules, but by the practice of reading and reflection only, has learned to explain the Bible, is an *empirical interpreter*. Hermeneutics is then the *theory* of interpretation—*exegesis* is the *practice*. Both are included under the name of *Exegetical Theology*."—*Biblical Hermeneutics*, pp. 26, 27.

in its most simple and obvious character; that is, as a literary document, possessing properties in common with every other work of a like description; but having some properties peculiar to itself.

2. In the first place, it must be recollected, that the Bible is composed of a number of separate and independent writings or books indited by different persons, unknown to each other, living in different places, and at different periods of time, and treating on the subjects of which they wrote in a great variety of style; the last-mentioned fact arising out of the mutability of human language and other facts, to which we shall presently more particularly advert. Now, as all human languages are composed of arbitrary signs, between which and the ideas they are intended to represent there is no real analogy or connexion, the difficulties arising out of the circumstances just enumerated may be easily conceived. "These difficulties, issuing in different ways from their common source, become apparent in the simple radical meaning of terms, or in the changes induced upon that meaning by the metaphorical application of them; by idiomatic expressions, by peculiarities of style, by difference of subject, and by the different species of composition in which the same subject is treated." *

3. But, in addition to the difficulties emanating from these sources, there are others equally embarrassing. We are not only far removed from the authors of the Bible by distance of time, in consequence of which we have to contend with the difficulties inseparable from written language, in a greater degree than otherwise we should have to do, but we are separated from them, also, by distance of place and circumstance. Their laws, manners, customs, and modes of thinking, were very dissimilar to every thing with which we are now conversant; and their references and allusions to then existing circumstances are sometimes so slight, but so intimately connected with an argument or an illustration, as to call for a large measure of previous information and knowledge, on the part of their readers.

4. Let us not be misunderstood, however, in thus speaking of the difficulties inseparable from the interpretation of the Bible. It is not intended to affirm that the Scriptures are so obscure, and their meaning so difficult to be ascertained, that multitudes of persons in whose hands they are placed must be deprived of the advantages they tender, and remain destitute of all interest in those blessings which it was the great design of their divine Author to communicate. By no means. Those great truths of revelation upon which man's faith

and salvation depend, are conveyed in language too intelligible to be mistaken by any humble and teachable mind, however destitute of adventitious knowledge. What we wish to impress upon the reader's mind is this, that there is in the sacred writings much beyond what is *indispensable* to salvation, which it is desirable to know and to understand; that there are heights and depths of knowledge, the discovery and comprehension of which will greatly conduce to our moral, intellectual, and religious perfection. The more we discover of the beauties of Scripture composition, and of the harmony and symmetry of divine truth, the more the heart will be expanded in love to God, and the more will the energies of the mind be directed to the attainment of his great purposes in the revelation of his will. But around these subjects are thrown the difficulties to which we have adverted; and nothing but great fixedness of purpose, and close application to study, can succeed in surmounting them, and introduce us into that sacred temple where the Divine Majesty sits in all the effulgence of his glory, and dispenses the rich favours of His beneficence.

5. It may be that the view we have now taken of the magnitude and difficulties of the subject upon which we are about to enter, has startled the minds of some of our readers, and tended to discourage them from the prosecution of that purpose they had previously formed. Should this be the case, we shall have defeated the object for which our observations were made. Our purpose has been, to place the nature of those studies comprehended within the science of Scripture interpretation in such a light, as to fortify the mind of the student against those feelings of despondency to which it could not fail to be subjected, upon encountering difficulties of which it had previously no conception. Let these be in some degree foreseen and understood, and a moderate amount of diligence and perseverance be brought to the subject, and we may safely promise the student a rich harvest of reward. If he do not speedily become a profound critic himself, he will become so far acquainted with the principles of interpretation as to be capable of forming a sound judgment upon the criticisms and interpretations of others, and of reading the Scriptures with pleasure and advantage to himself.

II. This seems to be the proper place for offering a few observations upon the use of commentaries and expositions of the Bible; because those persons who are contented to remain ignorant of the elementary principles of biblical interpretation, on the ground of the difficulty with which such knowledge is to be attained, are necessitated to betake themselves, in their Scripture reading, to the

* Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, p. 49.

constant use of expositors—if they do not, as we fear is often the case, substitute these for the text itself.

1. Let us suppose a person about to commence a course of Scripture reading, with a view to his personal edification, and who is, therefore, desirous to comprehend the meaning of the Bible, to at least the same extent as he would be desirous to comprehend the meaning of any human composition. He is, however, supposed to be almost totally ignorant of those historical matters to which the sacred writers so frequently allude, and which, in fact, give a character to the whole of their communications; of those common principles of literary composition by which every judicious and correct writer is governed in the construction of his work; of those general laws of our nature which, under the various circumstances of life, govern the human mind; and of those peculiarities of time and circumstance, which, of necessity, characterize every work of antiquity. But, if he is ignorant on these matters, can he be capable of forming a right judgment on the contents of the sacred volume? Assuredly not; and it is because he has a consciousness of this inability to judge for himself, that he adopts a commentator as his infallible guide. Can any thing be more preposterous, however, than such a mode of proceeding? Can any thing tend more effectually to shut out the light of Heaven, and perpetuate those lamentable differences which exist among men who profess to take the same word as the ground of their faith, while each stands at antipodes with the rest? Let us ask, How is it possible that persons thus implicitly adopting the judgment of others should have any judgment of their own? We have as many descriptions of commentaries as we have shades of religious belief; and every exposition of Scripture is written in accordance with some system of religious opinion, which it is designed to support and recommend. Now, if a commentary be adopted as a guide, by a person who has not studied the Scriptures for himself, and who is therefore incompetent to decide on the justness of the interpretations proposed, it is clear that he is wholly at the mercy of his expounder, and will, in every thing, be disposed to adopt his explications and solutions. Thus it is, that instead of a Bible-christian, he is made a sectarian; and his faith, instead of being founded on the word of God, is built on the speculations of men. His vacant mind, like what the lawyers call a *derelictum*, is claimed in property by the first occupant; and, as Dr. Campbell has justly remarked, that author, and others of the same party, commonly keep possession ever after. To the standard set up by them, every passage in Scripture must be made conformable, no

matter what violence it requires; and by the same standard all other authors and interpreters must be pronounced good or bad, orthodox or heretical. An opinion is first formed of the sense of Scripture, and a system of doctrine is adopted, and the Bible is then resorted to for arguments to support and defend them; with what success we need not say. Is it surprising that infidelity should exist and triumph, when it is found that sects the most opposite, and principles the most discordant, are supported by an appeal to the same Scriptures? The writer to whom we have just referred, has translated a passage from the Persian letters, to which we request the reader's attention.—

2. Rica, having been to visit the library of a French convent, writes thus to his friend in Persia concerning what had passed. "Father," said I to the librarian, "what are these huge volumes, which fill the whole side of the library?" "These," said he, "are the interpreters of the Scriptures." "There is a prodigious number of them," replied I; "the Scriptures must have been very dark formerly, and very clear at present. Do there remain still any doubts? Are there now any points contested?" "Are there!" answered he, with surprise, "are there! There are almost as many as there are lines." "You astonish me," said I; "what then have all these authors been doing?" "These authors," returned he, "never searched the Scriptures for what ought to be believed, but for what they did themselves believe. They did not consider them as a book, wherein were contained the doctrines which they ought to receive, but as a work which might be made to authorize their own ideas. For this reason, they have corrupted all the meanings, and have put every passage to the torture, to make it speak their own sense. It is a country whereon people of all sects make invasions, and go for pillage; it is a field of battle, where, when hostile nations meet, they engage, attack, and skirmish in a thousand different ways."

3. It may be thought that this representation is too highly coloured; we hope that it may be so; but who can deny that it is substantially true? Who will assert that such a method of treating the Bible has not been very generally adopted, and that our own times do not witness the lamentable evils that have thence resulted? But make as many deductions from the extent of the evil, thus affirmed, as we may; let it be circumscribed by bounds as narrow as can be desired; it will even then fully justify the purpose for which it has been cited, namely, to caution the student against the habitual use of commentaries and expositions, until after he has rendered himself competent to decide upon the justness of their pretensions. The sacred writings are given to mankind for the dis-

covery of truths which human reason could never have discovered, and can now only apprehend in so far as they are herein revealed. But is this object likely to be answered, if persons go to the reading of the Scriptures under the circumstances to which we have now adverted? By adopting these human expositions, they go to the Bible with the most inveterate prejudices and prepossessions; they take it for granted, before even looking into its pages, that such and such is the religion it propounds, and their only object in reading it—whether conscious of the fact or otherwise—is to accommodate it to their notions, and adapt it to the support of their previously formed system.* Being predetermined in favour of certain notions, before they read the pages of inspiration, passages of Scripture are strained, and tortured, and darkened, by unnatural comments, because they are read, not to find out the sense, but to make them speak that sense which had been previously imposed upon them.† The result may be readily conceived. The Scriptures are to such a person a sealed book; he understands them not, but as they are meted out to him by his spiritual guides: where these fail, he also must fail; where these misinterpret the language of the Bible, he, of necessity, must adopt, if not that which is really false, yet that which has no foundation in the words upon the supposed testimony of which he receives and adopts it. But what is worse than this, such a person is displacing the word of God, by the substitution of human compositions; good in themselves, perhaps, but still human, and therefore un-

authoritative compositions. Should they be faultless,—a thing inconceivable,—he will then only be guilty of having preferred the report of a man—one who, it is admitted, would not willingly deceive him, but who is himself open to deception—of having preferred the report of an erring creature, to the direct and actual communications of God himself! This will be the extent of the evil,—no trifling one, surely,—even if there should be *nothing defective or erroneous* in the character of those compositions which are in this way substituted for the Bible. In so far as they are absolutely false and erroneous, the evil will, of course, be proportionately greater.

4. In every point of view, therefore, the early use of these works is prejudicial to the mind. Independent of the influence which they exert in forming the theological sentiments of the student, says Dr. Campbell, they have a necessary tendency to prevent the exercise of the judgment and the discursive faculty; the person who takes them as his guides is ever learning, and never comes to a knowledge of the truth; he is confined within the limits which his teacher prescribes, and, in most cases, is unacquainted with the grounds on which his opinions are formed. To the advanced student, such works have their use, and by him they may be consulted with advantage. Having made some progress in scriptural science, he is provided with the principles by which their pretensions are to be tried; having acquired some insight into the spirit and sentiments of holy writ, he is capable of forming a judgment of the conformity or contrariety of these authors to that infallible standard; and therefore their authority or value is not likely to be over-estimated, while all the advantages they furnish will be effectually secured.‡ We repeat, therefore, that with such human compositions the studies of the theologian ought not to be commenced; his object, on the contrary, should be an acquaintance with the principles of interpretation, so that he may apply them for himself, that the decisions of inspiration alone may control his judgment, and that with regard to merely human teachers, he may apply to them the words of the poet:

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.

* Selden has quaintly said, "In interpreting the Scripture, many do as if a man should see one have ten pounds, which he reckoned by one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten; meaning four was but four units, and five, five units: the other that sees him, takes not the figures together as he doth, but picks here and there, and thereupon reports, that he hath five pounds in one bag, and six pounds in another bag, and nine pounds in another bag, &c., when, as in truth, he hath but ten pounds in all. So we pick out a text here and there, to make it serve our turn; whereas, if we take it altogether, and consider what went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing." (TABLE TALK, article BIBLE.) The practice here condemned, two hundred years since, is still too prevalent in the Christian world.

† Stillinger quotes it as the declaration of Socinus (de Servat. l. iii. 6.) That if our doctrine "were not only once, but frequently mentioned in Scripture, yet he would not therefore believe the thing to be so as we suppose." "For," saith he, "seeing the thing itself cannot be, I take the least inconvenient interpretation of the words; and draw forth such a sense from them as is most consistent with itself and the tenor of the Scripture." Can we be at all conversant with the theological writings of our own time, and yet deny that many who would start with horror at the idea of being charged with the least approach towards the sentiments of Socinus, do, in truth, imitate too closely the method which he adopted, to support and give currency to those sentiments?

‡ Ernesti judiciously recommends the student to fix upon some one or at most two, of the most celebrated interpreters of Scripture, and those which are designated grammatical, because the true sense of the subject must be derived from the true signification of words. Having fixed upon the commentators he intends to use, the student ought, by the repeated and careful perusal of them, to form himself by degrees to their manner of reasoning. While thus occupied, he ought only occasionally, or of necessity, to consult other commentators.

SECTION II.

HISTORY OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

Primitive Hebrew Interpreters—Vicious Modes of Interpretation—Early Christian Interpreters—Allegorical and Scholastic Systems of Interpretation—Revival of Biblical Learning—Hermeneutical Writers.

THE interpretation of the books of the Old Testament, in its highest antiquity, has not been the same in every age; and its history, both among Jews and Christians, is worthy of attention.

1. From the origin of the Hebrew state down to the time of its destruction, the sacred books required little interpretation: the language in which they were written was, during all this space of time, vernacular to the Israelites, and underwent only slight changes. If, then, any explanation was required, it was only in reference to the duties prescribed by the Mosaic law. The first interpreters of the sacred books may therefore be said to have been the Levites and the Prophets; for they, by the very Mosaic constitution, were the authorised directors and administrators of the external worship of God, and the interpreters and teachers of the divine laws, both sacred and civil, to the people, Deut. xxxiii. 10. They promoted the internal worship and the sincere veneration of the one God, and prompt obedience to his laws; and they inculcated the love of true piety and virtue, agreeably to the object of the Mosaic constitution, on their countrymen. From the time of Samuel downwards, therefore, they had schools in which the youth were formed to those noble sentiments, and in which, with the same view, the Scriptures were read and explained.

2. Although, previous to their exile to Babylon, the Israelites had among them persons who, from the nature of their office, applied themselves to the understanding of the Mosaic books, and to explaining them in the manner suited to the wants of the time; yet, by the greater part of the community, the study of these and the other sacred books was in general little heeded: for the Israelites universally showed a great propensity to the worship of idols and false gods at all times; until, by the condign punishment of their perverseness, in the destruction of their state and subsequent exile, they were brought to a better mind.

3. When the Jews, after their return home, began to devote themselves with much greater care than ever they had done before to their religion, and in consequence to the study of those books in which it was contained; the more distant they were from that age in which particularly the more ancient of these books were composed; and the more the language of their fathers had become depraved among them; so much the more every

day did the necessity of having them explained to them become greater. But, growing more and more adverse to all foreign religions, they by degrees fell into the basest superstition, and thus became attached to those modes of interpretation which are particularly pleasing to men who are superstitious, devoted to trifles, and narrow-minded. Before the time of our Saviour, there had, in consequence, long prevailed a trifling and subtle mode of explaining the Old Testament, which, servilely adhering to the words, altogether departed from the true meaning, of the text,—a mode which was followed by most of the doctors of the Pharisaical sect, particularly in interpreting the laws of Moses contrary to their spirit, and the divine intention in enacting them.

4. But, at the same time, there were not a few who followed a quite opposite plan, and paid no attention to the proper and common meaning of the words, but superinduced on the Scriptures a remote and figurative or allegorical signification, with the view of extracting from them the tenets of a foreign philosophy. The most indefatigable in this absurd manner of interpretation was Philo-Judæus, who was so carried away by his attachment to the Platonic philosophy, as to exhibit it veiled and wrapped up in the doctrines, precepts, and even in the historical details of his religion.

5. From the time of Alexander the Great, there evidently prevailed among the Jews who lived in Egypt a most silly mode of interpretation, deriving its origin from the allegorical method of the secret philosophers of the Egyptians, which in the course of time propagated itself more extensively. Out of the words and letters themselves, and their order and transposition, they extracted a hidden sense, and doctrines full of mystery: and this manner of interpretation, which was thought to recommend the traditions received from their ancestors by the additional authority of sanctity and of divine origin, came at last to be termed cabalistical, from the word קבל, which signifies "to receive."

6. When, however, from the tenth century after Christ, the study of Hebrew grammar came to be cultivated among the Jews, there were some who attempted to explain either the whole of the Old Testament, or some of its parts, in the grammatical manner; of whom the principal were Aben Ezra, Jarchi, Maimonides, David Kimchi, and Isaac Abarbanel. On the criticism, also, of their sacred writings, some Jews bestowed no little labour. The study of some sort of criticism seems even to have existed among them previous to the third century of our era. It was confined, however, almost wholly to things of very trifling importance, agreeably to the turn of mind of their nation, and was employed about mere minutiae,

such as the accurate computation of the number of words in each of the books of the sacred volume; nay, it was even partly conjoined with their cabalistic pursuits, as certain astonishing mysteries were attempted to be discovered in the uncommon mode of writing some letters, or in an unusual manner of punctuation.

7. Some interpretations, or Versions, as we call them, were made by the Jews; of which some were into Greek, for the use of those of their countrymen who could read Greek more easily than Hebrew, or who were quite ignorant of the Hebrew language; others were into Chaldee, intended for the use of those who had been accustomed to the Chaldee language, and with whom the language of their ancestors had fallen into disuse. Of these Versions, some are full of allegorical and cabalistical fables.

8. Our Saviour quite disapproved of the perverted mode of interpretation adopted by the Jews of his time, as appears from Matt. xv. 1—14: but, however, both he and his apostles, in quoting the sacred Scriptures, and making use of them for their own purposes, sometimes accommodated themselves to the received manner of the time; and Paul in particular, with a prudence deserving of much praise, occasionally adopted the allegorical mode.

9. By far the greater part of the succeeding Christian teachers, up to the age of Constantine the Great, were quite devoted to this allegorical mode of interpretation, and employed it almost solely in their disputations. The most celebrated during this period of time were, Ephraim Syrus among the Orientals, Clemens Alexandrinus and Origen among the Greeks, and Jerome among the Latins. The Greek doctors were indeed more particularly delighted with the allegorical method; to which both Clemens, although the most learned of the Fathers, as they are called, and even Origen himself, how much soever in other respects he contributed to assist in the right interpretation of the Scriptures, by those stupendous critical labours which he underwent, were strongly attached. This last (Origen) found a most celebrated imitator of his critical labours in Jerome, who devoted his great learning and industry to the criticism and interpretation, with a Latin Version, of the Old Testament. Before the end, however, of this period, some Versions of the Old Testament were first executed by the Christians, such as the Syriac and the Latin Italic, which preceded that of Jerome.

10. About the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, flourished Augustine, celebrated among the Latins more on account of his genius than his learning, who has bestowed

some pains in interpreting the Bible, and also first treated of the mode in which the sacred books were to be explained, in his writings on Christian doctrine: for we can scarcely reckon as belonging to this subject what Jerome says, in his epistle to Sammachæus, respecting the best manner of interpreting, in which he only details the method which he himself followed; neither can we consider as belonging to it the Greek epistle of Isidorus the Pellusiote, the noblest of Chrysostom's disciples, who lived in the fifth century; which, although they may be said to be on the interpretation of the sacred volume, yet only treat of those passages which are to be found in the Scriptures applicable to teaching us to guide our lives aright. But connected with this subject, certainly, is the Introduction to the Divine Scriptures (*ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν*) of Adrian, who lived in the same century.

11. After the fifth century, the state of the interpretation of the sacred text became more and more wretched; and this continued to go on till the fifteenth century; so that at first very few, and finally none, existed, who contributed any thing to the right interpretation of the whole Scripture, but particularly to that of the Old Testament.

12. In the twelfth century, the scholastic theology, which originated in the perverse use of the Aristotelian philosophy, arose, or certainly from that period very greatly prevailed, and for a considerable time afterwards was firmly established; the consequence was, that those who delighted in it, argued with minute and often absurd subtlety on religion, while they never once thought of interpreting the Scriptures.* Those, again, who were opposed to them, and were distinguished by the title of Biblical Doctors, by their mystical and allegorical interpretations rather darkened than illustrated the sacred books; and these by degrees became much diminished in number.

13. The universities, which in the same twelfth century were founded in Europe, and in which the learned languages, and also the Oriental dialects were taught, at first produced no change in the interpretation of the Scriptures. The expeditions into Asia, called the crusades, begun in the former century, and continued long afterwards, had taken off the minds of most men from any sort of study of the sacred volume; but being the cause why a vast number of Greeks left their native country, and migrated into Italy and other European countries, these excited a love of literature in various parts of Europe; and the pursuit of learning, by degrees reviving through means of the instituted

* The student will do well to read Bishop Marsh's twelfth Lecture on this subject.

universities, aided, and began to prepare the way for, a better interpretation of the sacred code.

14. In the second century, therefore, before the Reformation, Nicolaus Lyranus became celebrated as an interpreter of Scripture. To him Luther is very much indebted. But the art of printing, which was invented in the fifteenth century, was the most powerful means of disseminating, quickly and extensively, those sounder views which were afterwards entertained regarding Scripture criticism. But as the reviving love of learning, and the daily increasing study of doctrines, hastened and most happily assisted the reformation of religion, there was thus generated a greater liberty, and a much more correct method of interpretation. In the sixteenth century, then, when a clear light shone upon religion, which had been so much obscured, the two men who were the principal leaders of the Reformation, Luther and Calvin, expended much labour in translating and explaining even the books of the Old Testament, if we think of their time, and the aids which they possessed. Erasmus, too, who did not dare to embrace their party, although he mightily contributed to the reformation of religion, has merited immortal praise by what he has done in aid of the better interpretation of the books of the New Testament. He, however, did not expend any labour in elucidating the books of the Old Testament.

15. As the reformers of religion were accustomed to defend their cause by arguments taken from the Scriptures, they bestowed much pains on the right interpretation of the sacred volume, and imposed even upon their adversaries a necessity of some application to the same study. But from the continual disputations on both sides originated, by degrees, a polemical mode of interpreting and explaining the sacred books, which for some time prevailed, by which every one endeavoured to prove the opinions of his own party from the Scriptures, and not unfrequently to ascribe to the sacred writers opinions with which they were quite unacquainted, and opposed to their plain meaning.

16. The sixteenth century was rendered illustrious by a conjoint edition of some ancient Versions of the whole sacred code, which had been made at various times, both by the Jews and Christians. In this the Catholics merited great praise; for, through their care, the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglott Bibles, very excellent editions, were brought out; and one of them, Flaminius Nobilis, was the first who in this century endeavoured to collect and edit the fragments of the ancient Greek interpreters. The Polyglott Bibles, which in this century were edited

by the Protestants, did not attain to the same degree of celebrity; but John Drusius, who was much esteemed among the reformed churches, for his great learning, enlarged greatly the remains of those ancient interpreters.

17. In the same age, Sixtus Senensis, by the publication of his *Bibliotheca Sancta*, in which he, among other things, explained the art of expounding the Scriptures, seems to have gained no small praise to the Romish body. But far superior to him was Mathias Flacius Illyricus among the Lutherans, who, in his *Clavis Scripturæ Sacræ*, first showed the true method of interpreting Scripture, as far as it could be investigated and exhibited to others at that time.

18. The study of the Scriptures was much increased during the seventeenth century; for, besides some ancient Versions, or parts of them, which were edited separately, a more enlarged edition of the Polyglott Bible was published at Paris, and afterwards a still more perfect one at London. Some besides, and among them even the Papists themselves, laboured to illustrate either all the books of the Old Testament, or particular books or passages. Others were solicitous to explain the history and other events of the Old Testament. Others attained high praise by their cultivation of the Oriental languages; such, for instance, as Erpenius and Golius; while Cocceius exhibited singular skill in the Hebrew language and idiom. Others began to apply to the criticism of the Old Testament with a noble boldness; such as Ludovicus Capellus of the reformed body, and Richard Simon among the Papists; both of whom appeared to the men of their own time too free in their views. And, not to mention more who published books connected with sacred hermeneutics, Solomon Glassius in this century particularly distinguished himself, whose book on sacred philology has long been esteemed a standard work, and even in our age is very valuable. The glory, however, of this age was Grotius, who yet holds, and long will possess, the chief place among the interpreters of the New Testament; and no common praise is due to him for his annotations on the Old Testament, which, however, would have been much higher, had he bestowed the same labour on the Old as he did on the New Testament.

19. From the seventeenth century down to our age, the interpretation of the Scriptures has very greatly advanced, particularly among those who had happily delivered themselves from the long-worn shackles of the ancient superstition. The true way of studying the Hebrew language, by making use of the light to be derived from the Oriental languages, was first discovered by Albert

Schultens, who himself gained a high reputation by his interpretations of the Old Testament. And there were not a few who employed themselves with honour in the explication of the words, and of the whole Hebrew phraseology, and particularly of the poetic diction.

20. In the astonishing number of interpreters produced in later times, it was not possible that there should not have been a great diversity of method adopted by very many of them, according to the diversity of their times and genius. Among the Catholics, although freedom of interpretation was restrained by the stricter limits in which they were confined by their religion, in consequence of which they were prevented from proceeding freely in this work, yet there were to be found even among them some who distinguished themselves in this department; such as Augustin Calmet, about the beginning of the eighteenth century, much celebrated both for his Commentary on the sacred code, and also for his Dictionary of the Bible; and another in the middle of the same century, less commonly known, but remarkable for his varied erudition—Alexius Symmachus Mazochius, who in his *Spicilegium Biblicum* (Biblical Gleanings), which was confined to the Old Testament, seems fully to merit the praise of a learned and ingenious interpreter. Among those, again, from whose minds the reformation of religion had shaken off the yoke of servitude, this happy change only in the slow progress of time exerted all that power which it might and certainly ought to have had. Even in the beginning, therefore, of the eighteenth century, and for some time afterwards, there were very many who delighted in allegorical and mystical interpretations of Scripture; and not a few who were rather controversial theologians than interpreters. But a sounder mode of interpretation began to prevail more and more every day, and it, alone, by degrees became approved by the lovers of genuine liberty; a mode which, employing the necessary aids, not only endeavoured to discover the meaning of the writers from the idiom of the language which they used, but likewise illustrated and confirmed the meaning thus discovered, from the genius of the age in which they lived, and from their manners, circumstances, and design in writing; and, consequently, never sought to discover in them any thing but what could be shown with probability to have been in their minds.

21. But the liberty of interpretation came at last to be shamefully abused by some, and degenerated, through the proneness of mankind to rush into extremes, into the most unrestrained licentiousness. According to the most recent canons of this class of interpreters, we ought to admit nothing in

the sacred volume to be true that is not agreeable to the common order of things; and, conformably to these canons, whatever is related in Scripture as different from that order, must all be explained by the interpreter in a manner consistent with it: so that what would deservedly be accounted unallowable with regard to the profane writers of antiquity, is not only allowed to the most ancient sacred books, but is even reckoned laudable. And there are not wanting persons in our times, who twist to a moral purpose whatever may tend to give offence in these books, being no way solicitous regarding the most natural or plain sense of the words.

22. In fine: During that space of time of which we have just been speaking, many books were published which treated of the method of interpreting the whole sacred volume. Some of these, however, confined themselves solely to the critical part, while others, under the name of Introductions, embraced all those things which might be reckoned to pertain to the understanding of the contents, the authors, the composition, and the ancient Versions of the whole of the Scriptures, and of each of its parts. Of the first sort, the most excellent are, Turretin's Tract on the Interpretation of Scripture, Seiler on Biblical Hermeneutics, and Meyer's Attempt at the Interpretation of the Old Testament.* Of the latter sort, it will be sufficient to mention Carpzovius' Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, J. G. Eichhorn's Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament, Jahn's Introduction, Bertholdt's Historico-critical Introduction to all the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the Old and New Testaments, and Hug's Introduction to the New Testament† To these, which are all in foreign languages excepting Hug, translated by Dr. Wait, we may add such compendiums as Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, Marsh's Lectures on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, Gerard's Institutes of Biblical Criticism, Horne's Critical Introduction, &c., &c.‡

* The celebrated John Augustus Ernesti, of Leipsic, was the first writer who established the grammatico-historical method of interpretation on a scientific basis, in his "*Institutio Interpretis Nov. Test.*" in which he was followed by the acute and judicious Morus, and the learned but neological Ammon.

† Pareau's Principles of Interpretation of the Old Testament, Introduction.

‡ For a more particular and minute history of sacred hermeneutics, the reader may consult Bishop Marsh's eleventh and twelfth lectures; Planck's Sacred Philology, part ii., chap. v.; and Ernesti's Institutes, part iii., chap. ix.; in the Biblical Cabinet, vols. ii. and vii.; and Seiler's Biblical Hermeneutics, translated by Dr. Wright, pp. 1—22.

SECTION III.

MORAL QUALITIES REQUISITE IN AN INTERPRETER OF THE SCRIPTURES.

The State of Mind required in a Student of the Bible: Gratitude for the Fact and Character of Divine Revelation—Humility—Devout Prayer—Ingenueness and Decision of Purpose.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the moral qualifications of an interpreter of Scripture are of the first importance, and demand the most serious regard. Every person well knows that facts and circumstances take a high degree of colouring from the state of mind through which they are viewed; and that the particular impression they make is in a great measure dependant upon the disposition and habits of the recipient. That there can be no correct apprehension of *moral truth*, unless there be an unprejudiced and teachable frame of mind, most persons will admit. If a man be not convinced of his want of information, and be not animated by an upright intention of submitting without reserve to the discoveries of truth, however opposed to his previous sentiments and pursuits they may be, it is not to be expected that the clearest statement or the most conclusive reasoning will exert any beneficial influence upon his mind. But if this be true in the ordinary affairs of human life, it is much more so in the acquisition of scriptural knowledge. The stream of revealed truth runs in an opposite direction to the current of our fallen nature. Nor is this the greatest evil; the human mind is as destitute of ability rightly to apprehend the revealed will and purposes of God, as the human heart is opposed to their authority and control. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned," 1 Cor. ii. 14. Hence arises the necessity of a preparation of heart to seek after God (1 Sam. vii. 3, &c.), by a cultivation of those dispositions which accord as well with the divine communications, as with our own relative and responsible character. The state of mind, constituting these moral qualifications, may be resolved into the following particulars.

I. DEVOUT GRATITUDE FOR THE FACT AND CHARACTER OF THE DIVINE REVELATION.

1. If we have any thing like just conceptions of the high and holy character of God, and of our own debased and abject condition, we shall not fail to approach the volume of inspiration with sentiments of profound gratitude to Him for having favoured us, in such circumstances, with *any* communications of his will; but especially so, for the character and design of those communications which are presented to us in the Bible. Separated from the Author of our being by a course of sinful disobedience, and totally incapacitated, by the

depravation of our will and affections, for his service and presence, he might have justly abandoned us to the imaginings of our own hearts, destitute of the guidance of any further light from himself. In that case, how deplorable must have been our moral condition! Cut off from God—under the dominion of the powers of darkness—following the dictates of depraved affections, and subjected to the control of fierce and turbulent passions—we could only have proceeded from one stage of depravity and wretchedness to another, until we should have found ourselves placed beyond the reach of even the Divine compassion itself. But "the day-spring from on high has visited us;" the light of His truth has pierced through the gloom with which we were surrounded—"they who sat in darkness, and in the region of the shadow of death, have seen a great light;" and in the midst of our rebellion, we are arrested by the voice of God, in accents the most tender and merciful—"Unto you, O men, I call; and my voice is to the sons of men," Prov. viii. 4. "How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity? and the scornors delight in their scorn, and fools hate knowledge? Turn you at my reproof: behold, I will pour out my Spirit upon you, I will make known my words unto you," ch. i. 22, 23. Now, if the mere fact of a Divine revelation, intended to benefit our condition, be sufficient to excite our gratitude, and inspire us with reverential feeling, our obligations will appear to be greatly augmented, when we consider the merciful character which it assumes in the Bible.

2. Let it be observed, then, that it is in the Holy Scriptures, only, that we have *rational and influential discoveries of the character of God*. In proof of this position, we need only refer to the state of opinion in those parts of the world where the light of revelation has not yet beamed, or where it has been quenched by the opposition of sin. Amidst all the speculations of philosophy, for which Greece and Rome were renowned, at what certainty did their most celebrated philosophers arrive, even on the simple but momentous fact of the existence of an intelligent First Cause? Doubt and indecision marked the conclusions of their profoundest investigations, and reduced them to the rank of the merest probabilities.* With

* "The possession of the Bible alone," said the amiable Montgomery, in a speech delivered before the Philosophical Society of Sheffield—"The possession of the Bible alone—including treasures of history, jurisprudence, poetry, and ethics, capable above all other books of informing, expanding, delighting, and exalting the mind, while the heart is purified,—the possession of the Bible alone, with the power of reading and understanding its wonderful and blessed contents, acts the humblest Christian among us above the most enlightened heathen philosopher, in the true knowledge of the true God."

respect to the character and perfections of God, and the interest which He took in the moral government of the world, they were at a still greater loss, and involved in the most bewildering perplexities. In fact, the whole history of man, whether wandering in the wilds of savage independence, or enjoying the higher advantages of civilised society, abundantly confirms the humiliating truth, that "the world by wisdom knew not God," 1 Cor. i. 21. But turn we to the Scriptures, and what sublime and influential discoveries are there made of the existence and perfections of the Deity! How demonstrative are the evidences of His being—how convincing the proofs of His moral government—and how endearing the character which He is represented as sustaining towards man! Well might the regal prophet exclaim, "The entrance of thy word giveth life"—"It giveth understanding to the simple!" Ps. cxix.

3. We have here, also, *an intelligible account of the origin of moral evil*. Nor let this be regarded as a matter of trifling moment: it is intimately connected with just views of the righteous system of God's moral government, and the final destinies of the human race. But this was never furnished through any other medium than the sacred volume. In confirmation of this assertion, as well as that on the former topic, we might confidently appeal to the speculations of those who have been left destitute of the guidance of revelation, or who have rashly and impiously turned from its proffered assistance. A detail of the monstrous notions which have been entertained on this subject, however, will not comport with our limits; nor is it, indeed, necessary to our present design. Our own times have witnessed one mighty but unhappy spirit, who, rejecting the guidance of the inspired records, and turning with disdain from the information which they have brought within our reach, has indulged in his uncurbed and unhallowed speculations, till, lost in the bewilderings of his own imagination, he has fearlessly impugned the goodness of his Creator, and blasphemed the name of his God!* Such is the boasted wisdom of man, if left to the resources of his own intellect. But this deficiency is supplied by the Bible. In this, the mystery which had been hidden from ages is made manifest; the conduct of God stands absolved from every imputation which infidelity has thrown upon it; and every part of the moral government of the Creator is seen to harmonize with the perfections of his character.

4. Through the same medium, exclusively, we

learn *the method by which the salvation of man is effected, and the medium of his approach to God*. Living, as we do, in the midst of this light, we are not, it is to be feared, sufficiently impressed with a consciousness of its high importance, or its infinite value. We shall do well, therefore, to direct our attention towards those less favoured beings who are deprived of its advantages. Do not the cruel and degrading superstitions of the pagan world, both in ancient and in modern times, afford convincing proof that the great question which agitates the human mind, and presses its terrors upon the consciences of men, apprehensive of the wrath of some unknown but offended Deity, is this, "How shall man be justified with God?" But of this, alas! he is ignorant. The prophet has described, in language no less just than forcible, the fearful anxiety and distressing uncertainty which perturb the mind in such circumstances—"Wherewithal shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?" Mic. vi. 6. On a mind thus agitated by an overwhelming apprehension of the divine displeasure, and without any well-grounded hope of averting its impending doom, what must be the exhilarating effects of the merciful announcements of the gospel? and what must be the thrilling sensibilities of the heart, when these discoveries are first made and apprehended? The design of this revelation is to announce the gracious purposes of God to save men from the guilt and punishment of sin; his purposes of pardoning the guilty—of sanctifying the unholy—of giving strength to the helpless, and power to them who have no might. It further informs us of the medium through which we may successfully approach the throne of God, and acceptably urge our petitions for an interest in these unspeakably important benefits. In the midst of the overwhelming of our grief and the despondency of our spirit, produced by a consciousness of having contemned the Author of our being, our hopes are animated by the most encouraging assurances that there is a way opened to his throne, through which we may pass, and successfully urge our plea:—"Seeing then that we have a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus, the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession:—"Let us come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need."—"Wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing

* See "Cain; a Tragedy."

he ever liveth to make intercession for them," Heb. iv. 14, 16; vii. 25.

5. But it may further be remarked, that *in the Scriptures, only, are the truth and certainty of a future state revealed*. Upon this, as well as upon each of the former topics, men must have remained in utter darkness, but for the light of Revelation; or, if this should be thought too much, we will say, they must have been destitute of all satisfactory information. It is true, that some efforts have been made to demonstrate the immortality of the soul, upon principles independent of Scripture; but, without any desire to depreciate the labours of those who have employed themselves in the investigation, we may be allowed to remark, that the mere circumstance of no one ever having arrived at any thing like certainty on the subject, until brought within the light of inspiration, is enough to justify a suspicion, that the superiority of modern ratiocination over that of the ancients is in this respect derived, perhaps unconsciously, from the discoveries of the written word. We have been frequently reminded of the sentiments of Socrates, Plato, Cicero, and others, who, by the mere exercise of reason, it is said, discovered that the present is not the only state of being—that the existence of man does not terminate with this life, but that there remains a state where virtue will be rewarded and vice punished. But, granting that such discoveries have been made, we would ask those who boast of philosophy, for the purpose of derogating from the value of revelation, what it cost these individuals, in the pursuit of this knowledge, ere they could triumph in its possession? Did the opponents of revelation ever follow those master spirits in their mental excursions? Did they ever make an effort to discipline their own minds to the same severe and laborious course of investigation, which these philosophers were obliged to prosecute through toilsome months and years? There is little risk of doing them an injustice, in saying, that they have not so done. They therefore are incompetent to determine how many could have attained to the same degree of assurance, on this truth, as the worthies to whom they have referred to. The process by which the truth was thus to be arrived at, was too complex to engage the attention of the great proportion of men; and therefore God, in his infinite compassion, made known a shorter way. That way is to be found in the Scriptures; and we are prepared for the meek and the laugh of the witling, when we say, that the most illiterate man who can read his Bible, and avail himself of the information it contains, knows infinitely more about a future state of existence, than either Socrates or Plato;

and, what is of far more value, his knowledge is more influential. So dubious did these philosophers hold the conclusions of their reasoning to be, that they were far from being satisfied of the certainty of those doctrines which they endeavoured to impress upon others. In circumstances when the support of his principles was most needed, the confidence of the philosopher forsook him; and in the contemplation of death, he viewed the existence of a future state as a problem not to be solved. Even Cicero speaks of this doctrine as doubtful; and in his Treatise on Old Age, he introduces the elder Cato mentioning it as an opinion of which he was fond, rather than a doctrine which he could demonstrate; and after enumerating all the arguments of which he could think, he comforts himself with this reflection upon the whole: that, if the soul died with the body, the petty philosophers, who opposed themselves to the opinion of the soul's immortality, ceasing to be, as well as himself, would not laugh at his credulity. Plato, in his *Phædon*, makes Socrates speak with some doubt concerning his own arguments, and introduces Simmias saying to him, "We ought to lay hold of the strongest arguments for this doctrine, that either we ourselves, or others, can suggest to us. If both ways prove ineffectual, we must put up with the best proofs we can get, *till some promise or revelation shall clear up the point*." The wisdom of Socrates and Plato united, did, in fact, only produce such arguments for their favourite opinion, as they were themselves dissatisfied with. Cicero, being so attached to the same opinion, that, as he says, he would rather err with Plato in holding it, than think rightly with those who deny it, poorly echoes the arguments of his master, adds little to them himself, and, at the conclusion, virtually giving up the point, with all the arguments brought to support it, endeavours to comfort himself and others, against the approach of death, by proving death to be no evil, even should the soul perish with the body. Such were the conclusions of philosophy. We turn, however, to the Holy Scriptures, and every doubt is removed, and every objection silenced. That which antecedently appeared as probable, and devoutly to be wished for, is here rendered indubitably certain. The speculations of philosophy give place to the certainties of revelation, and "life and immortality are rendered manifest by the Gospel," 2 Tim. i. 10.

6. Now, let the several considerations which are here adverted to, be thrown together; let them be viewed separately and in the aggregate; let the important nature and consolatory tendency of the Scripture discoveries be considered; let the means of

knowledge which we possess in the Bible, be contrasted with the wanderings and uncertainties to which those persons must submit who are destitute of its light and influence; and we cannot but feel our gratitude excited, when we approach to God, as speaking in that book;—"Gratitude, not only expressing itself in proper terms, but possessing the mind with an abiding and overmastering influence, under which it should sit impressed the whole duration of the interview; such an emotion as cannot utter itself in language, though by language it indicates its presence, but preserves us in a devout and adoring frame while the Lord is uttering his voice. Go, visit a desolate widow with consolation, and help, and fatherhood of her orphan children—do it again and again—and your presence, the sound of your approaching footstep, the soft utterance of your voice, the very mention of your name, will come to dilate her heart with a fulness which defies her tongue to utter, but speaks by the tokens of a swimming eye, and clasped hands, and fervent ejaculations to heaven upon your head! No less copious acknowledgment to God, the Author of our well-being, and the Father of our better hopes, ought we to feel when his word discloseth to us the excesses of his love. Though a veil be now cast over the majesty which speaks, it is the voice of the Eternal which we hear, coming in soft cadences to win our favour, yet omnipotent as the voices of the thunder, and overpowering as the rushing of many waters. And though the veil of the future intervene between our hand and the promised goods, still are they from his lips, who speaks, and it is done; who commandeth, and all things stand fast. With no less emotion, therefore, should this book be opened, than if, like him in the Apocalypse, you saw the voice which spake; or, like him in the trance, you were into the third heavens translated, accompanying and communing with the realities of glory, 'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived.' " *

II. With this devout gratitude must be conjoined, A HUMBLING CONVICTION OF OUR OWN INABILITY RIGHTLY TO ESTIMATE THE VALUE, OR SUBMIT TO THE TEACHINGS, OF THE WORD OF GOD. This conviction is indispensably requisite, God having thus declared the constitution of his gracious government, and the mode of his merciful procedure: "He resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble," James iv. 6, 1 Pet. v. 5. And surely the disposition of mind of which we are now speaking, is one most befitting persons who are

not only "alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them" (Eph. iv. 18), but whose understanding is also blinded by the god of this world (2 Cor. iv. 4), and whose corrupt nature "is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be," Rom. viii. 7. But how many are they, who, if they spurn not the heavenly visitant from their presence, and refuse to listen to the voice of God written in his word, yet come to its perusal with unhumbled and haughty spirits, with high thoughts of their own importance, and deceitful notions of their own dignity? Men who open the Bible, and read its humbling and soul-abasing doctrines, with the same thoughtlessness with which they peruse the pages of a novel or a romance, and never once think of the exceeding broadness of God's command, or the exceeding riches of his grace! Such, however, must not be our conduct, if we would profit by this employment. There must not only be a conviction of our ignorance of the deeply momentous truths of God's word, but there must also be a sensibility of our want of spiritual perception, when those truths are laid before us, and of the hostility of our nature towards even those which we do know. Such is the word of promise: "To that man will I look, to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word," Isaiah lxvi. 2. When we are brought under the unrestrained influence of these sentiments—gratitude for the revelation, and deep self-abasement, from a consciousness of our own ignorance—it will induce,

III. DEVOUT PRAYER TO GOD FOR DIVINE ILLUMINATION, AND A RIGHT UNDERSTANDING OF SCRIPTURAL TRUTH. The original Author of the Holy Scriptures is alone able to open to our understandings their true meaning; and unless his Holy Spirit cast a ray of heavenly illumination upon our minds, no power of genius, no depth of erudition, can help us to a saving knowledge of their contents. Not, indeed, that there is any deficiency in the Revelation itself: to suppose so, would be as absurd as for a blind man to maintain that the sun did not shine, because he was unable to discern its splendour. The defect is in ourselves: we are by nature spiritually blind, "having the understanding darkened, and being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in us, because of the blindness of our hearts." "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, because they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." But these declarations do not stand alone; they are accompanied by an assurance, that "he which is spiritual discerneth all things:" and our blessed Lord appeals to us, "If ye, being

* Irving's Orations for the Oracles of God, p. 17.

evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?" While men are entertaining so high a conceit of themselves, as to imagine that divine wisdom is attainable by the aid of their own unassisted reason, they are neglecting the chief means which God has appointed for securing it, and remain destitute of any other compass to direct them, in the perilous voyage of life, than their own changeable fancy. Is it surprising, that they should be constantly in danger of making "shipwreck?" They may read, and dispute, and put their ingenuity to the rack; but they will still remain ignorant of the very rudiments of the gospel. The prayer of faith, however, offered from the humble and contrite heart of one who has learned to sit meekly at the feet of Jesus, will never fail to unlock the sacred treasury of heaven, and to enrich the happy suppliant with that inestimable pearl of great price—that which is "more precious than rubies, and with which all things in the world are not to be compared." It is the peculiar office of the Holy Spirit to "lead men into all truth." Most justly, therefore, did Luther, in commencing his career of triumph over the ignorance and superstition of popery, thus express himself: "The sacred writings are not to be understood but by that Spirit by whom they were written; which Spirit is never more powerful and energetic, than when HE accompanies the serious perusal of those writings which HE himself has dictated. Setting aside an implicit dependance on human writings, let us strenuously adhere to the Scriptures alone." In perfect accordance with these sentiments, was the practice of the holy Psalmist, than whom no man, perhaps, has ever formed a juster conception of the value and blessedness of God's truth. The devout aspirations of his heart are embodied in the beautiful compositions of his pen. "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law:" "Teach me thy statutes:" "Make me to understand the way of thy precepts," Ps. cxix. Such were his convictions of the necessity of divine illumination, for the purpose of understanding the written word. Such, also, were the convictions and practice of the prophets and apostles, notwithstanding that they were favoured with extraordinary revelations from on high. No man, who is truly grateful to God for the revelation of his will, and who also feels his own inability rightly to understand that revelation, will fail to profit by these illustrious examples. He will thankfully avail himself of the advice of one who knew how to estimate its value: "If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally,

and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him," James i. 5. And we may assure ourselves that no one, reading under the influence of such principles, and the exercise of such devotion, shall fail of his reward. Every annunciation of the Eternal will be sealed upon his heart, and be reflected in his temper and conduct. Humbly seeking to God for wisdom, and relying upon the word of his promise for grace to consecrate it to practical purposes, his word will become to such an one the divine seed, giving birth to "the fruits of righteousness, which are by Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of God," Phil. i. 11.

IV. THE SCRIPTURES MUST BE READ WITH A FREEDOM FROM ALL UNDUE BIAS OF SENTIMENT, AND WITH AN UPRIGHT INTENTION OF SUBMITTING TO THE WHOLE WILL OF GOD.

1. Where this is not found, all efforts will be lost; and greatly it is to be feared that many, in whose hearts God has excited a desire for divine knowledge, suffer themselves to be deprived of the object of their labour and prayer, by not carefully attending to this rule. Pre-occupied with some favourite notions, which are fondly cherished as *the doctrines of the Bible*, that book is resorted to, rather for arguments to confirm and support these previously acquired sentiments, than to learn, with simplicity and without reserve, the whole will of God. Is there not reason to think, that there are but few, comparatively, who can adopt, in the integrity of their heart, the confession of the great but humble Boyle: "I use the Scripture, not as an arsenal, to be resorted to only for arms and weapons to defend this party, or defeat its enemies; but as a matchless temple, where I delight to be, to contemplate the beauty, the symmetry, and the magnificence of the structure, and to increase my awe, or excite my devotion to the Deity there preached and adored?" There is, in consequence of the fall of man, a haughty spirit of independence so inseparably allied to our moral constitution, that we are more disposed to bring the truth of God to the level of our finite reason, than to receive it with that humility which our Lord inculcated, when he said, "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven;" a temper of mind to which the apostle also alludes, when he speaks of our "becoming fools," in order that we may be made wise. From this bitter root has proceeded much of that hostility with which a simple declaration of the doctrines of Christianity has in every age been met, as well as those various ramifications of false doctrine which frequently harass the seemingly penetrating, but really perplexed and vacillating, mind. Much also of the theological warfare which has been maintained

among those who have been agreed in the fundamental tenets of vital godliness, and into the lists of which the best of men have sometimes entered, has had its origin in the same cause. How common is it to see even persons possessing piety, so fondly attached to particular systems of doctrine, as to make no scruple of bending, by a laboured explanation, any text which does not seem to favour their preconceived opinions, and thus refusing to embrace "the whole counsel of God!"* If such persons were deeply affected with right conceptions of the inconceivable greatness of that Being by whose inspiration the Scriptures were given, they would not easily fall into snares such as these. They would be certain that the *perfect* understanding of many of the subjects revealed in the sacred writings, especially whatever relates to their great Author, is far beyond the province of the human intellect. Every attempt to fathom, by our limited reason, the deep things of the Most High, or to reconcile with systematic nicety particular points which, though clearly revealed, may not appear to our contracted view perfectly accordant with each other, or with our idea of what is right and befitting the Almighty, must be utterly vain and futile. Humility, contrition of spirit, steady faith, implicit confidence, a disposition to receive, in its unsophisticated meaning, all that God says, because he says it;—these are the dispositions which become man when his Maker condescends to be his instructor, and in the exercise of which, alone, can we make any profitable attainments in spiritual knowledge. If we are willing to construe the words of a human author in their plain and obvious signification, surely we ought not to refuse to do so with regard to Him that "speaketh from heaven." This sentiment is very beautifully expressed by Saurin in one of his sermons. "I freely grant," says he, "that had I consulted my own reason only, I could not have discovered some of the mysteries of the gospel. Nevertheless, when I think on the grandeur of

God, when I cast my eyes on that vast ocean, when I consider that immense ALL, nothing astonishes me, nothing staggers me, nothing seems to me inadmissible, how incomprehensible soever it may be. When the subject is divine, I am ready to believe all, to admit all, to receive all, provided I be convinced it is God himself who speaks to me, or any one on his part. After this, I am no longer astonished that there are three distinct persons in one divine essence; one God, and yet a Father, a Son, and a Holy Spirit. Either religion must tell us nothing about God, or what it tells us *must* be beyond our capacities; and, in surveying even the borders of this immense ocean, it must needs exhibit a vast extent in which our feeble sight is lost. But what surprises me, what staggers me, what affrights me, is to see a diminutive creature, a contemptible man, a little ray of light glimmering through a few feeble organs, argue a point with the Supreme Being; oppose that Intelligence who sitteth at the helm of the world; question what He affirms; dispute what He determines; appeal from His decisions; and even after God has given him evidence, reject all doctrines that are above his capacity. Enter into thy nothingness, mortal creature! What madness fills thee! How dost thou dare, thou who art but a point—thou whose essence is but an atom—to measure thyself with the Supreme Being; with Him who fills heaven and earth; with Him whom the heaven, even the heaven of heavens, cannot contain? Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection?"*

2. But the evil is not confined to those presumptuous persons who would reduce the truths of revelation to the level of their own intellect, and impiously offer their counsel to Him about whose word we are speaking. The picture which has been drawn by an eloquent writer, of the too common practice of professing Christians, is not less faithful, we fear, than it is humiliating and distressing. "The points of the faith we have been called on to defend, or which are reputable with our party, assume in our esteem an importance disproportionate to their importance in the word, which we come to rely chiefly when it goes to sustain them, and the Bible is hunted for arguments and texts of controversy which are treasured up for future service. The solemn stillness which the soul should hold before her Maker, so favourable to meditation and rapt communion with the throne of God, is destroyed at every turn,

* "There are few, indeed, who approach the interpretation of the New Testament with minds uncorrupted and unprejudiced. The greater part have already imbibed certain opinions. Some have become habituated to the ancient formulae of theologians; others have learned to cast off all restraints, and are wonderfully delighted in the exercise of their own ingenuity. One party are led astray by the authority of some theological system; the other, by the most recent form of philosophy. All, in short, forsake the plain and simple path, and have recourse to art in searching after truth. That rectitude of purpose, therefore, which sees and comprehends the truth directly and without evasion, is exhibited by few, in the interpretation of the New Testament. And hence it naturally happens, that as such interpreters are themselves wanting in simplicity, this virtue is also absent in their interpretations."—*Professor Tittman*, in *Bibl. Repos.*, No. 3.

* Saurin's Sermons, vol. i. p. 78. — *Christian Observer*, vol. xx. p. 597.

by suggestion of what is orthodox and evangelical, where all is orthodox and evangelical; the spirit of the reader becomes lean, being fed with abstract truths and formal propositions; his temper ungenial, being ever disturbed with controversial suggestions; his prayers, undevout recitals of his opinions; his discourse, technical announcements of his faith. Intellect, cold intellect, hath the sway over heavenward devotion and holy fervours. Man, contentious man, hath the attention which the unsearchable God should undivided have; and the fine full harmony of Heaven's melodious voice, which, heard apart, were sufficient to lap the soul in ecstasies unspeakable, is jarred and interfered with, and the heavenly spell is broken with the recurring conceits, sophisms, and passions of men.*

3. An authoritative message has been sent from the throne of God, accredited by the most ample and convincing evidence. What, therefore, is our duty? Assuredly it is not to prejudge the contents of this revelation, any more than to decide upon its propriety, or to find fault with its requisitions. "Our simple business is to interpret fairly, and without prejudice, its various parts, and then submit without any reserve to its paramount authority. Having been visited with the light of revelation, the formation of our religious creed is no longer left to the dreams of imagination, or the speculations of philosophy; but it is to be deduced fairly and honestly from the written record alone. And the same principle is to govern equally the learned and the unlearned. It is the office of a translator to give a faithful representation of the original. And now this faithful representation has been given, it is our part to peruse it with care, and to take a fair and faithful impression of it. It is our part to purify our understanding of all its previous conceptions. We must bring a free and unoccupied mind to the exercise. It must not be the pride or the obstinacy of self-formed opinions, or the haughty independence of him who thinks he has reached the manhood of his understanding. We must bring with us the docility of a child, if we want to gain the kingdom of heaven. It must not be a partial, but an entire and an unexcepted obedience. There must be no garbling of that which is entire, no darkening of that which is luminous, no softening down of that which is authoritative or severe. The Bible will allow of no compromise. It professes to be the directory of our faith, and claims a total ascendancy over the souls and the understandings of men. It will

enter into no composition with us, on our natural principles. It challenges the whole mind as its due, and it appeals to the truth of heaven for the high authority of its sanctions: 'Whosoever addeth to, or taketh from, the words of this book, is accursed,' is the absolute language in which it delivers itself. This brings us to its terms. There is no way of escaping after this. We must bring every thought into captivity to its obedience; and, as closely as ever lawyer stuck to his document or his extract, must we abide by the rule and the doctrine which this authentic memorial of God sets before us.†

4. Having thus ascertained the revealed will of God, it must be our purpose and determination to fulfil it. "Not every one," says the Saviour, "that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven," Matt. vii. 21. It were better for us to be placed beyond the light and influence of the divine revelation, than to enjoy its advantages and yet withhold our obedience. For while the servant who knoweth not his Lord's will, and consequently errs in his duty, shall be beaten with few stripes; he that knoweth it, but doeth it not, shall be beaten with many, Luke xii. 47, 48.

V. Such appears to be the preparation of mind, and disposition of heart, required in those who would derive from the study of the Scriptures those benefits which it is the intention of their Divine Author to impart. The Bible is the ordinary channel through which He conveys his blessings to man; and it is only by placing ourselves in a proper situation, and providing ourselves with suitable means, that we can rationally expect to become partakers of the waters of life.

SECTION IV.

THE LITERARY QUALIFICATIONS OF AN INTERPRETER.

The Hebrew and Greek Languages—Grammars and Lexicons—Rhetoric and Logic—Historical Circumstances—Their Intimate Connexion with Interpretation—Civil and Political Geography—Natural History—Literary and Historical Circumstances pertaining to the Sacred Books.

THE interpretation of the Bible, as we have already seen, calls for a large measure of various knowledge, to which we shall now more particularly advert.

I. In the first place, an interpreter ought to be well skilled in both the Hebrew and Greek languages, so that he may be able to distinguish be-

† Dr. Chalmers on the Evidence and Authority of the Christian Revelation, p. 269. The whole of the chapter will amply repay the labour of a careful perusal.

* Irving's Orations for the Oracles of God, p. 14.

tween the idioms of each language, and rightly to interpret both. The object of interpretation is the examination and explanation of words by grammatical principles; and as the sense thus discovered is the true and only proper sense, it follows that a grammatical knowledge of the languages of the text is indispensable to the task.

1. Ernesti and his commentator have well illustrated the value of grammatical knowledge, especially of etymology and syntax, to an interpreter of the sacred writings, in the following remarks:

1. An interpreter ought, in the first place, to be acquainted with the differences and powers of words, in so far as they depend upon their grammatical form. The differences here to be considered are those which arise from derivation, composition, inflexion, and accents. Nor ought we less carefully to study the force and difference of forms in those words which grammarians have styled emphatically *verba, verbs*; together with the exceptions to each rule, either as to tenses or moods, which have been introduced by usage. Interpreters who have not acquired an accurate knowledge of these rules, and have not rendered their knowledge available by the habit of applying it, are liable to fall into great and serious blunders; and it is wonderful how many instances of such blunders are to be met with; whereas a little attention to grammar often clears away the difficulty, and enables us to interpret rightly, and to refute the errors of others. As an example in point, Mr. Terrot refers to Rom. viii. 30, which in our Version is rendered thus: "Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called; and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified." Now, he remarks, all these verbs being in the first aorist, are not necessarily expressive of *past* time, but are completely *indefinite*, and mark habitual, systematic action. The text, therefore, would have been better rendered, "Whom he predestinates, them he also calls," &c.

2. But the knowledge of *syntax* is still more necessary, not only that we may ascertain the order in which the words are to be taken, which is often of great importance to the right understanding of the passage; but also, that we may know the proper construction of every word and particle separately, so as to be able to judge, in the New Testament, whether the expression be pure Greek or not; and finally, that we may know the force and sense of each particular construction from the true spirit of the language. For he who, being ignorant of these matters, proceeds to translate word for word, from one language into another, must necessarily fall into great and frequent errors, from the dissimilarity of the idioms. The writings of the commentators are full of errors of this class; nor can any one, without the knowledge here required, detect and confute the mistakes of interpreters and critics. As an illustration of Ernesti's reasoning, his translator, Terrot, selects John i. 1, *Kai θεός ἦν ὁ λόγος*. Why, he asks, do we

render this, *And the Word was God*, rather than, *God was the Word*? Because it is a rule of Greek syntax, that when a subject and predicate are joined together by the substantive verb, the subject has the article, and the predicate has it not. The reader who is conversant with critical writings need only be reminded of the important light that has been thrown upon several passages of the New Testament, by the labours of Middleton, Sharpe, and others, in elucidating the doctrine of the Greek article.*

2. But important as a knowledge of technical grammar is to an interpreter, his acquaintance with the original languages of Scripture must not terminate here. In studying the philology of the Hebrew language, for instance, he must discover, by means of the helps that can be employed, its spirit, its character, its peculiarities, the significations of its words, and the very characteristics of its figures. Thus he must draw out its character from the analogy of the other Oriental languages, which have sprung from it, or are connected with it, and the meanings of its words and phrases, from a comparison of the various Versions which we have of the Hebrew Scriptures; since these are the only sources which can supply such knowledge respecting them as may be confidently relied on.

3. The case is the same with the particular philology of the Greek text, which largely partakes of the Hebrew structure, and abounds with those expressions in which the national and religious ideas of the Jews were ordinarily expressed.† Hence the interpreter should be acquainted, not only with pure Greek, but with its various dialects, especially the Alexandrine.

4. In prosecuting this branch of his studies the student will find the following works amongst the best he can avail himself of:—

FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT—GRAMMARS AND LEXICONS.

1. A Hebrew Grammar, with a copious Syntax and Praxis. By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Andover, 8vo., fourth edition, 1831. This work is founded chiefly on the Hebrew grammar of Gesenius. The student should also procure by the same author, "Dissertations on the Importance and Best Method of studying the Original Languages of the Bible, by Jahn, Gesenius, and Wyttenbach; translated from the original Latin.

2. A Grammar of the Hebrew Language, comprised in a Series of Lectures. By the Rev. Samuel Lee, D.D., Professor of Arabic (and now Regius Professor of Hebrew) in the University of Cambridge. Second edition, 1832.

* Ernesti's Institutes, Part III, ch. 10, § 8, 9.

† Planck's Introduction to Sacred Philology, Part I. chap. xi.

3. *A Hebrew Chrestomathy.* By Professor Stuart. This work, the first volume of which was published in 1829, and a second in 1830, is designed to furnish a course of Hebrew study.

4. *A Manual of the Chaldee Language*, containing a Chaldee Grammar, chiefly from the German of Professor G. B. Winer; a Chrestomathy, consisting of Selections from the Targums, and including the whole of the Biblical Chaldee, with Notes, and a Vocabulary adapted to the Chrestomathy, with an Appendix on the Rabbinical Character and Style. By Elias Riggs, A. M., Boston, 8vo., 1832.

5. *Johannis Buxtorfii Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, folio, Basil, 1640.

6. *A compendious Lexicon of the Hebrew Language.* By Clement C. Moore, 2 vols. 12mo.; New York, 1809. The first volume of this work contains an explanation of every word which occurs in the Psalms, with notes; the second volume being a Lexicon and Grammar of the whole language. It is a most useful work for a beginner in the Hebrew language.

7. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, including the Biblical Chaldee, from the German of Gesenius, with Additions. By the Rev. Josiah W. Gibbs, A. M., of the Theological Seminary, Andover, 8vo., London, 1827.

FOR THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. *A Grammar of the New Testament.* By Professor Stuart, Andover, 1834. This is a singularly valuable elementary book for critical purposes.

2. *A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament*, in which the Words and Phrases occurring in these Sacred Books are distinctly explained; and the Meanings assigned to each, authorised by References to Passages of Scripture; and frequently illustrated and confirmed by Citations from the Old Testament and from the Greek Writers. By John Parkhurst, A. M. 4to. and 8vo. Prefixed to this Lexicon is a most admirable summary of Greek Grammar, adapted for the use of those who understand only the English tongue.

3. *Novum Lexicon Græco-Latinum in Novum Testamentum, congestis et variis Observationibus Philologicis illustravit Johannes Friedericus Schleusner*, 2 vols., 8vo., Lipsiæ, 1819; Edinburgh, 1814; Glasgow, 1817.

4. *A Greek and English Manual Lexicon to the New Testament, with Examples of all the irregular and more difficult Inflexions.* By J. H. Bass. 12mo. London.

5. *Clavis Novi Testamenti Philologica, Usibus Scholarum, et juvenum Theologiæ Studiosorum, accommodata, auctore M. Christ. Abrahamo Wahl.* Lipsiæ, 1822. This is a more accurate work than Schleusner's, especially in the account of prepositions and particles. It has been translated into English by Edward Robinson, A. M. (now D. D.), Assistant Lecturer in the department of Sacred Literature, Theol. Sem., Andover. It is in a single volume, royal 8vo., and will be found an invaluable work.

6. *Remarks on the Synonyms of the New Testa-*

ment. By John Aug. Henry Tittman, D. D., first Theological Professor in the University of Leipsic. Translated by the Rev. Edward Craig, M. A. Vol. 1, forming Vol. 3 of the Biblical Cabinet. This is a most important work: it is much to be regretted that the death of the learned author prevented the completion of his design, which was to investigate the comparative force of all those words in the New Testament which appear to be synonymous; i. e., which range under a common genus, as having one generic idea in common; but which have each of them, additional to this, a specific difference of meaning. The student who uses Schleusner's Lexicon would do well to make himself acquainted with Dr. Tittman's work.

II. *Rhetoric and Logic* furnish valuable assistance to the interpreter of the sacred writings, and should therefore secure a measure of his attention. Of Rhetoric, that portion of it which is most valuable to an interpreter, is that which treats of the meaning and nature of tropes. The rules laid down in rhetorical treatises, respecting the different modes and beauties of style, and especially respecting sublimity or beauty of sentiment, will also be found of great assistance in the interpretation of those instances that so frequently occur. Logic will be found useful to the interpreter, in helping him to distinguish between the ideas of things and the sounds of words; to form accurate notions of words, by collecting their scattered portions into an aggregate whole, or by deducing them from examples in which they may be found; as also in expressing those notions clearly and briefly; to distinguish between similar ideas, lest, being deceived by ambiguity, he should confound things that are essentially distinct; to analyse the arguments and reasoning of the sacred writers; and to detect and reconcile apparent discrepancies.* In all these respects, the interpreter will find great assistance in a knowledge of the science of logic.

III. It will be evident to those who have attended to the remarks that were made on the objects and difficulties of biblical interpretation, in a preceding section, that, in order fully to avail ourselves of the aids to be derived from the sources that are open to us for ascertaining the sense of the text, some previous acquaintance with HISTORICAL CIRCUMSTANCES is indispensably necessary. How can any one be competent to form a judgment on the nature of those examples, which a writer may furnish of the signification of his terms, if he has no antecedent knowledge of the subjects to which such writer alludes? How can any one discover the scope of an author's

* See Ernesti, Part III., chap. ix., sects. 26—35, for some further remarks upon this topic.

reasoning, if he is uninformed on the nature of the author's subject? or how can he judge of this, without adequate and antecedent information? The thing is impossible, as any one may see by referring to Judg. xix. 29; Ps. lxxxiv. 6, cxxix. 6, cxxxiii.; Ezek. ix. 2; Zech. v. 1, 2; Mark ii. 4; Luke vii. 38; 1 Cor. ix. 24—27; Heb. xii. 1—3, &c. Hence we may at once perceive the value and necessity of a knowledge, on the part of the student, of those historical facts and circumstances to which we have already adverted; of the religion, manners, customs, civil and physical geography, chronology, and general archæology, of the people to whom the Bible immediately and directly relates; as well as of the particular circumstances under which the several books composing it were respectively written. The religion, manners, customs, and social and political condition of a people, necessarily exert a powerful influence on their literature; and this was pre-eminently the case with the Hebrews. If we have but an imperfect and confused knowledge of these things, therefore, we shall be impeded in our progress at every step we take, and strive in vain to unravel the sense of the inspired penmen.

1. How much of the point, force, and felicity of the Bible will be lost, for instance, if the reader of it is ignorant of geography and natural history! In the study of writings where there are so many allusions to natural scenery, and the reader is so often transported from one part of the country to another, he needs to become, as it were, an inhabitant of the land. He needs to be able to body forth in his own mind that scenery in all its beauty and prominence; to behold, as with his own eyes, "the glory of Lebanon," clothed with fir-trees and cedars, and stretching its lofty ridges along the sky; to dwell with delight on the "excellency of Carmel," crowned with verdure, and "dipping its feet in the Western sea;" to gaze on the lake, and the hills, and the valleys of Galilee; and to rove in imagination over the mountains, and among the dells, which surround the sacred city, the queen of nations, and "the joy of the whole earth." Without some such power, it is impossible to enter into the spirit, and feel the full force, of the narrative and its allusions. The names, indeed, meet the eye, and fall upon the ear; but they are the names of "things unknown," and destitute of "local habitation." Here, too, the climate is to be taken into the account;—the early and the latter rain; the seed-time and harvest; the dry and scorching days of summer, contrasted with the coolness and deep serenity of the nights, in which the heavens seem lighted up with living fires; the parched earth, which drinks up the streams, and converts the mountain-torrent

into a bed of sand;—all these are to be known and felt, ere we can understand, in their full force, the frequent references, like those to "a dry and thirsty land, where no water is;" to "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land;" or like those in our Saviour's parable of the sower, or in his conversation with the woman of Samaria.

2. The civil and political geography of that age, though not less important, is more difficult to be ascertained. The grand natural traits of scenery and climate are permanent and unchangeable, and present at this day almost the very aspect which they bore two thousand years ago; but all those features which depended on the will of monarchs, or the power of nations, have, like those monarchs and nations, crumbled into dust. The mutations of Palestine, in this respect, have been great; and they appear particularly so, when we trace the local division of the territory, from that first partition under Joshua, which is now, perhaps, inexplicable, down through the changes which took place under the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, and then through those which occurred, after the exile, in respect to the Jews and Samaritans, until, at length, the whole became subject to the Roman power. At that time, Herod the Great was king over all the territory of the twelve tribes; but at his death, Judea and Samaria were given to Archelaus; Galilee and Perea to Herod Antipas; and the country north-east of the Jordan to Philip. When Archelaus was banished, on account of his cruelties, to Vienna, in Gaul, Judea became a Roman province, and was governed by a succession of procurators, under the control of the pro-consul of Syria. It was then assigned, as part of his kingdom, to Herod Agrippa the First, whose miserable fate is narrated in the twelfth chapter of the Acts. After his death, it was again governed by procurators, among whom were Felix and Festus. During all this time, the boundaries of the province were often varied, by the addition or abstraction of different towns and cities. If we add to this, the state of Asia Minor, where it is, perhaps, impossible to trace with accuracy the limits of the different provinces; and also the changes made by the Romans in the general divisions of Greece proper, and Macedonia, where they affixed the ancient names to provinces and regions of far different limits; we may well suppose, that it is not the uninformed reader who can accompany the sacred writers in their geographical details, or follow the great apostle of the Gentiles in his various journeys.*

3. It may be, that the necessity of an acquaintance with the circumstances just enumerated, is

* North American Review, vol. xxiii., N. 2.

far from being apparent to the minds of many otherwise intelligent persons; but it is certain, that how much soever such persons may love and venerate the Bible, they must rest satisfied with a very limited and imperfect knowledge of its contents. It not unfrequently happens, as every diligent student knows, that the whole force and beauty, and, very often, the most important meaning of certain passages, can only be perceived by a perfect knowledge of the things to which the writers allude; and the circumstances and peculiar character of the different objects mentioned in Scripture, are most frequently those not likely to strike a careless or unskilful observer. It should also be remembered, that the language itself in which these ancient books are written, is of such a nature, as almost utterly to forbid its being well understood without the knowledge of which we are speaking. Simple, and confined in its vocabulary, its very idiom is metaphorical; and there is scarcely a sentence composed in it, without some allusion being made to the objects of external nature, and their peculiar habits or qualities.

4. On the several topics which have here been referred to, we should seek for information, primarily, in the Scriptures themselves; and, secondarily, in those authors who have most judiciously written upon them. On the sacred and civil antiquities of the Hebrews, the works of Josephus, Godwin, Jennings, Lewis, Lowman, Shaw, Michaelis, Jahn, Fleury, and Dr. Browne, will furnish abundant materials for the use of the student; nor should we omit to notice Dr. James Townley's translation of Maimonides on the Reasons of the Laws of Moses, which contains several learned and judicious dissertations on Jewish subjects, by the translator, as well as copious illustrative notes. On the customs and circumstances of the various nations whose history is connected with that of the Jews, the writings of Rollin, Shuckford, Prideaux, Gray, and Russell, will contribute ample information. The physical geography of Palestine is best learned from the observations of modern travellers. That country is becoming every year more and more accessible; and the light which has been thrown upon its natural features by the reports of Seetzen, Burckhardt, Legh, Buckingham, the American Missionaries, Richardson, Jovett, and Carne, in the delightful "Letters from the East," has contributed much to impart spirit and interest to our conceptions of the scenery so often alluded to in the Bible. In a subsequent part of this work, we have attempted such a sketch of Bible geography, as may perhaps answer all the purposes aimed at by the generality of readers.

5. With reference to Scripture Natural History,

we scarcely know how to speak, for the information of unlearned readers. The "Physica Sacra" of Scheuchzer is too voluminous and expensive for ordinary purposes; to say nothing of the language in which it is written; the "Hierobotanicon" of Celsius is extremely valuable, but in its original form not of general use; the "Illustrations" of Professor Paxton are very judicious and satisfactory, as far as they extend, but are incomplete as a Natural History of the Bible; the "Fragments" to Calmet comprise much valuable information, but it requires to be digested and arranged by a skilful hand; and, moreover, to be purged from much fanciful hypothesis. The only work at all complete, and accessible to the generality of readers, was Dr. Harris' "Natural History of the Bible," originally published in America, and reprinted in this country; one edition with notes and corrections by the author of the "Modern Traveller." This volume furnishes valuable materials, to assist the student in his investigations; but to the unlearned it presents no attractions; its disquisitions are extremely dry and critical, and its natural history somewhat scanty; while its conjectural criticism, and destitution of evangelical sentiment and devotional feeling, render it very objectionable as a medium of religious instruction. To supply the deficiency in this department of Scripture illustration, the writer of this published a "Scripture Natural History;" and the favour with which it has been received (the fifth edition having been called for), gives him reason to hope that his labour has not been altogether without its use.

IV. Let us also advert a little more particularly—for the purpose of demonstrating its value—to that historical knowledge respecting the sacred books themselves, that we have spoken of as a desideratum with the biblical student. The circumstances of which this is made up, have been thus enumerated by an old writer:—(1) The order of the several books, and the relation of their parts.—(2) The title or denomination of the several books.—(3) The authors of the respective books.—(4) The persons to whom the several books were immediately or especially addressed.—(5) The scope or principal design of each book.—(6) The chronology of the respective books.—(7) The principal parts or divisions of each book. An acquaintance with these circumstances, as he justly remarks, "will promote the solid and judicious understanding of the whole Bible in a short space of time. For, (1) Hereby you shall have the very idea or character of every book, lively describing the nature and contents of it before your eyes, as in a map, before you begin to peruse them.—(2) Hereby you shall have a clue to conduct you, a compass to

sail and steer by, in the perusal of any book.—(3) Hereby, also, you shall have a summary recapitulation or recollection of the chief aim and subject-matter of every book, much tending both to help judgment and strengthen memory, after the perusal of any book of the Old or New Testament. And therefore this course must needs be as a useful *key, to unlock the rich cabinet of the Holy Scriptures*, and to discover the precious treasures thereof to you.”*

A word or two on each of these topics :

1. An attention to *the order of the several books*, and the relation of their various parts, will materially elucidate the different histories, and the allusions made to them by the inspired writers ; it will also help us to discover the force and propriety of many directions and exhortations scattered throughout the Bible. Thus, the second Psalm, the literal meaning of which has been greatly overlooked, is materially illustrated by considering it in its chronological connexion. Mr. Townsend refers it with much probability to the end of 1 Chron. xvii. David was at this time in full possession of the throne, all the commotions of the seditious having happily subsided : its sentiments seem most appropriate throughout ; and all its parts were literally verified in the occurrences and characters of this memorable occasion. The frequent change of persons is very observable, but at the same time perfectly natural and intelligible. Having remonstrated (in ver. 1—3) with those who had been opposed to the king's accession, the writer (ver. 4—9) declares the divine appointment of David's authority ; and admonishes all to secure the blessings of loyalty and obedience, verses 10—12. How appropriate are the references made to the late affairs of national agitation and alarm, in verses 1—3!

Why were the nations tumultuous ?

And why did people imagine vanity ?

Chiefs of the land rose up,

And princes conspired together,

Against JEHOVAH and against his anointed :

‘ Let us break asunder their bands,

“ And cast off from us their heavy yokes !”

The events here alluded to were, particularly, the civil war in Israel (2 Sam. ii., iii., iv.), which ensued on the death of Saul, and which obstructed, for a season, David's entire possession of the throne ; together with the invasion of the Philistines, 2 Sam. v. 17 to the end ; 1 Chron. xiv. 8—16. Over all these “tumultuous” scenes the king triumphed ; and the rebels of Israel and Philistia “imagined a vain thing.” How decidedly is the interposition of God maintained in verses 4—6!

He that dwelleth in the heavens did laugh at them ;
The Lord did have them in derision !
Then spake he to them in his anger ;
And in his fury did he confound them :
“ Assuredly I have anointed my king,
“ Upon Zion, the mountain of my holiness !”

So long ago as Samuel's days, and by the hands of that celebrated man (1 Sam. xvi.), was David “anointed ;” and he had repeated assurances, “that the Lord had established him king over Israel,” 2 Sam. v. 12. All attempts, therefore, in opposition, were to be “derided ;” and must end in the “confusion” of their abettors. In further exposition, this royal proclamation expressly affirms, verses 7—9,

I will declare the purpose of Jehovah :

He hath said to me :—“ Be thou my son,

“ This day have I adopted thee !

“ Ask of me, and I will give to thee

“ The nations for thine inheritance ;

“ And the ends of the land for thy possession.

“ Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron ;

“ Thou shalt shiver them like a potter's vessel !”

Verse 7 most distinctly refers to the prophecy of Nathan (1 Chron. xvii. 3—15) ; and it is not improbable that that faithful prophet did, first of all, “declare” the things of these verses. Who was so likely to act the herald on this memorable day ? Most appropriately, too, are the “nations” that had aforetime been “tumultuous” here introduced ; and the Philistines, or “ends of the land,” so fully subdued by the prowess of David's arms, 1 Chron. xiv. 17. The national address then closes in suitable admonitions, verses 10—12.

Now, therefore, O chiefs, be wise ;

Be instructed, ye judges of the land.

Serve JEHOVAH with fear ;

And rejoice with reverence.

Embrace ye the son, lest he be angry,

And ye should perish in the way ;

For his wrath will be kindled in a little.

Happy are all they who confide in him !

Thus correspond the chieftains, or kings, of verses 2 and 10, and the son of verses 7 and 12. The concatenation of thought and expression is accurately and beautifully preserved throughout the Psalm.† Let the forty-second Psalm be read as the composition of David, penned when he was fleeing from Absalom, and on the night when he was about to pass over Jordan ; and an accurate survey be also taken of the existing circumstances of the pious monarch, and the character of the surrounding scenery ; and that beautiful and affecting composition will appear doubly beautiful and affecting. The prophetic writings, and the

* Roberts' Clavis Bibliorum, i. p. 43.

† Scripture Magazine, vol. iv. pp. 20—22.

epistles of the New Testament, are also susceptible of the same kind of illustration; indeed, without connecting them in this way with the several parts of the history to which they are related, the meaning of many passages will remain locked up from our comprehension.

2. *The titles of the several Books.* These sometimes declare the design proposed by the author, and therefore assist in understanding his reasoning, &c. By the title of the book, we do not mean the word or words which stand at its head in the respective Versions, but the *real* title of the book, which will sometimes be found in the first verse or verses, as given by the original penmen. Its importance, in such cases, is obvious.*

3. *The authors of the respective Books* may generally be ascertained from the titles prefixed to them in our translation; and it is obvious that a knowledge of the principal features of their character, circumstances, and style, will materially conduce to our improvement in perusing their works.

4. *The persons to whom the Books were respectively and primarily addressed.* In the New Testament, there is a variety of compositions, and some of these are inscribed and addressed to particular people, residing in different towns and countries. The circumstances of such persons, as also their customs and usages, and the other remarkable things by which they were distinguished, are to be minutely and accurately marked. Previously to the critical examination of an epistle sent to Rome, to Corinth, or to Ephesus, we should inquire what customs were prevalent in those places; for what such a town was principally celebrated; and what peculiarly ennobled and signalised such a city. Because, in writings addressed to the inhabitants of such places, there must be frequent allusions to their distinguishing circumstances, a knowledge of which will illustrate many passages, and place them in a beautiful and striking point of view. In such figurative allusions consists a considerable part of the elegance and effect of fine writing; for they do not merely soothe and charm the imagination of the reader—they infix the deepest impressions on his mind and memory. For example; we find an epistle inscribed to the Romans. Antecedently to our attentive and critical perusal of it, let us consider what customs eminently distinguished this people. As an instance, we find in their historians frequent mention made of *adoption*. Their poets are full of it; and it is the perpetual object of the ridicule and banter of their satirists. Families of distinction were continually settling mutual adop-

tions; and they were ratified with scrupulous and most solemn formality. There was no custom more prevalent at Rome; it was regarded as the cement of indissoluble friendship and union among families. Paul knew this; and, in his epistle to the Romans, he makes many beautiful allusions to it. Thus, he speaks of the distinguished privilege of being *adopted* into *God's family*, and of the signal happiness of being constituted *heirs* of God, and *joint-heirs* with Christ Jesus, of a heavenly inheritance. The Romans would perfectly understand him, and his words would have all their effect upon the mind, when he told them, that they had not received the spirit of *bondage*, again to *fear*, but that they had, through the benignity of God in the gospel dispensation, received the spirit of *adoption*, and could, with liberal and filial confidence, cry out, *Abba! Father!* So, also, before we proceed to an attentive examination of the epistles to the Corinthians, it will be proper to reflect on what Corinth was celebrated for, and what principally distinguished that renowned city. Most ancient writers make mention of its abandoned luxury and effeminacy, and in their historical monuments eternise its profligacy, voluptuousness, and debauchery. Hence we see with what peculiar propriety Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, uses every argument and persuasive to deter them from these vices. Each page is full of the most warm and pathetic admonitions to fly them; and his epistles to this people, more than all his other writings, abound with remonstrances against these fatal excesses. We learn also from history, that the Isthmian games were celebrated in the vicinity of Corinth. They were solemnized in honour of Neptune every fifth year, and a vast concourse of people, from all Greece, assembled at Isthmus, on which Corinth was situated. At these games, great numbers of combatants, who were previously prepared by a regular and strict regimen for the arduous contention, entered the lists, and generously vied with each other in various exercises, for the envied palm. With what an elegant and beautiful propriety is it, then, that the apostle addresses the Corinthians, in whose neighbourhood they were solemnized, in the following terms: "Know ye not, that they who run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible. I therefore so run, not as uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away." These are all *agonistic* terms, beautifully applied to our vigorous conten-

* This will be found to be the case in Matt. i. 1; Mark i. 1; Luke i. 1—4, &c.

tion in the *Christian race*; and such an address to the Corinthians was quite in character, and properly introduced with, "Know ye not?" for every citizen in Corinth was perfectly acquainted with every minute circumstance of this most splendid and pompous solemnity. With regard to the Epistle to the Ephesians, also, we know that the temple of Diana at Ephesus was one of the most superb and magnificent edifices the world ever saw; and from this temple the apostle borrows some beautiful imagery, in addressing the Ephesians, ch. ii. 20—22.† These remarks might be much extended; but what has been said is sufficient to show the advantages derivable from an adoption of the rule here recommended.

5. *The scope or principal design* of the writer is treated of in Section VIII., to which the reader is referred.

6. An acquaintance with the *chronology*, or the period of time at which a book was written, as well as the length of time included in it, is another important aid in the investigation of Scripture. Chronology is justly regarded as one of the eyes of history, and it is as necessary for the right understanding of Scripture, as of any other kind of history. "Distinguish well between times and times, and you dissolve many knots."‡

7. *A knowledge of the principal parts or divisions of each book*, is also indispensable. A particular analysis of a book will not only afford a clear view of the chief subjects discussed in it, but also of the methodical and orderly coherence of all its parts. It will also enable the student to trace the connexion subsisting between these parts, to the perfect understanding of the writer's design. "Books looked upon confusedly, are but darkly and confusedly apprehended; but considered distinctly, as in these distinct analyses or resolutions into their principal parts, must needs be distinctly and much more clearly discerned."‡

V. Now, we would impress upon the reader's mind, the great advantages to be derived from a steady and persevering effort to collect for himself the various information of which we have been treating. To rely wholly upon the compendiums or treatises furnished by others, is bad. Those who spend a large portion of their time in wading through commentaries, or in forming selections, and digesting them into common-places, may appear to themselves to make wonderful progress in the acquisition of scriptural knowledge; but when they come to apply the information thus obtained to the purposes of biblical exposition or

illustration, it will be found to be too superficial and evanescent to be of much service. It is not by such a process that we can reasonably expect to acquire the ability for an accurate interpretation of Scripture; this can only be derived from a personal and attentive study of the word itself. Let the reader diligently study the Scriptures for himself, and endeavour to form for his own use, a series of introductions to the several books; embracing a notice of the principal matters we have enumerated. By such a mode of proceeding, he will lay the foundation for solid information, contributive to a right understanding of the Book of God. Compendiums and Introductions are good in their places; when judiciously drawn up, they are valuable for the purposes of repetition, and for more forcibly impressing upon the memory what has been previously learned; but they must not rank higher than this in our estimation, nor usurp that time and attention which should be given to the Bible itself. "Diligence in reading and examining the word, is a compendious system of Mnemonics."

SECTION V.

GENERAL RULES FOR BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION.

The Nature and Object of Interpretation—Usual Methods of treating the Science of Interpretation—Proposed Method of discussing it here—Verbal Language—Difficulties of interpreting written Language—Requisites in Literary Composition.

I. Interpretation is the art of exhibiting the real sentiment contained in any form of words, or of effecting that another may derive from them the same idea that the writer intended to convey. All interpretation, therefore, depends upon two things: the perception of the sense contained in certain words, and the explanation of that sense in proper terms.|| Interpretation is both *grammatical* and *historical*. By the former is meant that kind of interpretation that is made out by the aid of the principles of grammar merely; by the latter, that which, although built upon the grammatical sense, is modified by historical circumstances. This is now designated *grammatico-historical* interpretation, and is that to which our attention will be chiefly directed. There is another division made by those writers who have formally treated of the science of interpretation, namely, into *Hermeneutics* and *Exegesis*; the former denoting the *theory* or *science* of interpretation, and therefore comprising the *rules* by which the process is to be conducted; the latter signifying the application of those rules, in bringing out the sense of the author. *Hermeneutics* is the *science* of interpretation, and is therefore *preceptive*;

* Harwood's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. i. ch. viii. sect. 11.

† Roberts' Clavis Bibliorum, p. 45.

‡ Ibid., p. 46.

|| Ernesti's Institutes, Prolegomena, sect. 3, 4.

Exegesis is the act of interpreting, and is therefore practical.

II. But although we have felt it necessary thus to point out the method in which the science of interpretation is usually discussed, the object proposed in this work requires that we should carefully guard against an unnecessary multiplication of rules. We shall, therefore, at once direct the student's attention to such general principles as may give him a clear perception of the manner in which the process of interpretation is to be conducted, rather than attempt to distribute those principles into a number of formal precepts. It is here, indeed, that some of the best works on the art of interpretation are highly exceptionable. Instead of laying down a few necessary and obvious rules, most biblical writers have so multiplied and distributed the number of them, that the mind of the inquirer is strangely bewildered. This evil, at least, we hope to avoid.

III. To state, in a formal way, that the same principles of interpretation are common to both sacred and profane writings; or, in other words, that the sense of Scripture is to be ascertained by the same process of investigation as that which is applied to other books, will seem to be a truth too obvious for exposition. But the prevailing method of discussing the art of Scripture interpretation will justify such a remark. Distinctions have been multiplied, by the most refined critical ingenuity; and rule has been added to rule, with the utmost industry and labour. One evil consequence of this is, that many have been deterred from entering upon a subject deeply interesting to all; and another, that, bewildered by the multiplicity of canons obtruded upon their notice, in works on Scripture interpretation, not a few have been driven to the opposite extreme, and denied the necessity of any human aids for discovering the sense of the text. Because the penmen of the holy Scriptures are ascertained to have been divinely inspired, it is therefore argued, that they were not influenced by any of those circumstances which contribute to form the character of other literary compositions; and that, consequently, the ordinary rules of interpretation have no claims upon our attention, in attempting to gather the sense of the sacred writings. Can any thing be more unfounded and absurd? For let it be remarked, that the persons who refuse to subject the Bible to the same process of interpretation as that which applies to merely human compositions, do not pretend to lay down any other principles, by the aid of which its meaning can be ascertained, and by which those perversions of its sense that may result from a heated imagination or an exuberant fancy, can

be effectually guarded against. The consequence is, that, instead of speaking with precision and certainty, that volume, which is the gift of inspired wisdom, the rule of all faith, and the ground of all hope, is made to mean anything or nothing, according to the caprice of those who claim the privilege to discover its meaning, independent of all human aids. The fact, however, is, that whatever degree of inspiration may have been vouchsafed to the penmen of the sacred Scriptures,* their words must be interpreted by the same rules as those which apply to the words of merely human authors. If the same object was proposed by the sacred writers as that which is proposed by other writers, namely, the instruction of their readers (and who can doubt it?), then the words they employed must have been used according to general usage, and as they would naturally be understood by the persons to whom the writings were immediately addressed. "If the Scriptures be a revelation to men," says Professor Stuart, "then they are to be read and understood by men. If the same laws of language are not to be observed in this revelation as are common to men, then they have no guide to the right understanding of the Scriptures; and an interpreter needs inspiration, as much as the original writers. It follows, of course, that the Scriptures would be no revelation in themselves; nor of any use, except to those who are inspired. But such a book the Scriptures are *not*; and nothing is more evident, than that when God has spoken to men, He has spoken in the language of men, for he has spoken by men, and for men."† But this doctrine must not be pushed too far. It is freely admitted, that divine assistance is really necessary to the spiritual perception of Scripture; although it is not conceded, that this aid is intended to supersede the ordinary means of knowledge, but only to render those means efficient.

IV. Since the Scriptures, then, are to be interpreted according to the ordinary process employed for eliciting the sense of any other literary composition, we may safely lay it down, as a general maxim, that the great object of solicitude with the biblical student should be, *to discover the genuine signification of the individual words*, comprising the

* This question is discussed in Part III., chap. i. sect. 1.

† Elements of Biblical Criticism, p. 42.—Upon this topic, Dr. Planck has justly remarked, "It is evident that we must act in relation to the Bible, just as in relation to every other writing. We must bring out its true meaning, precisely by the same means as we would apply to any other book; in a word, in explaining the Bible, we must do the very same thing which sound understanding and rational logic always require to be done, in explaining every other book in the world."—Introduct. Sacred Philol., Part II., chap. 3.

sacred text. Sentences are made up of words, and it is only in proportion as the elements of which they are thus composed are understood, that their genuine or real meaning can be perceived. It is in this stage of his inquiries that the greater part of those difficulties to which reference has been made in a preceding section, will be found to obtrude themselves upon the student. If there existed a natural or essential relation between words and ideas, or the objects for which the words stand as the representatives, then, indeed, the student might proceed in his business of interpretation with facility, as well as with confidence. In such a case, he would only need to have an accurate perception of the symbol employed, to determine the precise nature of the idea it was designed to represent. But the case is widely different. Letters and words are but arbitrary symbols; they possess nothing in common with the ideas they represent; their meaning is not inherent, but accidental, or conventional; that is, certain persons agree to employ certain words as the indicative marks, or palpable representatives, of certain impalpable ideas; and it is only by ascertaining the exact nature of that *agreement*, or, in other words, by obtaining a knowledge of the powers which the persons using the words have attached to them, that oral or written language, as a medium of communicating thought, can be rendered intelligible. If we place a book in the hand of an uninstructed person, it is to him a dead letter; its pages are overspread with lifeless forms, meaningless cyphers. To interpret its contents, he must learn the powers of the letters; and, by the aid of grammars and dictionaries, the meaning of the words, and the relations which they bear to each other, as fixed and determined by the persons to whom the language appertained. It is true, that an acquaintance with the general principles of language, which are evidently founded upon the mental operations, and are, therefore, common to the whole human family, in proportion to the intellectual refinement and perfection of its individual parts, will greatly facilitate the study of particular languages or dialects; but then it will *only* facilitate that study; it will not *supersede* it: there must be, in every language, the acquisition and remembrance of terms, because these are arbitrary, notwithstanding that they may be connected together, and be governed in their relation by certain principles which are more or less universal in their operation. But our object is not to enlarge on the nature of language any further than is really necessary to confirm and illustrate the proposition laid down; namely, that the meaning of words is altogether *conventional*, and is therefore only to be ascertained by a certain process of inquiry, involving a number of par-

ticulars which it becomes our duty to consider.

V. It will be evident, upon a little consideration, that the facility and certainty with which the understanding of any author is to be attained, will depend much upon the relative situation in which he stands to us, and also on the subject of which he treats. If he writes in our vernacular language, on a familiar subject, and is not far removed from us by time, we shall have little difficulty in ascertaining the sense in which he intended his words to be understood. If he writes on a scientific or abstruse subject, our difficulties will be in the ratio of our ignorance of the principles of such science, and of the nice shades of meaning attached to the terms employed. If he writes on morality and religion, which involve mixed modes, not easily defined, and presupposes a certain degree of information on the part of his reader, then the difficulties will be greatly multiplied; and especially so, if the topics be treated of in a poetical diction. But if the author writes in a foreign language, we shall have to encounter not only these difficulties, but the additional difficulty of understanding the language itself, which will be in proportion to its antiquity and other accidental circumstances.* Now, all these difficulties united, present themselves in the Bible, which, as Burke has eloquently described it, is "A most venerable, but most multifarious, collection of the records of the divine economy, a collection of an infinite variety of cosmography, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, and ethics, carried through different books, by different authors, in different ages, for different ends and purposes." Hence, it is not only the most valuable of all books, but the most difficult book to be understood. Its interpretation demands an extent and variety of knowledge, and a degree of application, attainable only by those who feel the value and importance of scriptural studies. Of the nature and sources of this knowledge it is our present business to treat.

VI. It has been judiciously remarked, that two things are essential to the excellence and moral character of any writing which professes to give instruction on subjects of importance; namely, that the words employed should be in the commonly received sense; and that its figures of speech, if any be adopted, should be framed to place in stronger light the sentiment to be conveyed, and to give it greater force with the judg-

* Dr. Cook has some admirable observations on this subject, in his "Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament," pp. 42—80.

ment, by calling in the aid of the imagination.* Where these qualities are not found, the writing is not only bad in a literary sense, but in a moral sense also. If it is not the production of ignorance, it is intentionally deceptive and misleading. In the Bible both requisites must be found, be it is "written for our learning"—the learning of the body of mankind, and because it is the result of perfect wisdom and perfect sincerity.† It may be said, that the great diversity of meaning attaching to most individual words, in all languages, renders it very difficult, if not wholly impossible, to determine the particular sense in which any one word is employed. But this would be an exaggeration. That there are difficulties arising out of this circumstance, we have already said; but we are not disposed to concede that they are either so numerous, or of such magnitude, as they have been represented to be. Let it be admitted, that many meanings have been assigned to the same word, or that its signification is commonly diverse or multifarious, will it follow, as of necessity, that it must possess this diversity of signification, at the same time, and in the same passage or expression? Certainly not: its significations, however diverse, may be distinctly marked by its relation to other words in the sentence; that is, the proximate words or context may strictly define the sense in which any particular word, having more than one signification, is to be understood, wherever it is employed; ‡ and we may be sure that if a writer is desirous to be understood—as the sacred writers undoubtedly were—he will observe those rules of composition that will prevent the obscurity or ambiguity here supposed. ||

* "Every writer wishes to be understood naturally; consequently, he will not only always employ his expressions IN THE SENSE which his readers will connect with them, but in the ideas which he communicates to them, he will always be governed by their ability to comprehend, and will pay regard to their particular manner of forming conceptions of subjects; and this either intentionally, or because, as it is common to his whole age, it is also to his own." Planck's Sacred Philology, part ii. ch. 2.

† Dr. Pye Smith; but we do not recollect where.

‡ "There could be no certainty of interpretation, did there not exist some necessity for attaching a peculiar meaning to each word; and were not the literal meaning of the same word in the same passage one and the same."—Ernesti, part i., sect. i. ch. 9, § vi. To the same purpose Seiler remarks, "The object of an author in his discourse or writing is to communicate his thoughts to others by the aid of words. These could not, however, express his thoughts, if he used the same words, when in the same connexion, sometimes in one sense and sometimes in another. Reason, therefore, enjoins the rule, always to use the same words when they stand in the same connexion, in one and the same sense."—Biblical Hermeneutics, p. 32.

|| Words which are of many meanings may generally be interpreted from the context. Thus *λογος* has the different meanings, *reason, reckoning, speech, Christ*. The proper sense of this word must be determined by the construction; as in the cases *λογον υπειχεν, λογον ποιησθαι, ο λογος σαρκι ενεσχητο*. Ammon, in Ernesti, part i. sect. i. ch. 1., § v., note.

SECTION VI

OF THE SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS.

DIRECT TESTIMONY to the Signification of Words—Examples—Rules for interpreting Words—Literal and Metaphorical Sense—Historical Circumstances; their Value in the Interpretation of Scripture

This section will be devoted to a consideration of those means that are necessary for attaining the object desiderated in the preceding section; viz., a knowledge of the sense in which words are employed by the sacred writers.

I. As the signification which usage attaches to words is a plain matter of fact, it is evident that our inquiries should be first addressed to the testimony, direct and indirect, of those persons by whom the language was spoken; and especially to that of the writer whose works may be under examination. This testimony may be ascertained in three several ways:—

1. *By THE DEFINITIONS OF WORDS formally or incidentally given.* Where the author himself has furnished the definition of a word, no difficulty will exist, provided only that we understand the terms in which the definition is given. As an example, we may refer to Heb. xi. 1, where faith is defined to be the "evidence of things not seen," &c. The value of secondary testimony, such as is furnished by scholiasts, lexicographers, and translators, is to be estimated by the era, knowledge, and known judgment of the writer.

2. *THE EXAMPLES WHICH THE AUTHOR GIVES OF THE SIGNIFICATION ATTACHED TO THE WORDS HE EMPLOYS,* furnish another means of fixing that signification. This source of information may, possibly, be as satisfactory as the former one; but in availing ourselves of it, we are thrown much more upon the resources of our own skill and judgment. As an illustration of this kind of testimony, and of the manner in which it may be employed, we may refer to Gal. iv. 3, where we find the apostle speaking of *the elements of the world* (*στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*), an expression of which we can discover no definition in any part of his writings. In the ninth verse of the same chapter, however, he furnishes us with an example of the sense in which he had used the phrase, and which is equally satisfactory with a formal definition: "But now, after that ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements?" (*στοιχεῖα*), that is, the external rites and ceremonies of religion. In Rom. iv. 1—8, the meaning of the word *δικαιοσύνη*, justification, is illustrated by the example of Abraham; and in John xiv. 6, the word *παράκλητος* is similarly illustrated.

3. *THE DIFT OF THE WRITER'S DISCOURSE AND*

THE NATURE OF HIS SUBJECT, is the last resource of this description that remains to us. It has been already said, that one and the same word occasionally admits of several significations; and this being the case, it becomes necessary, in attempting to fix the signification of a word in any particular passage, to pay special attention to the drift of the author's reasoning, and the nature of the subject to which it relates. The following words may be taken as an example of our meaning:—The verb *σῴζειν*, to *preserve* or *save*, and *σῴζομαι*, to *escape*, to be *preserved* or *saved*, occurs, perhaps, more than a hundred times in the New Testament, and very frequently in different senses. Bishop Maltby, whose eminence as a Greek scholar few will dispute, classes the significations in which the verb is used under four general heads. 1. To *preserve generally* from any evil or danger whatsoever. 2. To *preserve from sickness* or any bodily disorder; to *heal*. This sense, he remarks, is perhaps the most easy to distinguish; yet our translators have not uniformly given it due attention. In Matt. ix. 21, 22; Mark v. 23, 28, 34; vi. 56; x. 52; Luke viii. 36, 48, 50; xvii. 19; John xi. 12; Acts xiv. 9, it is rightly translated to *heal*, or *make whole*.—In Luke vii. 50; xviii. 42; James v. 15, although the same word is applied to the same circumstances, yet it is rendered by the indefinite word *save*. The 3rd sense in which the verb is used, is to *preserve from the temporal anger of the Almighty*; such as was manifested in the destruction of Jerusalem. The 4th sense has a strict reference to *future salvation in heaven*. Mr. Locke seems to have distinguished the third and fourth senses, by considering salvation as two-fold; first, admission into the *kingdom of God in this world*; secondly, actual possession of eternal life *in the kingdom of God in the world to come*. The *first* and *second* state of salvation would thus coincide with what the best divines have agreed to call the *first* and *final* justification. The other word is *χάρις*, *grace*, which denotes *divine benevolence* in general, *temporal blessings*, *spiritual aid*, *pardon of sin*, &c.; but which of these senses either *χάρις* or *σῴζειν* has in any particular passage, is only to be determined by the nature of the subject and the scope of the writer.

II. What has been now said, will aid the student in forming a judgment as to the higher sources whence he is to derive the necessary testimony to the signification of words. What follows will assist him in the operation of interpreting their meaning.

1. The *GRAMMATICAL signification of the words is the only true signification*.

(1) By the *grammatical* signification of a word, is not meant a signification in opposition to the

tropical or *figurative*, because, in many cases, *this* is the grammatical signification; but by the grammatical signification, is meant one not *allegorical* or *mystical*. For instance, in Luke xxi. 24, it is said, that Jerusalem should be “trodden down of the Gentiles,” where it is evident that the phrase *TRODDEN DOWN* is figurative or tropical; that is, the words are diverted from their natural meaning, and signify *desolated*, *destroyed*, not absolutely trodden down by the foot, but something analogous to it. But then the tropical sense is evidently, in this case, the grammatical or proper sense, because the words cannot be understood in any other manner, without doing violence to the language. Again, in John v. 35, our Lord says of his forerunner, John the Baptist, that he was “a burning and a shining light,” which language is highly figurative or metaphorical, implying, that John was a zealous and exemplary teacher of righteousness; but this, it is evident, is also the grammatical meaning of the words. We repeat, then, that the grammatical, or what interpreters call the *grammatico-historical* sense* of a passage, is the true sense; and, consequently, that which ought always to be adopted.

(2) By this it will be seen, that the natural figures of thought and of diction, are not excluded from the sacred writings. But then it is important to remark, that whatever figures do occur, are employed for the purpose of making truth more plain to the understanding, and of impressing it more deeply on the heart; and that, therefore, the process of the association which connects the figurative object with the writer's meaning, may be easily disentangled, and rapidly seized. Our rule holds good, therefore, under every circumstance which can be conceived; and attention to it will guard us against that system of interpretation which assumes the Scriptures to be written in such a style of hyperbole, metaphor, and allegory, that when the critical operator has brought out what he deems the sober sense, the reader of plain understanding and simple piety is astonished at a result so diminutive, and so disproportionate to the general use and purpose of words.†

2. The *LITERAL meaning of words* (using the term in its usual acceptance, as opposed to *figurative* or *metaphorical*) is *always to be preferred, and not to be departed from without weighty and sufficient reasons*.

(1) The necessity of this rule will be found in

* That is, the grammatical sense, modified by historical circumstances.

† See Dr. J. P. Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. i., p. 19.

the fact, that the adoption of figurative language is to be considered as an exception to the ordinary rules of composition. This may, at first sight, seem to contradict experience, but a moment's consideration will render its truth apparent. Does any person, either in speaking or in writing, *always* employ tropical or figurative language? Certainly not; words are usually employed by all persons in their obvious or proper sense; and no good writer will adopt them in an improper or figurative sense, without giving a sufficient intimation of his having so done.

(2) On this topic, the maxim commonly laid down by biblical writers, is, *not readily to depart from the literal sense of words*; but this maxim, as Ernesti suggests, is neither strictly true, nor perspicuous, nor adapted to use; and he accordingly prefers that which avers, that *the literal meaning is not to be deserted without evident reason or necessity*; which is substantially the same as that above laid down.* Where there is a plain necessity for departing from the literal sense, then, we must evidently admit the tropical; but in no other case whatever. Thus, in Psalm xix. 4, 5, the writer expresses himself in the following language, in reference to the great luminary of our system:—

In them he hath set a tabernacle for the sun;
Who, as a bridegroom, cometh out of his chamber;
He rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race.

And in Isai. xli. 15, 16, we have a still bolder image, where Israel is promised the victory over its enemies, in the following language:

Behold, I have made thee a threshing wain;
A new corn-drag armed with pointed teeth:
Thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small,
And reduce the hills to chaff.
Thou shalt winnow them, and the wind shall bear them away,
And the tempest shall scatter them abroad.

And how sublimely has the Psalmist delineated the Divine majesty and power, as exemplified in the constitution of nature, in Ps. civ.—

Thou art invested with majesty and glory,
Covering thyself with light as with a garment;

Stretching out the heavens as with a curtain;
Laying the beams of thy chambers in the waters;
Making the clouds thy chariot;
Walking upon the wings of the wind:
Making the winds thy messengers,
And thy ministers a flaming fire.
Who founded the earth upon its bases;
That it should not be displaced for more than ages!

(3) In such cases as these, it is impossible to mistake, for the grossest mind could not construe the passages literally; their metaphorical sense is immediately perceived, and the understanding spontaneously acquiesces in such an interpretation. The same may be said of other passages, where a single figure of thought occurs; as in John vi. 51, where our Lord declares himself to be the "living bread," and affirms that his flesh shall be "eaten." In chap. xv. 1, he says, he is the "vine," and his Father the "husbandman;" in ver. 5, that his disciples are the "branches;" in chap. x. 7, that he is the "door;" and further on, that he is the "shepherd," and his disciples the "sheep;" each of which passages is to be understood figuratively, for which there is an obvious reason, and because, as before remarked, such a sense is the proper, the real, or the grammatical sense. For it is to be observed, that in so construing the language, we are no more at liberty to attach to it an *arbitrary* sense, than if there were nothing tropical in it; and there is, therefore, no uncertainty attending its meaning. It is the peculiar design of the figurative style, to exhibit objects in a clearer or more striking, in a sublimer or more forcible, manner; and it is plain, that this object could not be attained, unless there were an obvious resemblance or analogy subsisting between the object itself, and that whence the figure which is employed for its representation is derived; and it is by tracing these analogies that the meaning of the words is to be fixed.

(4) It must be admitted, however, that there are some passages in the sacred writings, relating to the Divine Being, to the future state of the righteous and the wicked, and to one or two subjects of a like description, the signification of which it is extremely difficult to ascertain with certainty. The reason of this may be easily perceived; the subjects treated of are such as cannot be subjected to the examination of our senses; and we have, therefore, no criteria by which to judge of their real qualities or attributes. But in such cases, what is to be done? How are we to determine between the claims of conflicting opinions? Here, *analogy* will be found to be the only guide; and none but those who are intimately acquainted with the contents of Scripture, and have imbibed

* Anson, in his note upon this section of Ernesti, says, the necessity for departing from the literal sense can hardly be fixed by rules. "The following, however, would come nearer to truth: *not to depart from the literal sense, unless in cases where the literal sense is tame, ridiculous, or contradictory.*" Luther anticipated this canon, when he asserted that "no trope is to be admitted into Scripture, unless the context manifestly requires it, or the literal sense be manifestly absurd, and repugnant to some article of faith," Opp. T. III., Latin, Jena, f. 195.

much of the spirit by which it is pervaded, are competent to determine these nice and delicate points. The subjects are far removed from that grossness of perception which characterizes the carnal mind; and no language that could have been employed would bring them within the grasp of the natural man.

(5) But then we must be careful not to reject the literal sense of a passage, and adopt a figurative sense, upon a partial or imperfect view of its meaning; because, in such a case, we may conceive that there is a repugnance of things, where no such repugnance exists. This mode of proceeding has been the fruitful source of much and pernicious error among certain classes of religionists. Instead of gathering the sense of Scripture from the sacred writers themselves, according to the ordinary modes pursued in reading other literary works, these persons usually imbibe certain notions from other and independent sources, and then, wherever a literal interpretation of the words of Scripture would contradict such notions, resort is had to a figurative exposition. This is "wresting the Scriptures."

(6) To determine at once, whether a word is to be taken tropically or not, Ernesti suggests that we should examine the object spoken of, either by the external or the internal senses, or by renewing the perception of the object; and it cannot be doubted, that, where the object spoken of is such as *may be* examined by the senses, the decision may be easily made. Thus, when in the passage already cited, Israel is said to be a "threshing wain," and in others, when our Saviour is said to be a "door," and a "vine," we easily perceive, by comparing the objects spoken of with our senses, that to construe the words literally involves an impossibility. So also in the following passages:—

Let the Heavens rejoice, and the Earth be glad;
And let them proclaim through the nations, Jehovah
reigneth.

1 Chron. xvi. 31.

Let the Floods clap their hands;
Let the Mountains break forth into harmony.

Ps. xcvi. 8.

The Waters saw thee, O God!
The Waters saw thee, they were grievously troubled.

Ps. lxxvii. 16.

The Deep uttered his voice;
And lifted up his hands on high.

Hab. iii. 10.

In each of these cases, by renewing the perception of the objects, as the heavens, the earth, the floods, the waters, the mountains, the deep,

we easily perceive that the literal meaning of the words employed to predicate their several actions, is incongruous with them, and therefore, that they must be figurative or tropical expressions.*

III. For the *interpretation* of the figurative language of Scripture, a great number of precepts have been framed; and the most popular work in our language (Horne's Introduction) which treats on the interpretation of the Bible, presents us with *thirteen* rules, on this subject, independent of *six-and-twenty* additional rules, which are applied to the interpretation of the different kinds of figures; thus making, in the whole, no fewer than *thirty-nine* distinct and independent maxims, which are said to demand our attention, when interpreting the figurative language of the Bible! This is most injudicious. If persons will but exercise their understandings when they read the Bible, in the same manner as they do when any other book engages their thoughts, these numerous rules will be unnecessary; and if they will not do so, all rules will be useless.†

We shall, in a subsequent section, give such directions for the detection and interpretation of tropes, as we deem to be necessary. We could not avoid the incidental discussion of them here.

SECTION VII.

SCRIPTURE PARALLELISMS.

Value of Parallel Passages as a Source of Direct Testimony to the Meaning of Words—Verbal Parallelisms—Real Parallelisms—Rules for Comparing Parallel Passages—The Rhythmic Parallelism; Various Descriptions of this; Assistance derivable from it in the Art of Interpretation—Common References another aid to Interpretation—Examples.

I. That a careful and diligent comparison of parallel passages is a most efficient aid to the right understanding of Scripture, all who have made

* The rule usually laid down in such cases, is, that those words or phrases are tropical where the subject and predicate disagree; as where corporeal and incorporeal, animate and inanimate, rational and irrational, are conjoined; and also species of a different genus. Things that cannot possibly exist in any particular subject (as above), cannot be logically predicated of it; for the fundamental rules of logic, in respect to this, are inherent in the human mind. If, then, such things *appear* to be predicated, the phrase must be tropically understood.—See Stuart's Elements, p. 111. See, also, Jahn, Eochiridon, p. 108.

† Writers on sacred hermeneutics have invented various distinctions, which we do not deny to be of some advantage; but we at the same time think that we ought to be much on our guard, lest, by making too many distinctions, and by multiplying terms, we should injure perspicuity, and fall back into the scholastic mode.—Pareau's Principles of Interpretation, p. ii., sect. 1, § 6.

the experiment well know. The doctrinal parts of the Bible, especially, will be the most satisfactorily explained and illustrated, "not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual." To the utility of this practice we have the testimony of persons of acknowledged eminence as biblical writers. "He is the best reader," says Hilary, "who interprets sayings by sayings, who brings not an interpretation to Scripture, nor imposeth a sense upon Scripture, but findeth a sense in Scripture, and draws it from Scripture."* "If the economy of nature," said an ingenious writer, "is not to be learned from a transient inspection of the heavens and the earth, and if the ground will not yield its strength but to those who diligently turn it up and cultivate it, who can imagine that the wisdom of God's word can be discovered at first sight by every common reader? Nature must be compared with itself, and the Scripture must be compared with itself, by those who would understand either the one or the other."† "It should be a rule with every one," says Bishop Horsley, "who would read the Holy Scriptures with advantage and improvement, to compare every text, which may seem either important for the doctrine it may contain, or remarkable for the turn of the expression, with the parallel passages in other parts of holy writ; that is, with the passages in which the subject-matter is the same, the sense equivalent, or the turn of the expression similar."—"It is incredible to any one who has not in some degree made the experiment, what a proficiency may be made in that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation, by studying the Scriptures in this manner, *without any other commentary or exposition* than what the different parts of the sacred volume mutually furnish for each other. I will not scruple to assert, that the most illiterate Christian, if he can but read his English Bible, and will take the pains to read it in this manner, will not only attain all that practical knowledge which is necessary to his salvation; but, by God's blessing, he will become learned in every thing relating to his religion in such a degree, that he will not be liable to be misled, either by the refined arguments or the false assertions of those who endeavour to ingraft their own opinions upon the oracles of God. He may safely be ignorant of all philosophy, except what is to be learned from the sacred books; which, indeed, contain the highest philosophy, adapted to the lowest apprehensions.

He may safely remain ignorant of all history, except so much of the first ages of the Jewish and of the Christian church as is to be gathered from the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments. Let him study those in the manner I recommend, and let him never cease to pray for the illumination of that Spirit by whom these books were dictated, and the whole compass of abstruse philosophy and recondite history shall furnish no argument with which the perverse will of man shall be able to shake this learned Christian's faith. The Bible, thus studied, will indeed prove to be, what we Protestants esteem it—a certain and sufficient rule of faith and practice; a helmet of salvation, which alone may quench the fiery darts of the wicked."‡

II. Parallelisms have been divided into *real* and *verbal*. The former embrace *the matter* of doctrine and history; the latter regard words and phrases, modes of arguing, figures, and style. They are further divided into *adequate* and *inadequate*: adequate, when they affect the whole subject proposed in the text; inadequate, when they affect it only in part: the former of these are of course the more important, but the latter should not be undervalued.||

1. THE VERBAL PARALLELISM. It not unfrequently happens, as will be seen from the remarks already offered, that the meaning of words is sometimes ambiguous or doubtful; neither the subject nor the context affords the means of determining the sense. Now it is evident, that in such a case, another passage in which the same word or its synonyme is introduced, accompanied by those attributes by which it may be defined, will furnish a verbal parallelism of the utmost value for fixing the sense of the doubtful word or phrase. Thus, in Rom. xvi. 25, the apostle speaks of "the mystery which was kept secret since the world began," without enabling us, by any subjoined remark, to understand the precise sense to be attached to the phraseology. But if we refer to Eph. i. 9, 10, iii. 4, 5, and Col. i. 27, it will be rendered manifest, that it means the admission of the Gentiles to the privileges of the church and people of God, without subjecting them to the

‡ Nine Sermons, pp. 121—128.

|| Gerard, in his *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, divides Parallels into the following classes: (1) Passages in which, either with or without a quotation, the same thing is said in the same or nearly the same words; as, Exod. xx. 2—17 is parallel to Deut. v. 6—18. The comparison of such texts often serves to correct a false reading. (2) Passages which relate the same subject in different terms. (3) Passages in which the same terms or expressions are used, in speaking of different things. (4) Passages which treat of the same subject in different expressions.

* De Trin. lib. 1.

† Jones' Lectures on the Figurative Language of Scripture, p. 2.

laws of Moses; and when it is found that this sense perfectly accords with the subject on which he is writing to the Romans, we need not hesitate to adopt it there also. In 2 Cor. i. 21, the same writer speaks of himself, and those to whom he writes, as being "anointed;" but neither from the usual or ordinary meaning of the word, nor from the context, can we gather his exact idea. When we turn to 1 John ii. 20, however, we find that this *unction* or *anointing* denotes instruction in the truth; and the idea exactly suiting the passage in the Corinthians, the difficulty is at once removed.

2. THE REAL PARALLELISM next claims our notice. This means a parallelism of *subject* or *sentiment*, and does not necessarily imply that the same *words* should be employed. It occurs, indeed, more properly, where the same object or sentiment is expressed in other words more perspicuous, or with fuller and more numerous words, the meaning of which is plain.* It is chiefly with reference to doctrinal subjects that this kind of parallelism will be found important; for it is on the faithful, skilful, and diligent comparison of the different parts of Scripture which treat of these, that our right conclusions in regard to the real doctrines of religion will be found to depend. By way of giving an example of this, let us refer to Acts ii. 21, where Peter applies a passage in Joel to our Saviour, which affirms "that whoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." It is scarcely possible to read this declaration without a recurring of the mind to Matt. vii. 21, where our Lord avers, that "not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord," that is, who invokes my name, "shall enter into the kingdom of heaven;" or, in the words of Joel and Peter, "be saved;" and unless we could find, from some parallel passage, that the speakers meant different things, it would be difficult to avoid concluding that they held contradictory doctrines. As it is, however, this consequence does not press us, for upon referring to Rom. x. 11—14, and 1 Cor. i. 2, we ascertain that the phraseology adopted by Peter, from Joel, implies an admission of the

* The popular and unsystematic character of the sacred writings makes it the more unsafe to dwell on detached portions of them, instead of comparing each part of Scripture with the rest. Not merely incomplete knowledge, but actual error, will often be the result; because it will often happen (as might be expected in an unscientific discourse) that the author has in view, in some particular passage, not the full development of any truth, but the correction of some particular *mistake*, the inculcation of some particular *caution*, or the enforcement of some particular *portion* of a doctrine or precept; so that such a passage, contemplated by itself, would tend to partial, and consequently erroneous, views."—Dr. Whately's *Essays on some of the Difficulties in the Writings of St. Paul*, &c., p. 291.

Messiahship of Jesus, and a belief and reliance in all the doctrines which he has revealed.

III. In the comparison of parallel passages, great attention and care are demanded; the following suggestions, particularly, should be constantly borne in mind.

1. Those passages are of the first importance, which were penned by *the same author on a parallel subject*.

The propriety of this rule needs scarcely a remark; for although the Scriptures were written by men under the influence of the Holy Spirit, it is evident that the writers were left, in a considerable measure, to the exercise of their natural faculties, and that each of them has his peculiar and prevailing style. Those persons who are in the habit of closely studying the original Scriptures, well know that a word is sometimes used by a writer in a sense peculiar to himself; in which case its meaning can only be derived from a careful comparison of passages in other parts of his works. The same may be said of modes of arguing, and the methods of illustrating doctrinal truths. And although a person unacquainted with the original languages is deprived of the high advantage of comparing the writer's *own words*, inasmuch as he is obliged to have recourse to a translation, yet our Version is in the main so faithful, and the translators have so far "seized the spirit and soul of the original," that the rule laid down for the scholar may be beneficially adopted by the unlearned. We should unquestionably look to an author for his own meaning, rather than to any stranger or second person:—if a man knows his meaning better than any one else does, his own meaning must be sought from himself to the utmost. Little need be said on the latter part of the rule. It must be obvious, that as an *adequate* parallelism is preferable to an *inadequate* one; so a parallel *subject* must be preferable to one which is only incidentally referable.

2. As those passages which were penned by *the same author* are the most valuable for comparison, so the next in importance are to be sought for in those books which were *written at, or not long before or after, the same period*.

The reason of this is obvious enough, especially in reference to the books of the Old Testament, which were written during the course of a period of nearly a thousand years, in which time the signification of many words was necessarily altered, in a greater or a lesser degree.

3. The *similarity* in passages should be *real*, in order to be compared, and not *merely verbal*.

(1) By this is meant, that the same *idea* should

be presented by both, and not merely that the *language* of each may be the same. For *real* likeness between them cannot exist, unless the *idea* of each be the same; nor, of course, can the one throw any true light upon the other, except there be a real similarity. When this point is settled, the interpreter must consider which of the two is the most perspicuous and definite, and regulate the exegesis of the more obscure passage by that which is the more perspicuous.

(2) Professor Stuart, who has adopted this maxim from Ernesti, very properly remarks, that to determine which of the two passages to be compared is the more perspicuous and definite, implies a previous knowledge of what the obscure passage contains, otherwise it cannot be ascertained whether the *idea* is the *same* in both; and he suggests, that, having thus determined how the obscure passage is to be interpreted, it may be said that you need not the comparison after which you are labouring; or else, that you *assume* the interpretation, and then build your exegesis on that assumption. In either way, the rule would seem to amount to little or nothing.

(3) But to relieve this difficulty, the Professor observes, that you determine what idea is conveyed, in each of the passages to be compared, from the context, the design of the writer, or the nature of the case. Having made this determination about each passage, independently of the other, you then bring them together; and the one, being expressed more fully, or with more explanatory adjuncts, than the other, confirms the less certain meaning of this. A comparison of two passages, then, in which the parallelism is *real* (that of ideas), and not merely *verbal*, can never be made to *any* purpose, where the obscurity of either is so great, that you can attain no tolerable degree of satisfaction about the meaning. It can never be used for any higher degree of evidence, than for the confirmation of a sense not improbable in itself, and not contradicted by the context.

(4) This subject, in the view just taken of it, becomes fundamental in regard to the *validity* of testimony to the meaning of words; and the nature and strength of the evidence, and the proper mode of its application, are all illustrated by the above considerations. Unless the student forms ideas of this subject which are correct, and grounded upon principles that will bear examination, he is liable to be carried about "by every wind of doctrine" in hermeneutics, and to be cast upon the opinion, or conceit, or confident assertion, of every commentator or lexicographer, who has overrated the authority of passages called parallel, in deciding upon some particular word or phrase,

or who has no definite views of the exact nature and application of the evidence in question.*

4. Passages which are the *seats* of subjects are always to be preferred to those in which a subject is only casually or incidentally introduced.

By the *seat* of a subject is meant, any place in the Scriptures in which such subject is formally *treated*; whether primarily or in subordination to another subject; or, more especially, where it is regularly discussed and illustrated by the obvious appointment of the Holy Spirit. This is termed its *proper seat*. It is to be remarked, however, that the same subject may be thus treated in more than one chapter and book of Scripture; and, hence there is an evident difference even between the proper seats of the same subject. The doctrine of justification, for instance, is considered in the third chapter of the epistle to the Philippians, as in its proper seat; but the epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians are more eminently the seats of that doctrine.†

5. In comparing passages supposed to be parallel, the *scope* and *design* of the writer should be carefully regarded.

On the means of ascertaining the *scope*, some remarks will be offered in the next section; it is only necessary here to show the importance of attending to it in comparing parallel passages. The following examples will illustrate the rule. In Phil. ii. 12, the apostle exhorts us, "Work out your own salvation, with *fear and trembling*;" whereas John declares, "there is *no fear* in love," but on the contrary, "perfect love casteth out all fear," 1 Epist. iv. 18. So, in one place, we read of the Samaritans, that "they *feared* the Lord" 2 Kings xvii. 32, 33; but in the following verse it is said, "They *feared not* the Lord." Our Saviour declared, "If a man keep my saying, he shall never *see death*," John viii. 51; while it is elsewhere affirmed, that "it is appointed unto *all men once to die*," Heb. ix. 27. Speaking of his own person, and that of his Father, our Lord says, "My Father is greater than I," John xiv. 28; but Paul, speaking on the same subject, says, Christ "thought it no robbery to be *equal* with God," Phil. ii. 5, 6. Again, our Saviour says, "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is *not true*," John v. 31; but he elsewhere affirms, "Though I bear record of myself, yet my record is *true*," viii. 14. It is said that the kingdom of Christ "shall be an everlasting kingdom," that "it shall be without end," Isa. ix. 7; Luke i. 33; yet the apostle declares, that the time will arrive

* Stuart's Elements, pp. 68—70.

† Franck's Guide to the Scriptures, by Jacques, p. 45.

when Christ "shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, that God may be all in all," 1 Cor. xv. 24. Paul teaches us that we are "justified by faith, *without the deeds of the law*," Rom. iii. 21; whereas James says, "*By works* a man is justified, and *not by faith alone*," James ii. 24. Now, in these, and many other passages, where there is an apparent contradiction in speaking of the same thing, a careful attention to the *design* and *scope* of the writer will make it evident, either that he is speaking of *several parts* of the same thing, or of the same thing in *different respects*. This, then, suggests the necessity of a strict attention to the rule laid down, for the avoidance of those evils which will inevitably result from taking passages to be *parallel*, upon the ground of a mere *verbal* resemblance between them.

6. In comparing passages of the New Testament with others in the Old Testament, the import and obligation of the precepts in the *latter* are to be interpreted and limited by those in the former, and not vice versa.

The reason for this rule is obvious. The Mosaic dispensation was introductory and subordinate to the Christian, to which it pointed, and in which it had its consummation. It was the dawn of that light, which, by the coming of Jesus Christ, has arisen on the nations in all its glory. Things necessarily obscure in the former, are therefore cleared up by the latter. From this, also, we learn to distinguish things of perpetual obligation. It happens in several instances, that what was incumbent under the weakness of the first economy, is superseded by the perfection of the second.*

7. Many parallel passages should be compared.

To compare two passages only, is often insufficient, whether we are endeavouring to find the *usus loquendi* by the aid of parallel passages, or by testimony derived from the nature of the subject and from examples. Especially is this the case when we are investigating the sense of words that have a complex or generic meaning made up of various parts. In this case, comparisons should be made from numerous passages, until we perceive that what we are seeking is fully and entirely discovered.†

8. As the prevailing usage of words may be ascertained with the greatest certainty from contemporaneous parallel passages, the preference should be given to that signification of a word which is confirmed by such parallel passages,

beyond that which the word may derive from an etymological source.

9. Such are the principal rules to be observed in availing ourselves of the aid of parallel passages, to discover the sense of the words employed by the sacred writers. To the observance of these principles frequent practice must be added, so that the interpreter may *easily* discern what passages are similar, and how he may rightly compare and judge of them. "The Books of the New Testament," says Professor Stuart, "present more inducement to repeat this exercise very frequently than any other books. For (1) They are of all books the most important. (2) They are not only all of the same idiom in general, but they have reference to the same subject; namely, the development of Christianity. They originated, too, from contemporary writers, possessed of views, feelings, and language, that were alike. Hence comparison has more force in illustrating the New Testament, than in the illustration of either Greek or Latin authors, many of whom that agreed with each other in all the circumstances just stated cannot be found. But (3) to all who admit that the same Holy Spirit guided the authors of the New Testament, and that their views of religion, in consequence of this, must have been *harmonious*, the inducement to comparison of various parts and passages with each other, in order to obtain a correct view of the whole, must be *very great*; and the additional force of the evidence arising from comparison, on account of the really harmonious views of the writers, must make this exercise an imperious duty of every theologian.‡

10. If the student can command the time, and will submit to the labour, he will reap the benefit of making for himself a collection of such passages of Scripture as are really parallel. The practice will induce a habit of careful reading and of minute research, which will be found of the utmost consequence in his studies. But where this cannot be done, resort must be had to the references in the margin of our larger Bibles.

IV. In addition to those descriptions of parallelisms that have now been considered, there is another species, which opens, if not so extensive an inquiry, yet an equally important source of testimony to the sense of words, and therefore demands the diligent investigation of the biblical student; we mean the *rhythmical parallelism*.||

1. The rhythmical parallelism consists in a certain proportion between the various members of a period, not consisting in the measure of the

* Campbell's Lectures on Systematic Theology, p. 5.

† Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 71.

‡ Elements of Interpretation, p. 70.

|| For some remarks on the nature and origin of this style of composition, see Sect. X., *in fine*.

syllables, but in the thought. Bishop Lowth, whose Lectures on the Hebrew Poetry, and Preliminary Dissertation to his translation of Isaiah, should be read and studied by every one who is desirous to enter fully into this subject, defines this parallelism to consist in a certain equality, resemblance, or relationship between the members of each period; so that in one or more lines or members of the same period, things shall answer to things, and words to words, as if fitted to each other by a kind of rule or measure; and in this sense the term has been employed by Bishop Jebb, in his equally beautiful and valuable work, on the Parallelism of the New Testament. But as the *doctrine* is now extended, so also must be the use of the *term*; and instead of restricting it to complete, clauses, parts of verses, and members of sentences, we must apply it to complete sentences, to entire verses, and to paragraphs of considerable length.

2. The rhythmical parallelism is of different kinds, according to the different laws of the association of thoughts.* The two principal laws of resemblance and contrast, or antithesis, produce the *gradational* or *synonymous*, the *antithetic*, and the *introverted* parallelism; and a fourth description is founded simply upon a resemblance in the form of construction and progression of the thoughts, and is termed the *synthetic* parallelism. There is a fifth kind of parallelism, which has little or no relation to the internal thought, but consists simply in the external form, and which has been denominated the *parallelism of rhythm*. An example or two of each kind of parallelism will point out the mode in which they are to be construed and applied in the interpretation of the sacred text.

(1) The *gradational* or *synonymous parallelism*. Bishop Lowth has termed this the *synonymous parallelism*; and he conceived that the sacred writers employed it to repeat the same sentiment in different but equivalent terms. Bishop Jebb has shown, however, that this is by no means the case; and has suggested the term *cognate*, in the place of *synonymous*, as more correctly defining the nature of the composition. But neither does this term adequately represent the character of the parallelism, and hence the one we have adopted has been proposed by another learned critic; and its propriety, as already intimated, is now generally admitted. In this kind of parallelism, the second, or responsive clause, so diversifies the preceding one, as generally to rise above it, forming a sort of climax; and sometimes, by a

descending scale in the value of the related terms and periods, forming a sort of anti-climax; but in all cases with a marked distinction of meaning. It is the most frequent of all, prevailing chiefly in the shorter poems, in many of the Psalms, and very frequently in the prophecies of Isaiah. It has the appearance of art and concinnity, and a studied elegance, and discharges the difficult and critical function of discriminating between *different degrees* of truth and good on the one hand, of falsehood and evil on the other; as in the following passage:—

Seek ye JEHOVAH, while he may be found;
Call ye upon him, while he is near:
Let the wicked forsake his way;
And the unrighteous man his thoughts:
And let him return to JEHOVAH, and he will compassionate him;
And unto our God, for he aboundeth in forgiveness.
Isaiah lv. 6, 7.

Here, in the first line, men are invited to seek JEHOVAH, not knowing where he is, and on the bare intelligence that he *may* be found; in the second line, having found JEHOVAH, they are encouraged to call upon him, by the assurance that he *is* near; in the third line, the wicked, the positive and presumptuous sinner, is warned to forsake *his way*, his habitual course of iniquity; in the fourth line, the unrighteous, the negatively wicked, is called to renounce *the very thought of sinning*; while, in the last line, the appropriative and encouraging title, *our God*, is substituted for the awful name of JEHOVAH, in the preceding line; and simple *compassion* is heightened into overflowing mercy and forgiveness.†

(2) The *Antithetic Parallelism* is that in which two lines correspond with one another, by an opposition of terms and sentiment; when the second is contrasted with the first, sometimes in expressions, sometimes in sense only. This is not confined to any particular form; and hence the degrees of antithesis are various; from an exact contraposition of word to word, singulars to singulars, plurals to plurals, &c., through the whole sentence, down to a general disparity, with something of contrariety in the two propositions. This species of parallelism is admirably adapted to adages, aphorisms, and detached sentences; and abounds in the Proverbs of Solomon, much of the elegance, acuteness, and force of which arise from the antithetic form, the opposition of diction and sentiment. An example or two will sufficiently illustrate these remarks. In Prov. xxvii. 6, the wise man says,

* See Lowth's Lectures, l. xix.

† Jebb's Sacred Literature, pp. 27, 28.

Faithful are the words of a friend ;
But deceitful are the kisses of an enemy.

Where every word has its opposite: *faithful, deceitful; words, kisses; friend, enemy*. It will sometimes be found, that the latter line is to be rendered complete, by supplying a word from the former; as in the two following passages:

He who uttereth truth manifesteth righteousness;
But a false witness [manifesteth] deceit.

Prov. xii. 17.

The wisdom of the prudent is to understand his way;

But the folly of fools is [to understand] deceit.

Prov. xiv. 8

Not that their *folly* is deceit, as the words would seem to imply, without a reference to the parallelism of the lines.

(3) *The Synthetic Parallelism* is that species in which the sentences answer to each other only by the form of their construction. In this kind, word does not answer to word, and sentence to sentence, as equivalent or opposite; but there is a correspondence and equality between different propositions, in respect of the shape and turn of the whole sentence, and of the constructive parts; such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, interrogative to interrogative.* The only example which can now be given, shall be from Matt. vii. 7, 8; a passage which consists of two triplets, forming a constructive or synthetic parallelism:

Ask, and it shall be given unto you;
Seek, and ye shall find;
Knock, and it shall be opened unto you:
For every one who asketh, receiveth;
And every one who seeketh, findeth;
And to every one who knocketh, it shall be opened.

These triplets are closely connected, remarks Bishop Jebb, not merely in the subject matter, but by their form of construction; the first, second, and third lines of each, being respectively parallel to the first, second, and third lines of the other. The parallelisms will be obvious, by reducing the passage to a stanza of six lines, and transposing their order thus:—

Ask, and it shall be given unto you;
For every one who asketh, receiveth:
Seek, and ye shall find;
For every one who seeketh, findeth:
Knock, and it shall be opened unto you;
For, to every one who knocketh, it shall be opened.

The existing order, however, is incomparably preferable; both as presenting our Lord's three injunctions in a compact body, and as keeping distinct two separate grounds of encouragement to obey these injunctions. In the first triplet, it will be observed, the encouragement is individual, or, at least, specific: "It shall be given unto *you*; *ye* shall find; it shall be opened unto *you*." In the second triplet, the encouragement is generic, or, rather, universal: "*Every one* who asketh, who seeketh, who knocketh." May not this advance, from promises to principles, from particulars to universals, have been designed, at once to elicit the faith of our Lord's immediate followers, and to establish the confidence of all succeeding generations? Had the assurance been merely of a general nature, had it wanted the personal speciality of the first triplet, sufficient provision might not have been made for the doubts and hesitations of early converts, of whom it is repeatedly asserted, that they were dull in apprehension, and slow of belief: had the assurance been merely specific, had it wanted the principal extension of the second triplet, it might, in after-ages, have been difficult to prove, that it was not a peculiar privilege of our Lord's original disciples: as the passage stands, both purposes have been abundantly attained; the timidity of Christ's infant followers was encouraged, and the scepticism of prayerless rationalists was met by anticipation.† The degrees of the correspondence of the lines in this kind of parallel, must, as Bishop Lowth observes, from the nature of it, be various. Sometimes the parallelism is more, sometimes less, exact; sometimes hardly at all apparent. It requires, indeed, particular attention, much study of the genius of the language, and much habitude in the analysis of the construction, to be able in all cases to see and to distinguish the nice rests and pauses, which ought to be made, in order to give the period or sentence its intended turn and cadence, and to each part its due time and proportion.‡

We must not omit to notice, that of each of the preceding kinds of parallelism, there is a variety which is called the *alternate parallelism*, in which the first line answers to the third, the second to the fourth, and so on; as in the following passages:

From without the Lord shall destroy;
In the innermost apartments terror;
Both the young man and the virgin;
The suckling, with the man of grey hairs.
Deut. xxxii. 25.

† Sacred Literature, pp. 156—159.

‡ Prelim. Dissert., p. xxxii.

* Lowth's Prelim. Dissert., p. xxvii.

Here the third line forms a continuous sense with the first, and the fourth with the second: the youths and virgins, led out of doors by the vigour and buoyancy natural at their time of life, fall victims to the sword in the streets of the city; while infancy and old age, confined by helplessness and decrepitude to the inner chambers of the house, perish there by fear, before the sword can reach them.*

The next passage, which is from the New Testament, is very striking; it is Rom. ii. 28, 29:

For he is not a Jew, who is one outwardly;
Neither is circumcision that which is outward in the flesh;
But he is a Jew, who is one inwardly;
And circumcision that of the heart, in the spirit, not in letter;
Whose praise is not from men, but from God.

Here it will be seen that the first, third, and fifth lines are not only parallel, but keep up a continuous sense, though that is twice suspended, by the intervention of the second and fourth lines.†

(4) The *Introverted Parallelism* is that which is so constructed, that whatever be the number of its members, the first answers to the last, the second to the penultimate, or last but one, and so on throughout, in an order that looks inward, or, to borrow a military phrase, from flanks to centre. The following example is taken from Bishop Jebb, to whom we are indebted for recalling attention

- a | And when he was come out of the ship, immediately there met him out of the tombs a man
| with an unclean spirit;
b | Who had his dwelling among the tombs,
c | And no man could bind him, no, not with chains,
d | Because that he had been often bound with fetters,
e | And chains:
e | And the chains had been plucked asunder by him,
d | And the fetters broken in pieces.
c | Neither could any man tame him.
b | And always, night and day, he was in the mountains, and in the tombs, crying, and cutting
| himself with stones.
a | But when he saw Jesus afar off, he ran, and worshipped him, &c.

Here we have, in e and e, the chains of the person possessed; in d and d, his fetters; in c and c, the difficulty of binding or taming him; in b and b, his places of resort and usual habits; in a and a, his meeting with Jesus. || The thirtieth psalm is, according to the arrangement of

to this species of parallelism; and also for some felicitous illustrations of passages in which it is found:

The idols of the heathen are silver and gold;
The work of men's hands:
They have mouths, but they speak not;
They have eyes, but they see not;
They have ears, but they hear not;
Neither is there any breath in their mouths;
They who made them are like unto them;
So are they who put their trust in them.

Ps. cxxxv. 15—18.

In the *first* line we have the idolatrous heathen; in the *eighth*, those who put their trust in idols; in the *second* line, the fabrication; in the *seventh*, the fabricators; in the *third* line, mouths without articulation; in the *sixth*, mouths without breath; in the *fourth* line, eyes without vision; and in the *fifth* line, ears without the sense of hearing.‡ It is this kind of parallelism which Mr. Boys has shown to prevail so generally in the sacred writings; not only in doctrine and discussion, but in narration and dialogue; not only where we might expect to meet with something like stanzas, but where poetry, according to our ideas of it, is out of the question. This ingenious writer has reduced, not only many long passages, which are strictly historical, to the form of single parallelisms, but also several of the psalms, and four of the epistles in the New Testament. Of each of these we give a specimen. The first is Mark v. 2—6.

Mr. Boys, an introverted parallelism of six members; but as it would occupy considerable space to go through the several parts of it, and point out its construction, a mere exhibition of its form must suffice. It is thus:

* Jebb's Sacred Literature, p. 30.

† Ibid., pp. 199, 200.

‡ Sacred Literature, p. 57.

|| Tactica Sacra, p. 6.

- A | 1. Thanksgiving promised.
- B { a | 2. The Psalmist's cry to God.
b | 2, 3. The relief obtained.
c | 4. Songs of praise.
- C | 5. Sudden change from adversity to prosperity.
C | 6, 7. Sudden change from prosperity to adversity.
- B { a | 8-10. The Psalmist's cry to God.
b | 11. The relief obtained.
c | 12. Songs of praise.
- A | 12. Thanksgiving promised.

Here the correspondence is obvious: *A*, the last member, answering to *A*, the first; *B*, the fifth, to *B*, the second; and *C*, the fourth, to *C*, the third. This is the general division; and then the subdivisions of *B* and *B* correspond in a similar way; *a* answering to *a*, *b* to *b*, and *c* to *c*; and therefore the whole *B* to the whole *B*.*

The epistle we select is that addressed by Paul to Philemon, which is an introverted parallelism of eighteen members: we can only give its plan, however, referring those who may be desirous to see it filled up and illustrated, to the ingenious work already mentioned.†

- A. 1-3.—Epistolary.
B. 4-7.—Prayers of St. Paul for Philemon—Philemon's hospitality.
C. 8.—Authority.
D. 9, 10.—Supplication.
E. 10.—Onesimus, a convert of St. Paul's.
F. 11, 12.—Wrong done by Onesimus, amends made by Paul.
G. 12.—To receive Onesimus the same as receiving Paul.
H. 13, 14.—Paul, Philemon.
I. 15.—Onesimus.
I. 16.—Onesimus.
H. 16.—Paul, Philemon.
G. 17.—To receive Onesimus the same as receiving Paul.
F. 18, 19.—Wrong done by Onesimus, amends made by Paul.
E. 19.—Philemon, a convert of St. Paul's.
D. 20.—Supplication.
C. 21.—Authority.
B. 22.—Philemon's hospitality—Prayers of Philemon for St. Paul.
A. 23-25.—Epistolary.

(5) *The parallelism of rhythm.* This consists simply in the form or construction of the period; it affects not the internal thought, but merely the external dress: it consists in a certain measure in the words and lines; as for example, 2 Cor. xi. 21—29:

1. In whatsoever any one is bold, I also am bold.
2. Are they Hebrews? So am I.
Are they Israelites? So am I.
Are they the seed of Abraham? So am I.
Are they ministers of Christ? So am I.
3. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure:
In prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.
Five times of the Jews received I forty stripes, save one.
Thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned:
Thrice was I shipwrecked; a night and a day have I spent in the deep.
4. In journeyings often.

In dangers from rivers; in dangers from robbers;
In dangers from my countrymen; in dangers from heathens;
In dangers in the city; in dangers in the wilderness;
In dangers at sea; in dangers among false brethren.

5. In labour and toil; in watchings often;
In hunger and thirst; in fastings often;
In cold and nakedness.
6. Who is weak, and I am not weak?
Who is made to stumble, and I do not burn?

The simply *rhythmical parallelism* holds the most prominent place in the Lamentations of Jeremiah.

V. We have now adverted to the several kind of parallelism found in the sacred writings; an attention to their principles will afford much assistance in the art of interpretation. Of this some of the examples that have been given afford

* Key to the Book of Psalms, p. 127.

† *Tactica Sacra*, pp. 61—63.

unquestionable evidence. The correspondence existing between the different parts of these compositions has been seen to be of various kinds : sometimes it lies in affinity, sometimes in antithesis ; sometimes in words, sometimes in ideas, sometimes in construction ; but of whatever kind it may be, it is generally very marked and decisive, except in the constructive parallelism, which, as already noticed, is sometimes very subtle and obscure, and must be developed by art and labour. The great use of the Scripture Parallelism is to aid in ascertaining with precision what are the leading topics of a passage ; what are the points which the sacred writer intends to urge, and what those which he only introduces in connection with them ; as well as to indicate in what sense an obscure or ambiguous word ought to be taken in a particular place. And the conjecture of Bishop Jebb is by no means unreasonable—indeed, it has been borne out by facts—that these parallelisms may have been provided, among other purposes, as so many moulds and forms, by means of which shape and consistency may be given to passages at present, if not wholly unintelligible, at least hard to be understood.

VI. Very nearly allied to the rhythmical parallelism, in its principle, and therefore furnishing similar aid in discovering the sense of language, is what is properly termed the COMMON REFERENCE. The chief difference between them is this ; that the parallelism more particularly relates to the meaning of *words* ; the common reference, to that of *sentences*.

1. This topic has been but recently brought forward ; and, if we may judge from the silence that has been observed about it, it has not been

very favourably received. Be this as it may, we have little doubt that it will ultimately be numbered among the direct aids to be employed in elucidating the obscurities and removing the difficulties of Scripture phraseology.

2. That one clause in a sentence has a common reference to two or more clauses in the same sentence, is indeed, often too obvious to fail of being perceived ; but the extent to which such a construction of sentences prevails in the sacred writings, has hitherto escaped the attention of critics. The translator and expositor who seems to have been the most fully alive to the subject, and who has the most frequently availed himself of the principle, to give shape and consistency to passages in the apostolic epistles, which he found involved in obscurity, is Macknight. But it is to Mr. Boys, the ingenious writer on the Scripture Parallelism, that we are more particularly indebted for having brought it under notice. He has developed, with much clearness, the principle of this kind of construction, and has illustrated its use by some striking examples. To the second of the Appendices to his *Tactica Sacra*, we are chiefly indebted for the selections that follow.

3. The first example we offer is from Rom. vi. 11, where the apostle says, "Likewise reckon ye also yourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord." Now, according to this punctuation, the apostle is made to represent the fact of our being "alive to God," as resulting from "Jesus Christ our Lord ;" but not so our being "dead unto sin." The first member of the sentence is severed from the last, but the second is united to it ; it therefore reads thus :

Likewise reckon } { to be dead indeed unto sin,
ye also yourselves } { but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Such, however, is not the meaning of the apostle, who, as is evident from numerous other passages in his writings, intended to represent our "death to sin" as resulting, equally with our

"living to God," from Jesus Christ our Lord. The last clause of the text has, therefore, a common reference to both the preceding ones, and may be shown thus :

Likewise reckon } { to be dead indeed unto sin, } { through Jesus Christ
ye also yourselves } { but alive unto God, } { our Lord.

The eighth verse of the chapter confirms this view of the passage. There the apostle says, "Now if we be *dead* with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him ;" connecting our *death unto sin* with Christ, as well as our *living unto God*. We find a further confirmation of this view of the passage in the Epistle to the Colossians ; for there the apostle not only says, "If ye then be *risen* with Christ" (chap. iii. 1), but a

little before, "If ye be *dead* with Christ" (chap. ii. 20). According to this view of the passage, a comma must be inserted before the last clause, "through Jesus Christ our Lord ;" and never, as Mr. Boys has remarked, did a comma make a more important difference.

(2) Another passage deserving notice is in the same epistle, chap. xv. 7. This is uniformly pointed in the Greek text thus : "Wherefore receive ye one

another, as Christ also received us to the glory of God," connecting the second clause with the third, but separating the first clause from it. Our translation, however, in some copies at least, presents the true sense of the apostle (by departing from the Greek punctuation), which is, that as Christ received us to the glory of God, we also should receive one another to the glory of God. The third clause has therefore a common reference to both the preceding ones.

(3) Gal. iv. 7 furnishes another example; and here our authorised Version errs in following the punctuation of the common Greek text. The

passage stands thus: "Wherefore thou art no more a servant, but a son; and if a son, then an heir of God through Christ." But surely the apostle had no intention to assert, that, while our *heirship* was derived "through Christ," our *sonship* was independent of him. This cannot be; and a slight alteration in the pointing will restore the true meaning: "Wherefore thou art no more a servant but a son, and if a son then an heir, of God through Christ." This shows the last member of the sentence to have a common reference to the two preceding ones:—

Thou art no more a servant but a son, } of God through Christ.
And if a son, then an heir, }

These are three examples of a word or clause of a sentence having a common reference to *two* others; and it is very observable, that the two clauses to which the third refers, are in a greater or lesser degree parallel. Sometimes, however, there is a common reference of one clause to *three* others; and in such cases, the parallelism of the three is equally obvious.

(4) The following example is very striking, and marks most distinctly the three persons in the blessed and undivided Trinity:

"Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord; and there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all," 1 Cor. xii. 4—6. But the distinction of the persons in the God-

head, to which we have supposed the apostle to refer, as well, indeed, as the entire sense of the passage, is altogether destroyed by the punctuation here adopted. For what purpose, it may be asked, are the Spirit and the Lord introduced into the first and second clauses, when the last clause, "which worketh all in all," is permitted to take as its antecedent, "the same God," of the third clause? So represented, the meaning of the apostle cannot be discovered. But if, in accordance with the principle we are now desirous to illustrate, this last clause be taken as having a common reference to the three preceding ones, the passage is rendered wholly intelligible, and assumes an important character. It may then be exhibited thus:

Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; } which
And there are diversities of administrations, but the same Lord; } worketh
And there are diversities of operations, but the same God; } all in all.

The only alteration here made in the text is the omission of *scilicet*, *it is*, in the last clause; and the word is rejected by Griesbach upon good authority. The parallelism confirms his decision.

4. These examples will be sufficient to point out the nature of the common reference, and render manifest the kind of aid derivable from it, in the interpretation of the Scriptures.*

SECTION VIII.

THE SUBSIDIARY MEANS FOR DISCOVERING THE SIGNIFICATION OF WORDS.

Direct Testimony not always Available or Satisfactory—Subsidiary Means; Scope of the Writer; Context of the Passage; Analogy of Scripture—Emphasis—Of the Detection of Emphasis.

THE two preceding sections have been devoted to a consideration of those sources which furnish

direct testimony to the signification of words and the sense of particular expressions in the sacred writings. A very little consideration will suggest to the student that such testimony will not always be found adequate to the necessities of the interpreter. The *usus loquendi*, that is, the meaning which usage has attached to words, cannot always be found by these means. As Ernesti remarks, "Proper evidence respecting the usage of language is sometimes wanting; sometimes usage is variable or inconstant, even in the same age, or in the same writer; or there is an ambiguity of language, or

Tactica Sacra, Bishop Horsley on Psalm ii. 4, and v. 3. "Nothing is more frequent in the Psalms," he remarks, "than that two verbs should have a common causal noun." See also his note on Psalm ix. 18, and on xii. 3. Psalm x. 1, and xiii. 4, may also be referred to. In no part of the Bible, perhaps, says Mr. Boys, do common references occur more frequently than in the Psalms.

* On this subject the reader may consult, in addition to the

of grammatical forms ; or an obscurity covers the subject or thing treated of ; or novelty of language occurs ; or a neglect of the *usus loquendi*, which sometimes happens, even in the most careful writers.* In these exigencies, other means must be resorted to for eliciting the signification of words, and discovering the writer's meaning. Of these, the most important are, an examination of the *scope* of the author, of the *context* of the discourse, and of the *analogy* of Scripture. A few remarks upon each of these topics may be submitted.

I. THE SCOPE OR DESIGN OF THE WRITER.

1. To compare the design or scope of an entire passage, with the particular part of the composition under consideration, will often be found an important aid to discover its meaning. Every part of the sacred volume was penned for the attainment of a specific object ; and a judicious writer will not often be found to say that which is inconsistent with his design. If this can be ascertained, therefore, we shall possess a clue to the import of the terms employed, where they are at all ambiguous, and a means of elucidating the argument and illustration of the writer.

2. The use of this aid, it should be remarked, requires particular care, and must never be permitted to supersede the employment of those means of discovering the sense of words, which have been already discussed. To those means the first place must be assigned, since they relate to direct and positive testimony ; and no meaning which they have fairly elicited must be set aside by another meaning derived from the supposed scope or design of the author. The aid derivable from the scope, will not be in such frequent requisition in the interpretation of the historical books, as in that of the Psalms, the prophets, and the epistles ; the method of the historian in those being determined by the order of time, or by the similarity of events. Nevertheless, it is not to be altogether laid aside, even in the study of the gospels, elucidating, as it sometimes will do, those beautiful discourses and parables of our Saviour, which were called forth by surrounding and local circumstances, and which had special reference to the character and pursuits of his immediate hearers.

3. The scope of an author is commonly distinguished as being either *general* or *special* ; the former regards the entire work, and the latter, particular passages. This distinction, however, will not here be observed, as we are desirous to avoid burdening the memory with unnecessary rules.

4. The scope of a writer may generally be ascer-

tained from his own express or implied statement ; or, where this fails, from contemporary history.

(1) Where the *author states the design of his writing*, it is, of course, more satisfactorily ascertained than it can be through any other media ; and this is frequently done.

(a) Sometimes the scope or design of a work will be found stated at its commencement ; sometimes, near its close ; and at other times, in both these places. Thus, John declares the scope or design of his gospel in express terms :—"These, are written *that ye might believe* that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God ; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name," ch. xx. 31. So Peter :—"This second epistle, beloved, I now write unto you ; in which I stir up your pure minds by way of remembrance ; *that ye may be mindful* of the words which were spoken before by the holy prophets, *and of the commandment* of us the apostles of our Lord and Saviour," ch. iii.

1. The same may be remarked of John's first epistle, in which the writer declares, "These things have I written unto you, *concerning them that seduce you*," ch. ii. 14. Sometimes the scope is suggested by the title of the book ; as in the Proverbs :—"The proverbs of Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel ; *to know wisdom and instruction ; to perceive the words of understanding ; to receive the instruction of wisdom, justice, judgment, and equity ; to give subtilty to the simple, to the young man knowledge and discretion*," ch. i. 1—4.† Now, if these books be read with an eye steadily fixed upon the scope, thus pointed out by their respective authors, much force and beauty will be perceived, which would otherwise be lost.

(b) More attention and care will be required where the scope is only *implied* in the historical circumstances mentioned by the writer. In illustration of this remark, we may refer to the Epistle to the Colossians, the scope of which is to be gathered from the circumstances referred to by the apostle. (1) He expressly mentions (ver. 3—8) the conversion of the Colossians, effected under the ministry of Epaphras ; and the accounts which had been given to him by that servant of God, concerning the present state of their church. (2) He declares, in express terms (ch. ii. 1), that he endured a great conflict for those churches which he had not seen in the flesh ; and amongst the rest, for this church. No means, therefore, could have been adopted, better calculated to strengthen the Colossians, than letters from himself, who was now absent, and a prisoner. (3) He intimates (ch. ii. 7, 8), that the church was

* Institutes, part I, sect. 11, ch. 2, § 1.

† Franck's Guide to the Study of the Scriptures, p. 75.

at that time troubled with "enticing words, philosophy, and vain deceit, after the rudiments of the world." He also shows, by borrowing arguments from *evangelical* doctrines, in order to combat *legal* teachers, and by the inferences which he draws from those arguments, that certain judaizing teachers burdened the consciences of the Colossian converts, by enjoining on them the observance of the ceremonial law, the necessity of circumcision (ver. 11), of keeping particular days (ver. 16), and of abstaining from divers kinds of meats (ver. 16—21); from which, as an intolerable yoke, the apostles had deemed it necessary to deliver the Colossian church. Comp. Acts xv. with Gal. v. 3, 4, &c. (4) If we rightly consider what is said of Epaphras, at the commencement and conclusion of the epistle, we shall probably infer, that while he was earnestly commending to Paul the faith and love of the new converts, and while glowing with holy zeal for their welfare, he moved the apostle, by his entreaties, to dispatch this letter to Colosse and Laodicea, ch. i. 8, iv. 12, 13. These points being premised, it is easy to ascertain the scope of the whole epistle; which was, that Paul, in obedience to his duty as an apostle, might confirm the Colossian converts in the doctrines of faith, and in seeking after that holiness which flows from them. It was also, that he might seasonably heal the breaches made by Jewish errors, which had spread, and were perhaps still prevailing; and that he might deliver the church from the evils which those errors had induced, as well as avert from it those which he foresaw would be consequent on this vain deceit. It very evidently appears, from the whole structure of the epistle, that the reason the apostle had for so carefully confirming the Colossians in the purer doctrines of the faith, was a fear lest they should be injured by the pernicious opinions of heretical men; and the apostle himself makes all the doctrines stated have a reference to it, when he says, "*This I say, lest any man should beguile you with enticing words,*" ii. 4. The declaration contained in these words should be well considered, as we recognise in it the true and genuine scope of the whole epistle, expressed in Paul's own words.*

(c) Here it may be remarked, that the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and particularly the fifteenth chapter, is of special assistance in attaining to a right understanding of the epistles of Paul. The historical books of the Old Testament render the same assistance in reading the Prophets and the Psalms; and the Books of Moses elucidate the writings of both Testaments.

(d) The rules for applying the aid afforded by an examination of the scope, to the investigation of *particular passages* of Scripture, must be nearly the same as those employed in the investigation of entire books. The whole context should be carefully examined, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the scope is expressly stated or fairly implied in the writer's own words. Thus, if we would understand the design of the apostle in 1 Cor. x. 25—29, we must refer back to ch. viii. 1, where his purpose in this part of the letter is clearly pointed out. Sometimes the design of a particular passage is ascertained by the concluding inference which the writer deduces. So Paul, Rom. iii. 28: "*Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law;*" which defines the scope of the passage. Particular attention, then, should be paid to the particles, "*wherefore,*" "*therefore,*" "*then,*" "*seeing that,*" &c. Considerable care, and some practice, will be requisite, to enable us to distinguish between the principal and subordinate conclusions; but the benefits derivable from the practice will abundantly repay the labour expended upon it.

(2) Where no assistance can be derived from any expressed or implied declaration of the writer's scope, we must endeavour to ascertain, from other authentic sources, *the occasion on which the book was written*; and *the particular circumstances, at that time, of the persons to whom it was immediately addressed*. To know, for example, that at the time John wrote his gospel, the Gnostic heresy was spreading itself through the church, and to be acquainted also with the leading features of that corruption of religion, will materially assist in understanding many passages in that important document, which it would seem probable must have had some reference to their errors. A knowledge of the state of the church at Corinth will throw considerable light upon the epistles directed to it by Paul, in which it is natural to suppose he would refer to their mistakes and dissensions. So also we may perceive the force and beauty of many of the expressions in Ps. xcvi. and cv., when we ascertain, from 1 Chron. xvi., that they were sung on occasion of the ark being brought up to Jerusalem by David. The same remarks will apply to the prophetic writings, which may be materially elucidated by observing the circumstances that called forth many of the predictions, and the state of things to which they had an immediate reference. Should both these sources of information fail to ascertain the scope of the author, we must—

(3) *Attentively and repeatedly read the whole book*, with a view to discover its scope from a general and connected view of its contents. In

* Franck's Analysis of the Epistle to the Colossians, Ap. Guide to the Scriptures.

the epistolary parts of the New Testament, especially, great light will be derived to the sense of the text, if this kind of reading be adopted; and, indeed, it should never be dispensed with, in the study of these important, and in many respects difficult, letters. They should be read, and re-read from beginning to end; and it is preferable to use a copy where the text is not divided into chapters and verses. Each one should be read as we would peruse an epistle from a friend; and that three or four times over, without interruption, until we have fully apprehended the meaning, and the subject of the whole letter becomes clear. From this perusal, re-perusal, and repetition of the document, we shall obtain a right knowledge of the scope of the author, and an acquaintance with the general argument of the epistle.* For, as it has been well remarked, the composition of every such work, however loose and imperfect, cannot have been fortuitous; we know that by some exertion of mind it has been put together, and we discover in its connexions, such as they are, indications of the purpose for which the exertion was made. According to the tendency of the composition, may the inference be safely made to its purpose.† Nor should this examination be restricted to separate books of the Old or New Testament: it should be extended to embrace all those books as a whole. As every part of the divine revelation has an ultimate reference to one great subject, which is carefully pursued throughout, it is obvious that the continuous

reading which has been recommended for the several books should be carried throughout the whole, and that conclusions as to that revelation should not be drawn till the joint amount of the whole can be thus collected. Not thus to gather, from all the different books, what each has said of their common subject, must be to narrow the grounds on which it was designed that our opinion of the revelation should be formed.‡

(4) It should be borne in mind, that the whole *design of the Scriptures is to treat of Christ, in his mediatorial capacity*. The Redeemer is the sum and substance—the very soul—of Scripture; and every part of it has a reference to him, and his mediatorial kingdom. Some passages treat expressly of him, inculcating faith in his promise, and obedience to his will; some contain prophecies concerning him, fulfilled, or remaining to be fulfilled; others exhibit types and figures; while some are to be referred to him by the analogy of faith, which is entirely founded upon him. Hence the necessity of keeping the eye of faith constantly fixed upon the Redeemer, in reading every part of Scripture. “In him all the promises of God are yea and amen;” 2 Cor. i. 20. To him all the genealogies refer, all the times relate, all the ceremonies point; and as the sun imparts his light to all the heavenly bodies, so Christ, “the Sun of Righteousness,” gives light and meaning to every part of the Bible.

5. Having thus pointed out the principal rules for discovering the scope of a writer, it only remains to offer a suggestion or two, by way of caution, in the use of this aid to discover the sense of Scripture.

(1) *There must be an evident and necessary connexion between the sense given to a passage and the scope of the discourse, and not only some tolerable agreement*. The reason for this rule is, that it will sometimes happen, that several interpretations may agree with the scope of the writer, and therefore a mere agreement with this can give no assurance that the sense assumed is the right one. Thus Titus ii. 11 has been interpreted in three different ways,—as referring to slaves and their masters—to Jews and Gentiles—and to all men, indiscriminately; but if the scope of the apostle’s argument be examined, it will be found difficult to say what real connexion there could subsist in the apostle’s mind between the duties of slaves (which is the subject of the exhortation in the 9th verse, and for which the fact stated in the 11th verse is assigned as the motive) and the

* Franck’s Guide, p. 63.

† Cook’s Inquiry, p. 204. Mr. Locke states, in his preface to the epistles of Paul, that after having been convinced, by long experience, that the ordinary mode of reading a chapter, and then consulting a commentator upon it, failed in giving him a just conception of the sense of an epistle, he saw plainly, after he began once to reflect upon it, that if any one should now write him a letter, as long as St. Paul’s to the Romans, concerning such a matter as this is, in a style as foreign, and expressions as dubious, as his seem to be; if he should divide it into fifteen or sixteen chapters, and read one of them to-day, and another to-morrow, and so on, it was ten to one that he should never come to a clear comprehension of it. The way to understand the mind of him that wrote it, he observes, every one would agree, was to read the whole letter through, from one end to the other, all at once, to see what was the main subject and tendency of it; or, if it had several parts or purposes in it, and dependant one on another, nor in a subordination to one end and end, to discover what those different matters were, and where the author concluded one and began another; and if there were any necessity of dividing the epistle into parts, to mark the boundaries of them. In the prosecution of this plan, Mr. Locke determined upon reading each of the epistles of Paul through at one sitting, and to mark, as well as he was able, the drift and design of the writer. By persevering in this plan, he at length obtained a good general view of the apostle’s main purpose in writing the several epistles, the chief branches of the discourse, and arguments used, and the disposition of the whole.

‡ Cook’s Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, p. 84.

salvability either of all men or of the Gentiles, as in opposition to the Jews. The only interpretation of the words, therefore, which gives them a *necessary* connexion with the scope of the passage, is that which refers them to the persons spoken of in the 9th verse, namely, *slaves*.

(2) But how are we to know when the sense given to a passage has an evident and necessary connexion with the scope of a discourse? The following negative precepts have been given by Professor Stuart; and a meaning which does not infringe upon them will be found to harmonize with the subject of which the sacred author is treating, unless he has violated all the rules of language and reasoning; which cannot be admitted.

(1) Where a meaning plainly contradicts the tenor of a discourse, it is to be rejected. (2) When it violates the principles of parallelism, and the conclusions drawn from them, as to the sense of a passage. (3) Where it gives an inept and frigid sense. By this is meant a sense which contributes neither to argument, nor perspicuity, nor ornament.*

(3) *The meaning, as discovered by the scope of the writer, should be compared with that which the usus loquendi affords, for the purpose of forming a judgment on their agreement.* In other words, we must see whether the *usus loquendi* will tolerate any particular sense given to the passage by the scope of the discourse, especially in respect to words which have various meanings; or whether there be a repugnance to it. Occasionally, the meaning derived from the scope of the writer will lead to a knowledge of something which may serve to establish its harmony with the *usus loquendi*. But to interpret solely from the supposed scope of a writer, without the aid and consent of the *usus loquendi*, and even in opposition to it, belongs rather to rash conjecture than to interpretation by rule.

(4) *A proposition occurring in the course of an argument, is not necessarily to be taken in the widest sense which the words will bear.* A proposition, used merely as a link in a chain of reasoning, is often expressed in more general terms than would be required to establish the conclusion which the writer is proving; in this case, the proposition is not *necessarily* to be taken in the widest sense of which the words would admit. It *may* be subject to various limitations, which the writer did not think it necessary to express, because they did not affect the course of the argument; and we should ever bear in mind, that our Saviour and his apostles adapted, for the most part, their instructions to the occasion, without attempting to treat religion in a systematic order.

(a) The following passages will at once illustrate and confirm the rule. In Luke ix. 50, our Saviour says, "He that is not against us is for us;" but in Matt. xv. 30, it is, "He that is not with me is against me." How are these propositions to be reconciled? Why, by taking one of them in some limited sense; and the occasion on which the first was delivered evidently points out the limitation it requires. John, having seen one, who was not associated with the apostles, casting out devils in the name of Christ, had forbidden him to do so. Jesus said to him, "*Forbid him not: for he that is not against us is for us.*" "Forbid him not,"—that is the precept; forbid him not to do good in my name: and the reason follows,—"for he that is not against us is for us;" he who does not oppose me promotes my cause;—let my gospel be preached, even though of strife and contention. Here our Saviour inculcates forbearance towards those who, from whatever motives, promote the progress of his kingdom: but in the place in Matthew, he teaches us, that mere indifference will not avail to our salvation; that they who would obtain the reward must possess the character of his disciples; that they who do not confess him before men, and espouse his cause in this world, will be treated as his enemies at the day of judgment.

(b) The manner in which Paul and James have treated the doctrine of justification, will furnish another illustration of this canon of interpretation. James says, "Ye see how by works a man is justified, and not by faith only," ch. ii. 24; whereas Paul says, "Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law:" and it is a little singular that each of the apostles illustrates his position by the instance of Abraham. But the apparent discrepancy will be removed, if we examine the course of their reasoning. James is labouring to prove that faith without works is a dead faith, a faith which will not avail to salvation.—"What doth it profit, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith—can *such* a faith—save him?" "If a brother or sister be naked, and destitute of daily food, and one of you say unto them, Depart in peace: be ye warmed and filled: notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body; what doth it profit?" What sincerity, what worth is there in such professions of kindness? What benefit do they confer on those who are the objects of them? "Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone." All professions of faith, which do not evidence their truth by a holy life and conversation, are false, vain, and unprofitable. "Yea, a man may say, to such a professor, 'Thou hast faith,' or pre

* Stuart's Elements of Interpretation, p. 78.

tendest to have it, "and I have works: show me thy faith without thy works;" give me, if thou canst, some other proof of it, "and I will show thee my faith by my works. Thou believest there is one God: thou doest well; the devils also believe and tremble." Wherein doth thy faith differ from theirs, if it produce not the fruits of righteousness and holiness? "But wilt thou know, O vain man, that faith without works is dead," wholly unprofitable to salvation? "Was not Abraham, our father, justified;" did he not show forth a living faith unto justification, "by works, when he had offered Isaac, his son, upon the altar?" Did he not, by that act of holy obedience, prove and display a living faith in the truth, and power, and promises of God, which "was imputed to him for righteousness?" "Seest thou how faith wrought with his works," producing obedience to the commands of God, however apparently severe, and irreconcilable with his promises; "and by works was faith made perfect," brought forth into action, and shown to be a lively and efficacious principle in the soul? "And the Scripture was fulfilled, which saith, 'Abraham believed God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness:' and he was called the friend of God. Ye see, then, how that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only." Ye see that by works a man is justified—by works evidencing that faith which is imputed to the believer for righteousness; by *such* works a man is justified, and not by faith only—not by a mere barren profession, or even a mere speculative belief, which does not influence the life and conduct. Such appears to be the course of James's reasoning. Paul, on the other hand, is proving to the Jews, that they, as well as the Gentiles, must be saved by faith; and his argument is this: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of God:" all have broken the moral law of God; no one, therefore, can be saved by that law, which exacts a perfect obedience; and thence he concludes, "that a man is justified by faith, without," apart from, distinct from, "the deeds of the law." In order to be justified before God, he must have that faith which God will impute to him for righteousness; a faith, however, which works by love, and makes those who are influenced by it zealous of good works. This passage will furnish us with another rule.

(5) *A proposition must be understood in a sense sufficiently large to bear out the conclusion which it is intended to prove.* Thus, in the first part of the Epistle to the Romans, Paul's object is to show that the Jews, as well as the Gentiles, need the salvation which is by Jesus Christ; and his argument is this: "All have sinned, and come short of the glory of

God;" therefore all, both Jews and Gentiles, must be "justified freely through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus," Rom. iii. 23, 24. But this conclusion will not follow from the premises, unless we understand the apostle to lay it down as a *universal* proposition, that "*all have sinned.*"*

II. The second means for judging of the sense of words, to which reference was made at the beginning of this section, is AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONTEXT.

1. It is certain, that many of the controversies which have been carried on in the Christian church, have arisen in consequence of their authors having overlooked this rule, which is of the very broadest extent in biblical interpretation. Every theological doctrine that has been broached, however absurd or monstrous its character, has been surrounded and supported by a multiplicity of *texts*, which, having been forcibly absconded from their respective contexts, were pressed into a service for which they were never designed. Mr. Locke has somewhere said, that "if the Holy Scriptures were but laid before the eyes of Christians in their due connexion and consistency, it would not then be so easy to snatch out a few words, as if they were separate from the rest, to serve a purpose to which they do not at all belong, and with which they have nothing to do. But as the matter now stands, he that has a mind to it may, at a cheap rate, be a notable champion for the truth; that is, for the doctrines of the sect that chance or interest has cast him into. He need but be furnished with verses of sacred Scripture, containing words and expressions that are but flexible (as all general, obscure, and doubtful ones are), and his system, that has appropriated them to the orthodoxy of his church (of whatever denomination it may be), makes them immediately strong and irrefragable arguments for his opinion. This is the benefit of loose sentences, and Scripture crumbled into verses, which quickly turn into independent aphorisms. But, if the quotation in the verse produced were considered as part of a continued, coherent discourse, and so its sense were limited by the tenor of the context, most of these formidable and warm disputants would be quite stripped of those which they doubt not now to call spiritual weapons, and they would often have nothing to say that would not show their weakness, and manifestly fly in their faces."

2. That such a perversion of the Scriptures as is here pointed out may be guarded against, the rule laid down for consulting the CONTEXT merits the constant attention of the interpreter. We

* Christian Observer, vol. xi. pp. 12—14.

are aware that some persons, who are far from being *lawless* interpreters, do not hold this aid in very high estimation, conceiving its use to be confined within very narrow limits. But, as Professor Stuart has suggested, this is by no means an accurate view of the subject; for "the immediate context, either preceding, succeeding, or both together, is a rule for judging of the meaning of words of the very broadest extent. In very many cases, indeed, the evidence of the *usus loquendi* is itself built upon the context. We adopt the opinion, that the *usus loquendi* sanctions this or that particular sense, because the context clearly shows that such a meaning is to be assigned to it, and that no other can be given without rendering the sense frigid and inept. Moreover, the *general scope* of an author does not forbid the admission of a great variety of arguments, illustrations, and episodes, into the intermediate parts of a discourse; so that one is far more certain of giving a sense that is congruous, by consulting the *immediate context*, than by immediately consulting the general scope of the whole. Both, no doubt, are to be regarded; but of the two, the former is by far the most important means of assistance." "Indeed," adds this enlightened critic, "I should doubt whether there is any one rule in the whole science of hermeneutics so important, and of so much practical and actual use, as the one in question. Great care, indeed, is necessary, to decide with certainty, what sense the context requires that a word should have, especially when the immediate subject is briefly stated. But this care is as easily practised as any other rule is, which hermeneutics prescribe in different cases. Violence must not be done to words by forcibly subjecting them to the context, against etymology, analogy, the rules of grammar, and the nature of language. But in every thing short of this, all good lexicographers and commentators adapt the meaning of words to the context, in cases too numerous to need any specification."*

3. It is greatly to be desired, that our present method of breaking the Scriptures into chapters and verses, was superseded by the adoption of a continuous text; or, at least, one only divided into such sections as would be obviously suggested upon a critical examination of the order of the sacred writers. According to our present distribution of the text, the continuity and completion of many discourses are broken in upon, in a way most injurious to their sense, and most prejudicial to ordinary readers. If, therefore, a Bible be used in which these common divisions occur, it is

indispensable that they should be altogether disregarded; at least, in the examination of the context. Dr. Gerard has offered the following suggestions upon the use of the context.

(1) *General terms being often used only in a part of their extension, it is the connexion that shews to what part of it they ought to be limited.* In Heb. xi. 6, it is said, "Without *faith* it is impossible to please God." But that this is not saving or Christian faith, is evident from the words that follow, and by which the expression is limited, "must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him."

(2) In like manner, *ambiguous expressions must be restricted, among their several significations, to that one which suits the connexion.* In Matt. xxiii. 23, "judgment, mercy, and *faith*," certainly not *belief* of any kind, but *fidelity*, as the connexion shows. In Rom. xiv. 23, the word is employed in another sense: "Whatsoever is not of *faith*, is sin;" that is—not justifying faith, not a warrant from Scripture, but—a *full persuasion of the lawfulness of the action.*

(3) *Every term should be considered as it stands in the proposition, of which it makes a part; and be explained, not by itself, but so as to bring out the real sense of that whole proposition.* In Matt. viii. 24, we read: "Whosoever heareth these sayings, and doeth them [subject], I will liken him to a wise man, which built his house upon a rock" [predicate]. The sense is plain: "He who practises as well as hears, builds his hope of salvation on a sure foundation." But Dr. Gill thus interprets it: "The subject of the comparison is, 'whosoever cometh to Christ by faith, being given him of the Father' [supposed without ground]: such an one hears his words, not only externally, but internally, and he doth them, exercises faith on Christ, his grace and righteousness held forth in them, and performs all duties without any view to obtain eternal life thereby, which he expects only from Christ, as his sayings direct him. Every such believer builds the salvation of his soul; he digs deep, till he come to a good foundation, a rock, Christ, the Rock of ages; and he lays the whole stress of his salvation on him." Here, plain expressions are explained by metaphorical ones; a meaning is put on a word, inconsistent with its place in the sentence; the sentence destroyed, being all turned into a predicate for a subject gratuitously supposed; the real meaning explained away, turned into an insignificant assertion, 'that he who expects salvation only from Christ, lays the whole stress of his salvation upon him,' or, 'he who believes on Christ, believes in Christ.'

(4) *In a piece of reasoning, every proposition must be considered in its connexion with the whole ar—*

* Elements of Interpretation, p. 80.

gment; if it be a principle, or medium of proof, in relation to the point intended to be proved; if an inference, in relation to the premises whence it is deduced; if only an illustration, in reference to the purpose for which it is brought.*

4. The extent of the context will, of course, be found to vary, according to circumstances: sometimes it embraces only a few verses, at other times it includes a whole chapter or more, and even the entire book. To determine this will require attentive examination; but if the scope or design of the writer be first ascertained, by the methods already suggested, there will be but few difficulties to encounter, except those arising from the frequent parentheses occurring in the writings of Paul. Many of these are pointed out by the characteristic marks in our English translation; but it has not always been done, nor is it always correctly done even where it has been attempted. To the unlearned reader it will sometimes be a task of considerable difficulty, to determine a parenthetical passage; but much may be done by perseverance and caution. In any doubtful case, recourse must be had to a judicious commentator, whose decision may be adopted, if recommended by its probability, though we may not be able to decide upon the propriety of the steps by which it has been arrived at, or the validity of the evidence by which it is supported. In some cases, the writer himself points out, in a manner sufficiently obvious to an attentive reader, the extent of the parenthesis into which he has been led, by a *repetition* of his words on the return to his principal subject. Thus, in the third chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians, the writer, after entering upon his principal topic, with "For this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles" (ver. 1), diverges, upon the mention of the Gentiles, to a consideration of their call to the blessings of the covenant; and in the 14th verse again returns to his topic, with a repetition of the same words: "For this cause [I say] I bow," &c. From an inspection of the passage, it will appear more natural to insulate only these thirteen verses, than to extend the parenthesis to the first verse of the subsequent chapter, as our translators have done. It is but in very few cases, however, that the parenthesis is so strongly marked. In others, it is only to be ascertained by a close attention to the scope and line of argument pursued by the writer. In the First Epistle to Timothy, we have a parenthesis from ver. 8 of chap. i. to ver. 17, inclusive. Taking occasion from the false teachers, Paul speaks of the true and proper use of the law, according to the gos-

pel committed to him; and having given vent to the feelings of his heart, he returns, in ver. 18, to the scope he had in view in the third verse, where he intimates, by using the comparative particle *as*, that the completion of the sense was to be expected in the subsequent verses. The whole of the discourse connects thus: "As I besought thee to charge some that they teach no other doctrine, but seek after godly edifying; and that the end of the commandment was love, out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned, &c.—so now, I commit the same charge unto *thee*—that *thou* mayest hold faith and a good conscience," &c. Another instance we have in Phil. i. 27, to chap. ii. 16, inclusive. The apostle, in a peculiar parenthesis, discusses a subject, the proposition of which is contained in chap. i. 27; and afterwards, in chap. ii. 17, he returns to what he was discoursing of in the preceding chapter. In conformity with this statement, we find (chap. i. 23), that Paul says he is influenced by two things, a desire both of life and death; but he knows not which of these to choose. Death is most desirable to himself, but the welfare of the Philippians requires rather that he may be spared a little longer; and, having this confidence, he is assured that his life will be lengthened, and that he shall see them again in person. Then, after the interruption which his discourse had received, he proceeds (chap. ii. 17) as follows: "Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all." The intervening charge is happily and judiciously introduced by the apostle, in order that the Philippians might not remit their exertions until his arrival, but contend for the faith of the gospel with unity and humility. It is proper to observe, however, that the words which are thus insulated are never superfluous, but arise either from some pressing necessity, or from the ardent and overflowing love of the writer. In the Epistle to the Ephesians, for instance, how forcibly does the description of the subject insulated by the parenthesis, elucidate the point which Paul had to prove! For, if God had committed to the apostle a dispensation of grace for the Gentiles, and the revealed mystery of Christ, that the Gentiles were co-heirs, members of the same body, and partakers together with the Jews of the promise in Christ; Paul undertook the ministry through the gospel, and conformably with the gift of that grace (which is all contained in chap. iii.); and thence it clearly follows, that the Gentiles were not to be excluded from communion with the Jews in Christ.*

* Institutes of Biblical Criticism, pp. 144—146.

* Franck's Guide, Appendix, pp. 196—199.

III. The ANALOGY OF SCRIPTURE, or of FAITH, as it is usually called, must be constantly regarded in the business of interpretation.

1. It is much to be regretted, that this rule, from having been injudiciously treated of, has fallen greatly into disrepute. By some writers it has been represented as one of the most important aids that can be resorted to by the interpreter; while others have at once discarded its pretensions. Were we compelled to give an opinion upon the dispute, we should say, that both parties were mistaken; that the rule is neither so vague nor so important as each had insisted upon. But it is necessary that we should really understand what is meant by the phrase, and what is implied in the rule; because it is more than probable, that different things have been intended by writers who have employed the same phraseology.

2. The analogy of faith has been defined to be, "the uninterrupted harmony of Scripture in the fundamental points of faith and duty; or, the proportion which the doctrines of Scripture bear to each other." But it is very clear, from this definition, that unless there be a total freedom from prejudice in favour of any particular opinions or theological system (which is really impossible, however we may talk of it), every part of the divine revelation will be interpreted with reference to that standard which is assumed as correct, and which will be considered as *the analogy of faith*, to which the whole of Scripture is to be rendered subservient. Hence, there will be as many analogies of faith assumed, for the standard of scriptural interpretation, as there are shades of opinion in the Christian world. For who is to decide what is the harmony of Scripture on the fundamental points of faith and doctrine? But, not to insist upon this objection to the doctrine, as it is here laid down, there is another objection, still more formidable to its reception, which is this, that it requires a previous and "*perfect acquaintance with the whole scheme of revealed religion*," and therefore can afford no aid to the student, except in the confirmation of the doctrines already ascertained. Dr. Campbell justly inquires, "What is the reason, the principal reason at least, for which the study of Scripture is so indispensable a duty? It is precisely, all consistent Protestants will answer, that we may thence discover *what the whole scheme of religion is*. Are we then to begin our examination with taking it for granted, that, without any inquiry, we are perfectly acquainted with this scheme already? Is not this going to Scripture, not in order to learn the truths it contains, but in order to find something that may be made to ratify our own opinions?" *

3. In laying it down as a rule, then, that regard must be had to *the analogy of faith* in the interpretation of Scripture, we mean, not a *sectarian*, but a *scriptural* analogy; we mean, that the obvious and incontrovertible sense of *clear* passages, affords a rule by which we may reason *analogically* concerning the meaning of *obscure* passages; or, at least, by which we may show what obscure passages *cannot mean*. According to this rule, where an expression is either dark or equivocal, an interpretation is not to be adopted, if it contradicts other passages, where the sentiment is manifestly declared in clear and unequivocal terms. Proposed in this way as a canon of scriptural interpretation, *the analogy of faith* will direct us to the sense of some passages which in themselves will admit of more than one sense.

4. If we carefully test the Scriptures by this principle, we shall find that passages which have been construed literally, should have been interpreted metaphorically; and *vice versa*. For example: Our Lord, on the evening of his passion, while he sat at table, "took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; *this is my body*" (Matt. xxvi. 26); but according to *the analogy of Scripture*, this must be understood figuratively—the sign being put for the thing signified, by a very common *metonymy*; for Christ's human nature has ascended into heaven, where it will remain until the restitution of all things, Acts iii. 21, &c. So we are commanded to *eat our Lord's flesh*, to *pluck out our right eye*, and *cut off our right hand*, John vi., in several places; and Matt. v. 29, 30. But to understand these passages literally, would be to destroy *the analogy of Scripture*, according to which violence must not be offered to ourselves or others. On the other hand, there are passages that some persons interpret metaphorically, which, according to the analogy of Scripture, should be understood literally. Thus, the passages in which Christ is said to "bear the sins of many," to "bear our sins in his own body on the tree," &c., have been interpreted figuratively, to mean, only, that he occasioned their forgiveness, by introducing the Christian system. But this is an unwarrantable departure from the literal meaning of words, and violates the analogy of Scripture, according to which Christ suffered as a *vicarious atonement*; or carried the punishment of our iniquities.

5. In the use of this aid, then, it must be seen that we apply those passages which have a clear and obvious meaning to the interpretation of such as are obscure and doubtful; and, if two passages relating to any doctrine or duty appear to be contrary to each other, that one of which the meaning is apparent, must be brought to explain the other,

* Prelim. Dissert. vol. i. p. 142.

which taken separately, would admit of a contradictory sense. The same rule also requires that those passages in which a topic is but incidentally introduced, should be interpreted according to those in which the subject is professedly treated. But this requires an attention to the scope or design of the writer, of which we have already spoken. Upon this topic, the following considerations are worthy of notice :

(1) *No doctrine can belong to the analogy of faith which is founded on a single text ; for, every essential principle of religion is delivered in more than one place.*

(2) *Texts which treat professedly of a subject, have greater weight than such as only touch it incidentally ; and texts which express it absolutely, and as it is in itself, are clearer, and more decisive, than such as have a reference to particular occasions ; without a perfect knowledge of which they cannot be understood, but may be totally misapprehended.*

(3) *In forming the analogy of faith, all the plain texts relating to one subject, or article, ought to be taken together, impartially compared, the expressions of one of them be restricted by those of another, and explained in mutual consistency ; and then the article should be deduced from them all in conjunction.* It is too commonly the practice, that one set of texts which have the same aspect, are selected and explained in their greatest possible rigour ; and all others, which look another way, are neglected, or explained away, and tortured into a compatibility with the opinion, in that manner partially deduced.

6. If these rules be strictly observed, the comparison of particular passages with the general tenor of Scripture will be of the greatest use ; particularly in preventing the overstretching of figurative and metaphorical expressions, and in enabling us to restrict general expressions ; for setting aside opinions hastily deduced from a few separate texts ; and for giving every doctrine its proper limitations.*

IV. There is another topic pertaining to the interpretation of language, that may be properly enough noticed here.

1. Besides the *principal idea* contained in it, a word sometimes obtains, through its combination with other words, an accompanying idea, which disappears as soon as the word is removed from its connexion, and is considered by itself. This is called *emphasis*, and consists in the augmentation of the signification of a word, arising from its combination with other words. In such cases, it is said that a word or phrase has altogether a peculiar *emphasis*. If many such phrases

occur in a composition written in a state of mental agitation, the composition is termed *emphatic*. Hence it will appear, that emphasis arises principally from a peculiar position, combination, or repetition of certain words, by which *more is said and expressed* than the words otherwise signify by themselves, or in other combinations.

2. It should never be *assumed*, without reason, that there is any thing emphatic in a passage : the emphasis must be proved, as it is something adventitious to the common phraseology. In order to conduct this proof, inquiry should be made—

(1) Whether it be the object of the speaker or writer, in this passage, to say more than the words at other times convey of themselves. His object may be to excite attention ; to give its due weight to an important proposition ; to express mental agitation ; to imprint a truth deeply on the mind ; to say much in a few words ; or to give additional elegance to the discourse. Thus the verb *חיה*, *to live*, is frequently used to express a *happy life* ; and the verb *ידע*, *to know*, is applied either to that knowledge which implies in it a benignant care, or to that knowledge with which is conjoined a most immediate sense of merited punishment ; or, lastly, to that knowledge which expresses decorously the conjugal conjunction. The context will readily point out to an attentive reader, not unacquainted with the Hebrew idiom, emphases of this sort.

(2) Whether the words, taken by themselves, or placed in another connexion, have the same force.

(3) Whether the emphasis ceases, when the same thing is expressed in other words ; as by a *periphrasis*.

(4) Whether the speech does not give a feeble and inappropriate sense, unless it be admitted that the speaker or writer meant to say more than the words of themselves express. Thus, in Eph. vi. 13, 14, *στηvai*, *to stand*, means to *stand firmly and boldly*, like a Roman soldier, without shifting his ground, or retiring. In 1 Cor. iv. 3, 4, *ἀναγίνωσκω* is thrice used, and always with emphasis, for in the first place, *ἀναγίνωσθαι* means to be approved of by the judgment of others ; next, *ἀναγίνωσκω* means to assume the right of judging and approving ; and lastly, v. 4, it means to have the right of judging, or to be able to judge rightly. If, therefore, in all these cases we render it simply *to judge*, the sense will be frigid, and unsuitable to the whole context. So, also, the subject and context show, that, in Col. i. 4, *πιστὶς* is used with an emphasis of constancy, greatness, and fruitfulness ; for there was no need that Paul should hear by report of the *faith* simply of the

Colossians, since he had known that, personally, when he founded their church. The same holds good in Rom. i. 1, where the greatness of the apostle's joy would seem unreasonable, unless we adjoin some emphasis of greatness to the simple idea of faith. So, also, in Matt. iv. 2, *ἐκείνους* means he was vehemently and intolerably hungry.*

3. As commentators have sometimes, under the guidance of erroneous principles, sought for emphatic phrases in many passages of the Bible where they do not exist, Ernesti, Michaëlis, and other men of learning, have attempted to fix, with greater accuracy, when an emphasis is to be acknowledged in the Bible, by the following canons :

(1) No word is in itself emphatic, but becomes so by a peculiar use of it.

(2) Emphatic words should be carefully distinguished from such as have a comprehensive sense. For example, the word *philosophy*, how much it includes ; *regeneration*, &c.

(3) An emphatic should be distinguished from a sublime expression, which is contained as well in the things as in the words.

(4) No emphases are to be deduced from etymology.

(5) Not every uncommon Hebrew or Greek phrase is emphatic.

(6) It would be a prejudging of the case, to find an emphasis in all compound Greek words throughout the New Testament. (In some such cases, indeed, this emphatic sense cannot be denied, as *ἐκπύρωσις*, Phil. ii. 9.)

(7) Neither is there always an emphasis when an abstract term is put for a concrete.†

(8) Finally, an emphasis should not be looked for in prepositions, particles, or numbers ; nor in every tropical expression.‡

SECTION IX.

OF THE INTERPRETATION OF TROPICAL LANGUAGE.

All Words originally used in a Proper Sense—The Tropical Sense—Means of detecting Tropical Expressions—Rules for Interpreting Tropical Expressions : Examples.

THE tropical use of words has been incidentally discussed in a preceding section, in which the necessity for adhering to the literal signification of words, in all cases where this could be done without being led into the adoption of a frigid, absurd, or contradictory sense, was insisted upon

and explained. It now becomes necessary to consider the subject of tropical language somewhat more particularly, for the purpose of pointing out the right method of distinguishing scriptural tropes, and also of giving some directions for their proper explanation.

I. All words were originally employed in a proper sense ; that is, they were formed and invented to express certain things, to which they were confined. A necessity soon arose, however, as the number of subjects was increased, of using these words in various senses ; that is, they were *primarily* employed to denote one thing, and *secondarily* to denote something else, having an analogy or likeness to the primary idea. Here is the *literal* and the *tropical* sense. But this transference of words is often used, when it is not of necessity required by the novelty of the thing. In all human operations, gratification is studied more than necessity. Tropes, therefore, were invented, to produce variety in language, by preventing the too frequent recurrence of a word ; of which sort are metonymies, synecdoches, and the weaker metaphors. Tropical words, especially metaphors, were also introduced, to ornament style. For as in these, which are the most frequent, there exists a simile compressed into a single word, the mind is gratified by them, through its natural love for similes and images ; especially such as are drawn from objects possessing something of sensible splendour or beauty. In proportion, therefore, as an author is desirous of adorning his style, the more does he abound in tropes, as appears in the practice of poets and orators, to whom the more frequent use of tropes is allowed, because they have the highest effect in ornamenting the style. It is important to keep in view this distinction, between the transference of a word from necessity, and its transference from any other cause. In the former, the transference is made that a thing may have a proper name ; in the latter, gratification and ornament are the sole object. The former, therefore, is grammatical ; the latter, rhetorical. In the former, the ground of transference rests on the analogy of the nature of things ; in the latter, on some sensible resemblance. And since every thing ought to have a name, either proper or common, it follows, that a word grammatically transferred does not cease to be proper, while a word rhetorically transferred does.||

* Ernesti, Institutes, Part I., chap. ii., sect. 5, § xiv.

† Ernesti, Institutes, Part I., section 1, chap. ii., § 16, &c., and Mori Hermeneut., N. T. Vol. I., p. 324.

‡ Seiler, Bibl. Hermeneut., Part I., ch. ii., sect. 3 ; Pareau, Principles of Interpretation, Part II., section ii., § 6.

|| Ernesti, Institutes, Part I., chap. ii. Mr. Terrot, the translator of Ernesti, remarks that *διαβολος* affords a good example of the *proper sense*, of the trope by *grammatical*, and of the trope by *rhetorical*, transference. Thus *διάβολος*, an *accuser*, is the proper sense : by grammatical transference.

II. Having premised these general observations, we may proceed to treat of the rules for DETECTING TROPICAL EXPRESSIONS, which may be reduced to the following :—

1. The nature of the subject must be well considered, in order to determine whether that which is enunciated respecting it, is to be taken in a proper or in a figurative sense. In following this rule, we must compare the *subject* and the *predicate*, in order to see whether it be possible that the words and phrases used by the author, can, in their proper sense, be predicated of the subject taken in its proper sense. If the subject and predicate be completely *heterogeneous*, it is evident that the words of the author must be interpreted figuratively. Of this case we have clear examples in the following phrases : ἀναζωοποιεῖν τὰς δαίμονας τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν; *gird up the loins of your mind*, 1 Pet. i. 13; λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα, *the sincere milk of the word*, ii. 2; θώραξ δικαιοσύνης, *the breast-plate of righteousness*, Eph. vi. 14; compare Wisd. vii. 14, 1 Thess. v. 8 : κίρας σωτηρίας, *a horn of salvation*, Luke i. 69 : λίθοι ζῶντες, *living stones*, 1 Pet. ii. 4; τὰ ὅπλα

τοῦ φωτός, *the armour of light*, Rom. xiii. 12; to which are opposed, in the same passage, τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκότους, *the works of darkness*. Under this head may be classed every grammatical conjunction of things which appear to be naturally incongruous; as, for example, the phrase ἀνθρώπους ἰσθ' ὤρῃ, *thou shalt catch men*, in Luke v. 10. This observation throws light upon many passages of the New Testament, the true sense of which will appear plain and easy by the application of the rule; as when Paul addresses Ananias the high-priest in these words: "God will smite thee, thou whited wall;" when he says to the Corinthians, "Be ye washed . . . in the Spirit of our God," 1 Cor. vi. 11;* when he prays for the Ephesians, "That the eyes of their heart may be enlightened;" and, finally, when the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews calls God πῦρ καταναλίσκον, *consuming fire*; it is manifest, that in these, and in all such cases, we must admit the existence of tropes.

2. An interpreter who desires to distinguish, accurately, between proper and tropical language, must carefully attend to the *nature and context* of the work which he is interpreting.

(1) If the whole book bear a poetical character, and be replete with tropes and images, as the Apocalypse, for example, no one would deny the probability of a tropical sense in particular passages. If, on the other hand, in a prose composition, we meet with a passage intimately connected with the whole scope and argument of the book, and a question arise, whether it is to be interpreted properly or tropically, there can be little doubt that the former supposition is to be preferred. For this reason, the remarkable passage, 2 Pet. iii. 3—13, must be interpreted as describing the conflagration of the visible universe, in opposition to those who imagine a figurative reference to certain political or moral revolutions. It is also clear, that the same principle applies to the shorter sections of any book. Thus, since the passages, John iv. 35—38, vi. 34, *seq.*; Rom. vi. 3—11; Eph. vi. 11, *seq.*, all abound with figures and images, we must of necessity incline to a tropical interpretation of the particular phrases contained in them. Nor is the form of the expression to be neglected. For those texts which, according to Oriental custom, embrace a short moral truth in a condensed and figurative form, are to be interpreted tropically; as, for example, Matt. vii. 6, Luke vi. 41—43 (compare ver. 39), and others of the same class. But, above all, we must consult the context, and observe whether, in what goes before, or in that which follows, we

means the *chief of evil spirits, Satan*; and, by rhetorical transference, *a wicked man*; John vi. 70. So, also, υἱὸς διαβόλου, Acts xiii. 10. *Satan* is also used in the same sense in Matt. iv. 10, xvi. 23; Mark viii. 33. Seiler has pointed out the following, as the connexions or relations which are the ground of grammatical tropes.—

I. Either a purely imaginary and arbitrary connexion, which depends on our *subjective* conceptions; and is,

1. A resemblance, whence arises the metaphor; or,
2. A difference, a relation of its opposite; whence arises,

- (1) Irony.
- (2) Antithesis.

II. Or it is a real, *objective* relation. Here the one word is used in place of the other, inasmuch as the *things* for whose signification they originally served, stand in a *real* connexion with those to denote which they are now used; which connexion does not depend on our thoughts, and is,

1. Either a union of the whole with its parts—

- (1) A physical or psychological union;
- (2) A logical; for example, *genus* and *species*. Both furnish the *synchdoche*.

2. Or it may be another species of connexion and relation, in which two things stand; this is the *metonymy*; whose principal species are,

- (1) When the cause is put for the effect, or the effect for the cause; for example, a person, an instrument or means, a thing or an action, for their effects or fruits; and *vice versa*.
- (2) When the subject is taken for the adjunct, the thing containing for the contents; the possessor for that which he possesses; the object or subject for that with which it is occupied, or which is otherwise conversant about it; the sign for the thing signified.

3. Or, finally, this change of words takes place on account of some other union, whether logical, psychological, or natural; for example, in the *metonymy of the adjunct*; as, the time for what took place therein; the place, for the thing placed in it; the opinion, for the men who hold it: or when the abstract is put for the concrete name of a subject, in order to denote a person; for example, "O God, thou art my hope, my refuge," &c.—Biblical Hermeneutics, pp. 49, 50.

* See Griesbach's Programma on the text. Jena, 1783.

can detect any thing which may lead us to suspect the presence of tropes. And these marks are various, as we are taught by many passages of Scripture. When the author himself uses words which clearly show that a comparison is intended, the case is clear; as Luke xii. 35, "Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;" i. e., be always ready.

(2) Nearly allied to this class of texts are those in which the proper and improper forms are so united, as that the one shall involve the interpretation of the other. Of such we shall produce a few examples. When Jesus (Matt. xi. 29), admonishing his hearers "to take his yoke upon them," adds, "and learn of me," he clearly shows that the word *yoke* is to be taken figuratively, and that it means nothing more than the precepts which he taught; compare Wisd. li. 26. The Apostle Paul (Rom. vi. 21), after inquiring of those who had once been devoted to the practice of vice, "What *fruit* had ye then?" by immediately adding, "for the end (*τέλος*) of these things is death," shows that *fruit* must here be taken tropically, as meaning *result* or *payment*. The same inspired author, in Phil. iii. 2, says, "beware of *dogs*;" and the tropical application of the word *dogs*, to false and impudent teachers, is proved by what follows, "Beware of evil *workmen*;" compare Rev. xxii. 15. In like manner, in James iv. 4, the words *μοιχοι και μοιχαλιδες*, *ye adulterers and adulteresses*, are to be understood, not properly, as referring to actual *adultery*, but figuratively, to an undue attachment to worldly things; as appears, not only from the context generally, but also from what immediately follows, "Know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God."

(3) Light is also frequently thrown upon the proper or improper signification of a word by comparing it with some contrasted word: thus, Rom. vi. 23, if we compare the phrase, *τὰ γὰρ ὁ ψῶνια τῆς ἀμαρτίας θάνατος*, *for the wages of sin is death*, which many theologians understand in a *proper* sense, as referring to natural death, with the opposed phrase, *τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ θεοῦ ζωὴ αἰώνιος*, *but the gift of God is eternal life*, we shall perceive that the tropical sense is to be preferred, and that the word *θανάτος* is to be interpreted by *misery of every kind*.

(4) We shall show, in the last place, by a few examples, the importance of the subsequent context, in determining the *proper* or *improper* use of a word. Commentators are divided as to the meaning of *ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ*, Luke xii. 15; whether it ought to be understood *tropically*, of *happiness*, or *properly*, of the *natural life* of man. The former rendering is to be preferred, for this reason, prin-

cipally, that the parable of the rich man snatched away by death, which immediately follows, (ver. 16, 21) is in favour of this opinion. For a like reason, in John ix. 4, the expressions *ὡς ἡμέρα ἰσθὶν ἐρχεσθαι νύξ* must be interpreted of the duration of man's natural life, and the death which terminates it, because our blessed Saviour immediately adds, *ὅταν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ᾤ, φῶς εἰμι τοῦ κόσμου*, *as long as I live among men, I am a light to them*, i. e., I promote their happiness.

3. Having thus disposed of the context, we must, in the next place, examine the use which may be derived from *parallel passages*, in which the same subject is treated in other words or phrases, either proper or tropical. In reference to this rule, it may be observed, that the greatest attention is always to be paid to any explanation afforded by the author himself. A striking example of this is found in John xi. 14, when Jesus openly says, *Lazarus is dead*; from whence it appears, that the words he had before used, at ver. 11, *Λάζαρος ὁ φίλος, ἡμῶν κεκοιμήται*, *our friend Lazarus sleepeth*, were not to be taken in their proper sense, but to be interpreted tropically of death. Of the same nature is the passage, Matt. xvi. 6, *ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν φαρισαίων καὶ σαδδουκαίων*; the true sense of which words the disciples did not apprehend, supposing that their Master spoke of *leaven* in its proper sense. But Jesus, by reminding them at ver. 7, of his having provided food for so many thousands, showed clearly, as they themselves afterwards understood, that *ζύμη* was to be understood, not of natural leaven, but tropically, of the doctrines of the Pharisees and Sadducees. We must also apply what is said in express terms by each apostle; by Matthew, at ver. 12; by John, at ver. 13; from which the tropical sense of the words is completely proved.

4. Finally, we must not neglect the light which *history* sometimes throws upon difficult passages.

III. We may now proceed to consider THE PROPER INTERPRETATION OF TROPES. Postponing for the next section a consideration of the sources whence the sacred writers derive their figurative expressions, which properly belongs to this part of our subject, we may inquire—

1. How we may discover the meaning of tropes; that is to say, the sense in which the author intended them to be understood.

(1) There can be no doubt in those cases where the intention is laid open by an *explanation afforded by the speaker or writer*; of such cases, we shall here produce a few examples. When Jesus (Matt. xxiii. 27) compares the Pharisees to whited sepulchres, making a fair show without,

but internally full of bones and filth, he himself immediately adds an explanation of the figure, (ver. 28), *ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξωθέν μιν φαίνεται*, *x. r. λ.*; meaning that they put on an external mark of probity and virtue, while their mind was full of improbity and injustice. In like manner, the apostle Paul, in his valedictory address to the elders of the church at Ephesus, shows, in the proper and tropical terms, which he alternately uses, that by the *flock*, which he commands them to watch over, he means the church of Christ, the associated body of Christians; and therefore it follows, that the verb *ποιμαίνειν* must be interpreted to *rule*, to *direct*, to *provide for their spiritual safety*; and the *grievous wolves*, *λυκοὶ βαρεῖς καὶ φιδόμενοι τοῦ ποιμανίου*, mean, by the express interpretation of the apostle himself (ver. 30), false teachers, who should introduce false doctrines into the church.

(2) Finally, to produce, also, one instance of what some interpreters consider to be *allegory*.* The same apostle (Eph. vi. 13—17), in exhorting his readers to constancy and fortitude, so explains "the whole armour of God," as that each portion of it corresponds to some habit of a truly Christian mind, or some external support against those dangers which threaten destruction to the faith and holiness of the Christian. Compare 1 Thess. v. 8†

(3) In cases, however, where no explicit interpretation of tropical language is afforded by the author himself, we may sometimes determine the meaning by the help of the contrasted expressions. Thus, in Matt. vii. 9, our Saviour does not expressly say what he means by a *stone* instead of *bread*, and a *serpent* instead of a *fish*. But at verse 11, he explains *bread* and *fish* as meaning generally, *δύματα ἀγαθά*, useful, salutary gifts; hence we may conclude, from the opposition, that by the stone and serpent are meant objects either useless or pernicious.

(4) Where there is no explanation, either direct or indirect, we *must* then have recourse to the *context*. Sometimes the narrator introduces an observation to explain the language of a discourse which he narrates; of which we have an example in John vii. 38, 39, where the evangelist himself explains the *rivers of water*, which should flow

from the body of the believer, to mean *the gifts of the Holy Spirit*, which were to be conspicuous in those who had attained a fuller and more intimate knowledge of Christian doctrine.

(5) Sometimes the sense of a tropical expression may be inferred from the *antecedents* or *consequents*. Of explanation by the *antecedents*, we may produce the following examples. Every reader of our Lord's discourse in Matt. vii. 3, 4, must have inquired the meaning of *τὸ κάρφος*, the *mote* in thy brother's eye; and of *τὴν δοκὸν*, the *beam* in thine own eye: and of these images no express interpretation is afforded. But if we refer to verses 1, 2, and consider, that the object of the Divine Teacher was evidently to warn men against forming rash or uncharitable judgments of others, it must immediately appear that *τὸ κάρφος* is used for the minor faults of others, and *τὴν δοκὸν* for greater faults in ourselves. In like manner, if we consider attentively the tropical language of our Saviour, in Luke ix. 62, *οὐδεὶς ἐπιβαλὼν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ*, *x. r. λ.*, *no man, having put his hand to the plough, &c.*, we must see that it is an answer to the request made at ver. 61, *ἐπιτρέψον*, *x. r. λ.*, "permit me first to bid farewell (i. e., to give orders) to my household." It appears, then, that by the man who, having put his hand to the plough, looks back, is meant one who, while he ought to be supremely engaged about some one important engagement, allows his attention to be distracted by minor and irrelevant concerns.‡

(6) We occasionally meet with passages in the New Testament, where the context throws no light upon the signification of the figure employed; and, in such cases, the interpretation is certainly more difficult and perplexed. Here we must not neglect *the use of parallel passages*, for there are passages which are to be considered as really parallel, and which throw much light upon the sense of tropical expressions. Thus, in our Lord's discourse, Matt. vi. 22, 23, it may be inquired what is figured by *ὀφθαλμὸν*, *the eye*, and *ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος*, *the light of the body*; of which terms no express interpretation is given in the context. But the parallel passage (Luke ix. 34, 35), by adding, in the way of explanation, *τὸ πῶς τὸ ἐν σοί*, *the light that is in thee*, shows clearly, that by these terms we are to understand human reason, and specifically that innate sense

* By *allegory*, the hermeneutical authors of Germany, in general, appear to mean nothing more than a connected series of types. Morus, however, seems to have understood it more as we do, when he defines it to be a method of expressing an sentiment in such a way as that, instead of the thing meant, something resembling it is expressed. There is nothing of this nature in Eph. vi. 13—17; for though the word *shield* is to be interpreted tropically, the conjoined term, *faith*, is to be interpreted in its proper sense. See Bib. Cab. i., p. 154, note S.

† Mori Acroases, Vol. I., p. 307, 308.

‡ This text is ill rendered in our version, which seems to imply that the person who wished to follow Christ, desired only to bid a friendly farewell to his relatives, a request which it must have appeared harsh to refuse. The best rendering is to dismiss with a farewell, or to dismiss simply; Mark vi. 46, compared with the parallel text, Matt. xiv. 23. He wished to arrange his temporal affairs; and night, in doing so, have incurred a strong temptation to give up his intention of following Jesus.

of right and truth, which is implanted by God in our hearts.*

(7) There is also another class of texts, which, though they cannot be considered as strictly parallel, may still be advantageously used in discovering the sense of tropes. Thus, the denunciation of Paul to the high-priest, Acts xxiii. 3, *ἐνδοκίμῃ σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός, τοῦτος κεραιαζόμενος*, *God will smite* (that is, punish) *thee, thou whited wall*, may have some light thrown upon it, by the text above quoted (Matt. xxiii. 37), where our Saviour compares the Pharisees, generally, to whited sepulchres. Hence it appears, that the notion intended in both the passages, is that of the worst hypocrisy.† In the same way, Noesselt has shown how the several images in the beautiful parable, John xv. 1, may be explained by reference to similar passages in the New Testament; to which elucidation it may be sufficient to refer the reader.‡

2. The second point of inquiry, in the interpretation of tropical language, is, *the similitude existing between the sign and the thing signified*.

(1) The principal point and object of comparison may be determined from the interpretation given by the writer or speaker himself. When Jesus (John vi. 35) says, "I am the bread of life," adding, by way of explanation, "he that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth in me shall never thirst;" he plainly indicates that he would make provision for all the spiritual necessities of men; so that whosoever should be united to him, by faith and obedience, would enjoy true happiness, together with all necessary safeguards to his salvation, and would neither want nor desire any thing else.|| The point of comparison lies, therefore, in the quality of bread to nourish men, preserve life, and support the sinking strength. Again, when the apostle Paul (Thess. v. 2) says that the second coming of the Lord will be "like a thief in the night," the words which follow, "when they shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction cometh upon them," show that it will come unexpectedly upon men who are not thinking of it, just as a thief glides by night into the house of those who sleep securely, and anticipate no evil. Compare the

passages which strongly confirm this interpretation, Matt. xxiv. 43, Luke xii. 39.

(2) The point of comparison may be deduced from the context of the discourse. Thus, for example, when Peter, in his first epistle (iv. 12), speaks of the fiery trial by which they are to be tested, and explains these figurative expressions, both generally, by adding (ver. 13) that they had come into a participation of Christ's sufferings; and specifically, by adding (ver. 14) that they would be reproached for their profession of Christianity; it is clear, from the adjuncts, that the point of comparison lies in the painful feelings which are common to those whose bodies are affected by extreme heat, and those whose minds are affected by reproach and contempt.

(3) The point of comparison may be determined by the collating of parallel passages. Thus, when Jesus, in his address to the woman who followed him, Luke xxiii. 31, after denouncing a miserable fate to the city of Jerusalem and its inhabitants, adds, "for if these things be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?" it is clear, from Ezek. xx. 47 and xxi. 3, comparing also, for the sense, 1 Pet. iv. 17, that by the green tree is meant an innocent person, the cause of safety to others; and by the dry, a wicked person, the cause of injury to others. And if we examine more carefully the passages of Ezekiel, we shall easily find what is the point of comparison between men and trees—we shall find that it lies in their good or bad qualities, as being the cause why they think a dry and barren tree ought to be cut down, and why a worthless and hurtful man is deserving of destruction.

(4) By the assistance of these rules, we may generally determine what is the proper object signified by a tropical expression, and what is the nature and degree of resemblance between the sign and the thing signified. A few passages, however, are to be found in the New Testament, which admit of various interpretations, as, for example, the much-disputed passage, Mark ix. 49, 50. Nor does the cause of comparison always lie upon the surface; on the contrary, it sometimes requires very careful examination. As an instance, we may take James i. 18, where we read that "God of his own will begat us by the word of truth," *εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἀπαρχὴν τινὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ κτισμάτων*. Almost all the interpreters agree that the reference is to the *first-fruits*, which were solemnly offered to God in sacrifice. But they differ as to whether the simile, *εἰς ἀπαρχῆς*, is to be referred to the *superiority* of those who had been reformed by the reception of Christianity, so as to make the sense, "that we might be rendered the most excellent among his creatures;"

* Thus, in Mark x. 38, 39, the cup, *ποτήριον*, which was to be drunk; and the immersion, *βάπτισμα*, which was to be received by the apostles John and James, signify persecutions which they were to undergo: as appears clearly from a comparison of the parallel texts, Matt. xxvi. 39; John xviii. 11; Luke xii. 50.

† Selecta e Scholiis, L. C., Valckenaerii in lib. quosdam, N. T. i. p. 559., Richin de fontibus, Act. Apostol., p. 88.

‡ Opuscula ad Interpretationum S. S. Fasc. ii. p. 31, seq.

|| Schott, Opusc. i. p. 159.

or whether the comparison is derived from this, that the first-fruits were a pledge and earnest of the future harvest, limiting the reference to the time of the conversion of those to whom the epistle was written, so as to make the sense, "that we might be the first in order of time among those whom God hath begotten by the preaching of the gospel." The latter interpretation is to be preferred; for James appears to refer to the Jewish Christians, who had come to the knowledge and profession of Christianity before the Gentiles. Compare Rom. xvi. 5; 1 Cor. xvi. 15.*

III. It is hoped that attention to these rules may lead the student into such a habit of investigation as will relieve him from at least the most formidable difficulties in the detection and interpretation of tropical language.

SECTION X.

THE POETRY OF THE SACRED WRITINGS.

Various Theories on the Rhythmical Form of the Hebrew Poetry—The Lyric and the Epic Poetry of the Hebrews—Versification—The Parallelism of Members—The Musical Accents—Sources of the Poetic Imagery employed by the Hebrews: Natural Objects; the Arts and Circumstances of ordinary Life; Sacred Topics; Sacred History.

I. THERE has been much and able controversy respecting the nature of the Hebrew poetry. The laborious investigations of Carpzov and Lowth were deemed to have put an end to the dispute; but it has been again revived by Herder, Gesenius, De Wette, and other German critics, who have examined the question with a degree of minuteness and particularity that seems almost to have exhausted it. From the last-mentioned writer, we shall give some account of the opinions and theories of preceding critics, and a summary of the reasons which induce him, as we think with great reason, to dissent from most of them.

1. Many writers maintain that the Hebrew poetry possesses metrical feet and versification, which, moreover, they specifically define, or rather attempt to define and restore. But in defining the character of this metre, they are again divided.—

(1) Many hold to a versification in the proper sense, after the analogy of the Greek and Latin metres; and in favour of this opinion there are ancient authorities. Philo describes the songs of praise of the ancient sacred poets as trimeter, and composed of strophes,† and attributes to Moses a knowledge of metre.‡ Josephus calls the versifi-

cation of Moses' song of triumph at the Red Sea hexameter,|| and so also his farewell song;§ and represents the Psalms of David as consisting partly of trimeter, partly of hexameter verse.¶ Eusebius calls the Hebrew poems metrical,** and their versification partly hexameter, partly trimeter and tetrameter. So also Jerome in many places. In the *Præf. ad Chron. Euseb.* he represents the Psalms as consisting of iambic, alcaic, and sapphic verse, like the odes of Horace and of Pindar, while the verse of Job is hexameter and pentameter. He pronounces a similar judgment in the *Præf. ad Jobum*, and in the *Præf. in Threnos*. The same opinion is expressed by Isidorus Hispalensis.†† But we fail of finding in these authors any more definite account or explanation of the metres which they thus name. Hence Löschner remarks, that the fathers, in these assertions, had no reference to metrical feet, but only to the members of the verse.‡‡ Martianay endeavours to defend and prove the assertion of Jerome; but does it in a manner so vague and confused, as only to involve the subject in still greater perplexity.|||| Ferrandus also defends the opinion of Jerome. §§

(2) An attempt to define the laws of Hebrew metre, in prosecuting this assertion, was made by Francis Gomar, in his work *Davidis Lyra*, &c.,¶¶ —a system of the prosody of the Hebrew language; in which he endeavours to point out a distinct versification, analogous to the Greek, in the so-called metrical books, viz., Job, the Proverbs of Solomon, and the Psalms. He was, however, happily refuted by L. Capell,*** and that with great ease. There was no injustice in the pun of one of his antagonists, who said, *Gomari Lynam delirare*. Having constructed a system of prosody upon principles supported by no evidence, and at variance with the Hebrew, as well as every other language, instead of proceeding to establish upon this basis the Hebrew versification, he overturns his own structure, by laying it down as a rule, that "all the Hebrew poems of the sacred Scriptures consist of various and intermingled kinds of verse. They are absolute, not relative; that is, they have no similar verses, corresponding to each other in their measure and place in the series."

|| Ant. Jud. II. 16, 4.

§ Ibid., iv. 8, 44.

¶ Ibid., vii. 12, 3.

** Præp. Evang. xi. 3.

†† Origenum, i. 38.

‡‡ De Caus. Ling. Hebr. c. xi. § 6, p. 436.

|||| Proleg. iv. in Div. Bibliothec. S. Hieron Opp. ed. Vallara. T. ix.

§§ Præf. in Psalmos, c. 11.

¶¶ Opp. iii. 388, seq.

*** Animadvers. ad Novam Davidis Lynam, 1643; afterwards printed with his Critica Sacra, p. 651.

* Beckhaus on the Interpretation of the Tropical Language of the New Testament, *passim*, Biblical Cabinet, vol. ii.

† De Vita (contempl., p. 901. E.

‡ Ibid., p. 606. A.

Yet he found some followers, among whom were Const. L'Empereur, Dan. Heinsius, Lud. De Dieu, Hottinger, and the younger Buxtorf.

(3) We pass over the boastful attempts of Marcus Meibom to restore the Hebrew versification, referring the curious reader to Carpzov,* and proceed to notice the English prelate, Francis Hare, who believed he had brought to light the metre of the Psalms in his work, "*Psalmorum liber in versiculos metriæ divisus et ope metricæ multis in locis integritati suæ restitutus*," Lond. 1736. He met with a short and pithy answer from Bishop Lowth, in his "*Metricæ Harianæ brevis Confutatio*," which is found at the end of his Lectures.† This metrical system of Hare is in the highest degree arbitrary. He establishes the following canon among others: "No regard is paid to the quantity of syllables;" a principle upon which every thing could be made out of any thing. Notwithstanding this, the principles of Hare found an advocate in Christian Weisse, who attempted to add still farther to the structure.‡

(4) Sir William Jones applies to the Hebrew the rules of the Arabic metre. He lays down as rules, that mixed syllables, and syllables with quiescent vowels, are long; pure syllables, short. After the manner of the Arabians, he proposes to give vowels to letters which have sheva moveable. As to the rest, he falls into very much the same error as Gomar, and quite destroys every thing he has said, by supposing that the Hebrews intermingle their metres, as Pindar does.

(5) Unquestionably the boldest attempt of this kind was that of Greve.|| After having provided himself with a new recension of the text, chiefly in accordance with the Septuagint, and with a new system of punctuation, following the analogy of the Arabic, he establishes a prosody of the Hebrew poetry, grounded on the analogy of the Syriac and Arabic languages; and proceeds to apply it, in an attempt to restore the versification of Job. He repeats the same attempts upon the prophets Nahum and Habakkuk,§ and the prophet Isaiah.¶ The rules of prosody which he

lays down are in general correct, provided no objection is made to the change which he introduces into the Hebrew punctuation. But what authority have we for changing this? The affinity of the Hebrew language to the Arabic and Syriac hardly suffices to justify us in assuming the fact of a like pronunciation, quantity, &c. In fine, Greve makes so many exceptions to his own rules, as to render his whole system in the highest degree fluctuating and uncertain.**

(6) A very elaborate and sensible theory of Hebrew prosody was published by Bellermann. It is founded on the *systema morarum*, according to which all syllables have an equal *mora*, or time, the only change being that produced by the accent. Accordingly, he supposes all syllables destitute of an accent to be short, and all accented syllables to be long; very much as in German or English. He has not succeeded, however, in pointing out a proper Hebrew versification, but only in making it probable that the Hebrew poets have occasionally allowed the iambic, the trochaic, or the anapaestic number to prevail.

(7) The last attempt to form a system of Hebrew metre is contained in the work of J. L. Saalschütz. Like Bellermann, he grounds his system upon the accent, which, however, he places not upon the final, but upon the penult syllable; for he considers the accent as the sign of the subordinate (ground) tone, instead of the principal; so that by this means the Hebrew language receives a trochaic accentuation, while, according to Bellermann's system, it is for the most part iambic. The shevas frequently form short syllables, but frequently do not. Those syllables are likewise short which have neither tone, accent, nor ictus. Those syllables are common which have the ictus, as also the final syllables which have the accent. All Hebrew poems have the rhythm resembling, where it is regular, the measure of the hexameter, except that, in addition to dactyles and spondees, it allows of the introduction of trochees and the first pæon. The verses consist sometimes of two feet, sometimes of three, sometimes of four and five; and it is but seldom the author succeeds in pointing out a certain uniformity. So by this theory, arbitrary as it is, no metrical version, in the proper sense, is restored, but only a certain *number*, which is also secured by the proper pronunciation.

(8) Others maintain that the Hebrew poetry possesses a free versification; and, strictly speaking, all those who have been mentioned above belong to this class. Michaelist†† is of this opinion,

* Carpzov, l. c. p. 19, seq., and Saalschütz, p. 17.

† Lowth published a larger confutation of Hare, Lond. 1766.

‡ Progr. *Systema Psalmorum metricum* a Francisco Hare nuper adornatum, 1740.

|| *Ultima capita libri Jobi, nempe cap. 38—41, et capituli 42 pars, ad Græcam versionem recensita notisque instructa ab E. I. Greve. Accedit tractatus de metris Hebræorum præsertim Jobæ. Pars I. complet. cap. 38, 39. Daventriæ, 1788. Pars II. complet. 40—42: 6 et libellam de metris. Bургosteinfurthi, 1791, 4to.*

§ *Vaticinia Nahumi et Habacuci. Interpretationem et notas adjecit E. I. Greve.—Editio metrica. Amstelod. 1793-4.*

¶ *Vaticiniorum Jesaie pars continens carmina a cap. 40, usque ad 56: 9. Hebraica ad numeros recensuit, versionem et notas adjecit. 1810. 4.*

** Comp. Eichhorn's Allg. Bibl. vi. 811, seq.

†† On Lowth, p. 432. Ed. Rosenm.

and Leutwein.* The latter, with justice, makes the essence of biblical rhythm to consist mainly in the division into hemistichs, tristichs, &c.; and, in addition to this, supposes only that there was a certain metrical harmony, the rule and index of which he finds in the accents.

(9) Others believed they found rhyme, or something resembling rhyme, in the Hebrew poetry. Such a supposition is, in fact, not so absurd as we might at first imagine, for the Arabic and modern Hebrew poetry are both acquainted with rhyme. This was the opinion of Augustine, Steuchus,† M. Laurent,‡ Petraeus, and le Clerc, who, in his Commentary on the Pentateuch, points out instances of rhyme in many places; e. g., Gen. iv. 24, vii. 11, Ex. xv., Deut. xxxii.; but takes unwarrantable liberties in arranging the members of the verse, and quite destroys the *parallelismus membrorum*. Instances of rhyme undoubtedly occur in the Old Testament, e. g., in Gen. iv. 24, Ps. vi. 2, viii. 5, xxv. 4, etc., Job x. 17; they are frequent in the Hebrew language generally, the suffixes and termination-forms alone furnishing a vast number of them; but as they are not constant in their occurrence, they cannot be supposed to constitute a law. Buxtorf followed R. Moshe Shem Tobh and other Jews, in making the Hebrew rhythm to consist in the numbering of the syllables; the members of the verse being sometimes equal, but for the most part unequal; the disproportion being supposed to be removed by the mode of enunciation and singing.¶ So also L. Fabricius,§ and G. J. Vossius,¶ held to a syllabic metre in some poems, as in the Proverbs of Solomon, but to a free prose diction, as in the Psalms.

(10) To this class also belong those who derived the existence of a proper metre, but at the same time held that the poetry was adapted to certain melodies, which would still imply the necessity of some kind of syllabic measure. Pfeiffer,** Van Till,†† Mingarelli,‡‡ and, amongst the Jews, Abarbanel,|||| were of this opinion. Carpov, on the other hand, justly remarks, that "this opinion might be held with respect to the Psalms and other lyrical pieces, but not with respect to the

Book of Job and the Proverbs of Solomon. Besides, it would be necessary to show that Psalms which appear to have the same melody announced in the title, e. g., Ps. lviii., lviii., lix., contain verses of similar length, and of the same number of words; which, however, is not the case.

2. Others, on the contrary, maintained that the Hebrew poetry is altogether destitute of metre and of feet. Most of the learned Jews are of this opinion. Thus, in the book of Cosri,§§ it is boasted of as a peculiar excellence of the Hebrew poetry, that it is not fettered and confined by a syllabic measure, and that it aims, not so much at tickling the ear, as at distinctness and force of thought, which are promoted by the freedom of its movement. Rabbi Asaria, from whom Buxtorf furnishes extracts,¶¶ holds to a proportion of the members (*parallelismus membrorum*), not consisting, however, in the measure of the syllables, but in the thought. The opinion of the book of Cosri was also maintained by Rabbi Samuel Arcurelt,*** and Rabbi Samuel Aben Tybbon.††† Among Christians, the poetry of the Old Testament was pronounced to be destitute of versification and a regular rhythm, by Joseph Scaliger,‡‡‡ in part by the before-named G. J. Vossius, and still more decidedly by Richard Simon,||||| and Wasmuth.§§§ Among the moderns this opinion prevails very generally. Herder (l. c.), among others, acknowledges it as his own, although he holds to a free rhythm, in addition to the parallelism of numbers.

3. Others admit that the Hebrew poetry possesses versification, but maintain that it is lost to us, and can no longer be defined. This is the opinion of Carpov, and of several other learned men whom he quotes.¶¶¶ He goes upon the principle, that there can be no poetry without metre. Lowth, also,**** endeavours to show that the Hebrew poetry must have been metrical, but that it is vain to think of restoring its metre, since the pronunciation is lost. Similar are the views of Pfeiffer,†††† Bauer,‡‡‡‡ Jahn,|||||| and Meyer. §§§§

4. This last opinion deserves to be taken

* Versuch einer richtigen Theorie von der Biblischen Verskunst. Tub. 1775.

† Pref. in Psalm.

‡ Cant. Cantic. Salom. paraphrasi cum ligata Hebræa et Latina tum prosa Latina adornatum, Hafn. 1640.

§ De prosodia metrica tractatus, in his Thes. Grammat. ling. sæc. p. 628, seq.

¶ Metrica Hebræa, Viteb., 1623, p. 25, seq.

¶ De nat. et constit. art. poet., l. i., c. 13., § 2.

** Distrib. de poesi Hebr.

†† Dicht-Sing- und Spielkunst der Hebræer, p. 24.

‡‡ De Pinder. Odis conjecture, p. 20, seq.

|||| See Buxtorf Mantiss. ad lib. Cosri, p. 407.

§§ Part II., p. 133. seq. ed. Buxt.

¶¶ Mantiss. ad lib. Cosri, p. 415.

*** In Buxtorf, l. c. p. 424, seq.

††† Id. p. 429, seq.

‡‡ Animadvers. ad Chron. Euseb. p. 6.

|||| Hist. Crit., V. T. L. I., c. 8., p. 57, of the Latin Translation.

§§§ Instit. Accent. Hebr. p. 14.

¶¶¶ Löschner, Sonntag, Bartolocci, Kircher, etc. p. 6, 23.

**** Prælect. iii. p. 28, seq.

†††† Ueber d. Musik d. alten Hebr. p. xvi.

‡‡‡ Einleit. ins. A. T., p. 358, seq.

||||| Bibl. Arch. Th. I. B. I., § 100.

§§§§ Hermen. des A. T. II., 329.

up and examined more at large, and De Wette has thus investigated the grounds for asserting that the Hebrew poetry must necessarily have a metre.

(1) If, with Lowth, Carpzov, and others, we lay it down as a general principle, that all poetry, as such, must possess a metre, the question naturally arises, Whether this principle is derived from experience, or from the theory of the poetic art? The example of the majority of ancient and modern languages decides in favour of this principle. Not only the Greeks and the modern nations, but also the Indians and Caledonians, possess versification. But the Hebrew poetry is distinguished by such remarkable peculiarities, that it may well form an exception; to which might be added the Samaritan and Ethiopic languages, which actually have no syllabic metre, but only a metre of lines. From the theory of the poetic art the following principle only could be derived; viz., that poetry aims to give more form and harmony to language than prose; but respecting the kind of form, it prescribes no law. As to this, every thing depends on the character of the poetry. Goethe has disdained the shackles of verse in his boldest flights, and contented himself with a freer harmony. Indeed, there is something more sublime in the absence of form than in a strict adherence to it; and as sublimity is the character of the Hebrew poetry, the absence of versification in it may be considered as extremely natural.

(2) Jones, Bauer,* and others, adduce the example of the modern oriental languages, particularly of the Arabic and Persian, in proof of the existence of a Hebrew metre. But with all the etymological affinity of the Shemitish dialects, there is a very great diversity in their pronunciation, style, &c., and the Persian language is not related to the Hebrew at all; consequently it will not do to reason from what may be true in that, to what must be true in this. The serious sacred poetry of the Hebrews, presents a very strong contrast, both in spirit and matter, when compared with the modern oriental; and it may therefore possess also a different and peculiar external form. The Arabic poetry has no parallelism of numbers; neither has the Hebrew rhyme, like the Arabic: as little as they agree in these particulars, so little is it possible to draw any conclusion from the prosody of the one in favour of a similar form of the other. Besides, the age of the Arabic and Persian metre is very questionable. Jones, it is true, calls it extremely ancient.† But, as he remarks himself, the earliest writer on metre, Ferachid, lived as late as the second century of

the Hegira. In fact, Pococke‡ regards the Arabic metre as a comparatively late invention, and appeals for proof of it to the testimony of Arabian authors, of Alsephad, and of Jalaloddin. Eichhorn|| is of the same opinion, particularly on the ground that the Arabic poetry depends on the *numeration*.

(3) "The Hebrew poetry was often sung, which could not be the case unless it possessed metre." Thus Carpzov, Sonntag, and others. But a metre is necessary in order that poetry may be sung, only in case the melody is repeated; but if it continues along, the words, though without metre, may be adapted to it at pleasure. Whether the Hebrews had returning melodies, is a question we cannot decide. Probably they had not. It is a just conjecture, that the Hebrew singing consisted simply in cantillation: i. e., in a sort of declamation analogous to song; but this depends not at all upon the number and measure of the words. It is indeed a question whether the *tact*, i. e., a regular rising and falling of the voice, in the strict sense, at least, as we understand it, belonged to the Hebrew music. Speidelf considers the tact as a comparatively recent invention, unknown to the age of David. Finally, if the Hebrews actually possessed a knowledge of tact, and of returning melodies, still they might shorten or prolong at will the words of unequal length, much in the same way as is done amongst the Germans, in the ruder sort of popular songs: for instance, in the witch's song—

Wir fliegen uber land und meer,
Wie das wind durch die weite, weite welt einher.

We fly over land and sea,
Like the wind, through the wide, wide world, featly and free.

5. "Indications of metre are found in the Hebrew poetry. The poets avail themselves of uncommon, antiquated, difficult words, forms, and phrases, and allow themselves many poetical licenses, which lead us to the conclusion that they were under a metrical constraint, without which we cannot explain these appearances." This argument is particularly dwelt upon by Lowth.¶ But de Wette thinks that these peculiarities of the poetical language were something more than the offspring of necessity. They are sometimes evidently chosen for the sake of their antiquity, of their solemnity, and of their elegance; sometimes they seem to have sprung forth unconsciously in

‡ Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 160.

|| Note to Jones, p. 61.

§ Unverwerfliche Spuren von der alten David's-ben Singkunst, etc., in Forkel, p. 157

¶ Lect. iii.

* Jones, l. c. p. 61. Bauer, l. c.

† L. c. p. 60.

the fire of inspiration, in the bold flight of thought, and in the struggle with language. The only certain indication from which Lowth justly draws the conclusion, that there must have been something like a rhythmical division and measure of the Hebrew poetry, is the alphabetical arrangement found in a few of the Psalms, and some other poetical pieces. Here we observe a regular periodical cadence and return, somewhat resembling strophes or verses; but it is, nevertheless, questionable, whether they are real strophes or verses. De Wette agrees with Michaëlis, in thinking that if there were a Hebrew metre, the vestiges and proofs, if not the very laws of it, might be discovered. There are some very strong proofs, according to this writer, of the genuineness of the Hebrew punctuation; among others, its peculiarity, a circumstance which distinguishes it from the other Shemitish dialects, especially the Arabic, with which learned rabbins were well acquainted, and which would doubtless have been imitated in the Hebrew punctuation, were it of a spurious character. But according to the present Hebrew punctuation, there is no metre in the poetry of the Old Testament, nor so much as a numbering of syllables, as may be clearly seen in the alphabetical poems, where the several verses are of unequal length. Compare Psalm xxv. 1, 2, 5, with verses 4, 18, 19.* According to the *systema morarum*, which makes all the syllables long and perfectly equal, without any rhythmical alternation of long and short, a versification by syllabic quantity would be impossible.† Yet this pronunciation would admit at least of the *numbering* of syllables, and consequently of a metre, such as the French and other nations possess; a rhyme is also possible by means of the accent, as in the English and German languages, which is the theory of Bellermann. According to the modern system of Hebrew prosody, which is founded on the *systema morarum*, the letters with Sheva moveable, and its compounds, form short syllables, giving rise to a certain alternation of long and short; which, however, is very trifling, inasmuch as two short syllables never appear in immediate succession, so that there can be no pyrrhicks, anapaests, or triple time feet of any sort. It would be more conformable to the analogy of the Greek and Arabic prosody to use the pure syllables with the long vowels as short;

but then we should be at a loss to know how to dispose of the Shevas; for the common prosody rejects semi-short syllables, and if we chose to join them with the entire syllables it would produce too harsh an effect. Make the experiment in whatever way we please, we find no versification in the Hebrew poetry, and never shall find any. This is evident even from the measurement of the eye. The several verses are often unequal, out of all proportion, one short, another long, without any regularity. But this would not be so, if they were formed upon the quantity and number of the syllables, and arranged according to a periodical rule. We have only to look at English verse, or that of any other language, and see if it does not exhibit a certain proportion even to the eye.‡ The same would be the case, if we supposed the pronunciation to be entirely different; the periodical return of the rhythm would necessarily betray itself; especially as the Arabic or any other Shemitish pronunciation which we may suppose, is not so very different from the Hebrew, that we might not form some sort of conjecture, at least, respecting the rhythm grounded upon it.

6. The opinion of De Wette, respecting the rhythm of the Hebrew poetry, coincides with the second class of opinions which have been exhibited above; and differs in no respect from that of the learned Jewish rabbins and of Herder. This opinion, moreover, seems to be the one which generally prevails, yet without being sufficiently understood. At least, as De Wette observes, it seems not to be allowed that the parallelism of members constitutes a real rhythmical form, or else it is one for which there is no taste. The following are the learned Professor's remarks on this topic.

(1) The Hebrew poetry is of two kinds, the *lyric* and the *epic*. Under the first division is embraced all poetry which is produced under a strong emotion and excitement of the subject or person who speaks, whence it may be called also *impassioned* or *subjective* poetry; the title of *objective* poetry would be applicable to the latter, inasmuch as its character consists in the calm description of an object. The former includes amongst the Hebrews three subordinate kinds; the *didactic*, the *lyric* properly so called, and the *rhetorical* (prophetic); for among the Hebrews these kinds

* Many verses have hemistichs of an equal number of syllables, particularly in Job, Lam. c. 3.

† For instance, each syllable, whether mixed or pure, has three *moras*: one *mora* is given to the short vowel, and to each consonant, and two to the long vowel: but two consonants before the vowel constitute also but one *mora*.

‡ Comp. Bextorf. Thea. Gram. p. 631, seq.

‡ An artificial and very complex versification, like that of Pindar, where this would not be the case, is not once to be thought of, in speaking of the Hebrew poetry; for such consummate versification belongs to a higher state of culture than existed among the Hebrews. Besides, the division of the verses, as ascertained in the alphabetic poems, decides against such higher versification.

of poetry are nearly related. Didactic poetry, it is true, must have somewhat of an objective character; but among the Hebrews, who had as yet no artificial or scientific culture, reflection was always connected with inspiration, and was therefore lyric, in the same manner as, in all antiquity, the man of wisdom was at the same time musician, poet, and inspired. Besides, eloquence must sometimes aim at being objective, because it very often seeks to operate upon the understanding; but here, also, every thing lay under the dominion of feeling and of inspiration. In short, would the Hebrew impart instruction, or give expression to his feelings; would he warn, censure, or reprove; he always spoke as a lyric poet, in the fervour of inspiration. Now, it is this lyric poetry of the Hebrews which has a rhythmical form;* the epic adopts the prosaic style. De Wette accounts for this phenomenon in the following manner. In an excited state of mind, in strong emotion and inspiration, it is natural for the speaker to elevate his voice and his language above the ordinary tone and style. The breast heaves, the inflexions of the voice become more marked, the words are accompanied with more expressive accents, the movement of the discourse is more measured and lofty; in a word, the discourse approaches to song. Nay, the inclination soon becomes strong actually to sing. Hence a regular rhythmical structure of language will present itself first and chiefly in lyric poetry. But in narrative discourse the case is different. As the narrator expresses not his own thoughts and feelings, but is occupied with the description of his object, that is, of the thoughts, feelings, and actions of another, with which he must also allow himself to be affected only so far as may be necessary to impart life to the narration; as he is obliged to place a curb, as it were, upon his own thoughts and feelings, that they may not encroach too much upon the narrative, and detract from the clear perception of the object; repose will be the character of his style, and he will therefore preserve the ordinary quiet flow of discourse. And thus the style of narrative among the Hebrews always remained free and unadorned. In lyric poetry, on the contrary, the diction was ennobled by a certain rhythmical form. Just so the lyric poems of the Greeks are distinguished by a highly wrought and complicated style of versification from the simple hexameter, which even among this people approaches nearer to the language of common discourse. The poetical and

musical talent of the Greeks led them thus to reduce even the narrative poetry to the forms of rhythm and music; a thing which the artless Hebrews neglected to do, because it was only in the lofty mood of lyric poetry they experienced that sort of impulse which leads to the forms of art.

(2) The question now arises, What is this rhythmical form of the Hebrew poetry? Rhythm is a rule of any sort in discourse, a law which aims to reduce its various and resisting elements to unity and harmony. These various elements of discourse consist of the different modifications of its movement, i. e., of the different accentuation, quantity, inflexion, union, and separation of words, and of the different divisions or members of the period. These modifications are of two kinds, giving rise to two distinct branches of the rhythmical art, whose object it is simply to raise what is natural and lawless to the sphere of art and rule. The human voice has this peculiarity, that it is subject to continual alterations and change; it never remains for two successive moments on the same key, and of the same strength—it may continue on the same key, but the strength, effort, accent, with which it is exerted, will differ. Its movement is wave-like, its alternation like that of lights and shades. This alternation is different in different languages, less distinct in some than in others; in English and German it is indicated by the accent. This is the stamp, so to speak, which introduces lights and shades into language. Now, when this alternation, which in common discourse is left to itself, is subjected to a uniform rule, it gives rise to *syllabic measure*; the law of which is the *arsis* and *thesis*, or the *tact*; i. e., a regular rising and falling of the voice. But besides these smaller divisions of discourse, there are others still greater, which arise from the necessity of recovering the breath, and from the winding off of the thought, and which in prose are designated to a certain extent by the punctuation. These, also, are reduced to regular form by the rhythmical art, giving rise to verses and strophes. The art of versification is complete which combines these two sorts of members into a well organized whole: but there may also be one which is incomplete, defective in certain respects. There may be a rhythm which consists simply in the regular harmonious structure of the smaller members; and there is such an one, which the Latins call *numerus*, and to which we give the name of rhythmical prose. In this, the laws of the *arsis* and *thesis* will be observed with greater uniformity than in an uncultivated style, though there will be more freedom and latitude than in verse, and particular attention will be paid to the cadence at the end.

* It evidently arose from a limited notion of rhythm, that none but the Book of Psalms, Proverbs, and Job were denominated rhythmical, and received the poetic accents.

The dythirambic verse, also, of the Greeks, belongs to this species of rhythm; each single verse forms by itself a short metrically arranged whole, but the several verses are not arranged again into strophes. Here there is more arrangement than in rhythmical prose, but only in details, whence there arises a chaos, as it were, of small rhythmical wholes. On the other hand, there may also be a rhythm in which the order of the smaller numbers is neglected, and the attention is exclusively bestowed upon the regular distribution of the greater ones. Such is the rhyme in the unmetrical or ruder kinds of verse, like what is found in the popular poetry of the German master singers, &c. Here the larger sections of discourse are marked off by the rhyme, and a certain periodical rule for the ear is furnished by this similarity of sound in the concluding words. That poetry in which the rhyme falls any where else except upon the concluding word of a sentence, or member of a period, is the product of a more recent and artificial culture. An illustration may be drawn from the art of dancing, which will throw some light upon these two kinds of rhythm. The perfect rhythm is that which combines an elaborate finish of the *step*—which answers to the metrical *foot*—with a skilful arrangement of the general motions, the *figures*, which answer to the *verses* and *strophes*. But as there may be a dance, consisting simply of artificial steps, without any combination into figures and a whole—this answers to *rhythmical prose*—so also we may conceive of one in which the several steps are left entirely to nature and chance, and the only thing aimed at is an agreeable arrangement of the motions at large. This answers to the second species of *unmetrical* rhythm.

(3) To this last kind belongs the Hebrew rhythm; viz., the parallelism of members. This is nothing more nor less than a rhythmical proportion, and that of the simplest sort, between the larger sections or members of a period, the smaller being neglected. Nothing is more simple than the symmetry, the proportion between two parts of a whole—the proportion between several begins to require more ingenuity and calculation. Thus the relation between parallel lines is the simplest that we can conceive to exist between different lines; the triangle, the square, already begin to be more complex, and the circle is the most perfect of all figures. It might also be remarked, that every period consisting of two propositions, forms a whole, and suffices for a full expression of the voice and satisfying of the ear; while a single proposition is insufficient for either. The breast is still elevated, the ear continues to listen, and yet there is nothing more to be said, nothing more to be heard. In fact, the parallelism

of members seems to be a fundamental law of rhythm. It obviously lies at the foundation of the rhyme, where one verse is made to answer to the other. The more complicated forms of rhyme in the stanza, sonnet, &c., were invented at a comparatively later period; at least, the *ottava rima* and the sonnet naturally fall into two divisions, each answering to the other. In like manner, the relation of the hexameter and pentameter is that of parallelism, and even the lyric strophes admit, perhaps, of being referred to the same form. The relation of the strophe, anti-strophe, and epode, on the contrary, already indicates the transposition of the parallelism to the more perfect form of the triangle. The rhythm of the Hebrews belonged more to the thought than to the outward form and sound: they indicated their rhythmical divisions by the divisions of the thought, and the proportion of the rhythmical propositions by that of the subject matter.

7. In these rhythmical divisions, or parallelisms of members,

(1) There will sometimes be an equality of syllables or words, and a certain resemblance of sound. This we may call the *original*, perfect kind of parallelism of members, which coincides with metre and rhyme. Such is that in which the Song of Lamech is composed, Gen. iv. 23, 24. The translation can present nothing more than the equality in the number and position of the words; the rhyme must be omitted:

Adah and Zillah, hear my voice!
Wives of Lamech, receive my speech;
If I slew a man to my wounding,
And a young man to my hurt:
If Cain was avenged seven times,
Then Lamech—seventy times seven.

Here all is nearly equal, except the places marked with a dash, where the words must be supplied from the preceding member. Similar examples of rhyme occur in Ps. viii. 5, xxv. 4, lxxxv. 11, cvi. 5. Equality in the number of words, together with exact proportion of thought, is a case of frequent occurrence in Job; e. g., chap. vi. 5:

Doth the wild ass bray over his grass?
Doth the ox low over his fodder?

Compare chap. vi. 23, viii. 1. In Ps. xx. 9, we have an example of equality in words with antithesis of thought—

They stumble and fall,
But we stand and are erect.

Compare Isai. lxxv. 13.

(2) But this external proportion of words is not essential to the parallelism of members; great

inequality sometimes prevails in the different lines, e. g., Ps. lxxviii. 32:

Ye kings of the earth, sing to God ;
Harp to the Lord !

So in Ps. xci. 7 :

Though a thousand fall at thy side, and ten thou-
sand at thy right hand,
Thee it shall not touch.

In this, as in many other cases, there is a complex proposition in the first line, and only a simple one in the second. However unequal the words in the two members of the parallelism may be, the *proportion* remains the same, because it consists not in the number of the words, or in the extent of the period, but in the *thoughts*.*

8. As exponents of the rhythmical relation, as a kind of rhythmical notes, the accents may be employed. It is well known that they serve, at the same time, as marks of the tone, of the punctuation, and of the mode of delivery. They indicate the syllable which is to be distinguished from the others by a greater elevation of the voice, that is, which has the tone, and at the same time point out the relation which one word has to another in respect to the rising and falling of the voice, whether or not the word stands in a longer or shorter pause of the discourse. The first law of the accentuation is the sense, and accordingly it may be compared to our system of punctuation. Next it follows the mode of delivery, or the enunciation. Since now the sense and the rhythm in Hebrew poetry usually coincide, and the elocution answers to the rhythm where the sense does not, it follows that, with few exceptions, the accentuation may be used as an index to the rhythm: only the system enters into such minute details, and is encumbered with such a multitude of signs, that a great deal of it is of no use for the purposes of rhythm. All that is of service here, are the more important relations indicated by the great disjunctive accents; the smaller belong to grammar and elocution; we can therefore dispense with the host of conjunctive accents, and also with many of the sub-disjunctives; the principal disjunctives only, which mark the greater sections, are of any important service to rhythm. Silluk with Soph Pasuk denotes the close of the full rhythmical period, or the strophe, commonly called the verse: Athnach in prose, and in poetry Merka Mahpach, and in its absence the former also, divide the strophes into two halves—into the parallel members: subdivisions are made by

Segolta, Zakeph Katon, Rebia, and Tiphcha in prose; and in poetry by Athnach, when Merka Mahpach precedes, and by Rebia: by the last, however, not always; it is often placed merely for the purpose of elocution, especially in the second member before Silluk, in order to sustain the cadence.

9. That the accents are musical notes seems to be intimated by one of their names, *Neginoth*; the fact, too, is attested by the traditions of the Jews, found in the Talmud; and the Jews of the present day actually employ them as musical signs. The *Torah* is sung or cantillated by them in their synagogues. The mode of cantillation differs in different places; but in no case is it any thing more than a sort of declamation approaching to song, similar to the intonation of our liturgical forms. There is good reason to believe that the ancient Hebrew singing or cantillation was of the same description.†

II. The next thing that claims our attention, is the character of the poetic imagery employed by the sacred writers, and the sources whence it is derived. Enough has already been said, as to the necessity under which the biblical student is laid to cultivate an acquaintance with those objects whence the sacred writers usually derive their imagery. It has been shown, that it is only in as far as these are known that the immediate design and propriety of various references and illustrations in their compositions can be perceived and appreciated. If we be accustomed to habits of life totally different from those of the authors and immediate readers of the Bible, and be conversant only with different kinds of objects, it is evident that many descriptions and sentiments that were magnificently expressed and strikingly illustrated by them, will appear to us mean and obscure, harsh and unnatural. Hence, as Bishop Lowth has remarked, in his inimitable lectures on the Hebrew poetry, it is not enough to be acquainted with the language of the Hebrews, their manners, discipline, rites, and ceremonies; we must even investigate their inmost sentiments, the manner and connexion of their thoughts; in one word, we must see all things with their eyes, estimate all things by their opinions: we must endeavour, as much as possible, to read Hebrew as the Hebrews would have read it. This learned writer and tasteful critic has arranged the sources of poetic imagery in the sacred writings in four classes; to one or other of which all such images

† De Wette on the Rhythmical Parallelism of the Hebrews, translated by Professor Torrey, in the Andover "Biblical Repository," for July, 1833, and reprinted in Morren's "Biblical Theology," Appendix, No. 1.

* For examples of the several kinds of Parallelism, see sect. vii. *supra*.

or pictures of external objects as present themselves to us in these writings may be commodiously referred. (1) Natural objects; (2) The manners, arts, and circumstances of common life; (3) Things sacred; (4) The more remarkable facts recorded in sacred history. The selection and illustration of a few specimens from each of these departments will occupy the remainder of this section.*

1. IMAGES DEDUCED FROM NATURAL OBJECTS.

1. In borrowing imagery from NATURAL OBJECTS, the Hebrew poets have selected such as were well known and familiar to their hearers and readers. On this, indeed, the perspicuity of figurative language will be found, in a great measure, to depend: for a principal use of metaphors is to illustrate the subject by a tacit comparison; but if, instead of familiar ideas, an author introduces such as are new, and not perfectly understood; if he endeavour to demonstrate what is plain by what is occult, instead of making a subject clearer, he renders it more perplexed and difficult. Were it not for the uncommon accuracy of the sacred writers in this respect, we should now be scarcely able to comprehend a single word of their productions.

2. In the next place, it is to be remarked, that the Hebrews not only deduce their metaphors from familiar or well-known objects, but that they preserve one constant track and manner in the use and accommodation of them to their subject. The parabolic may, indeed, be accounted a peculiar style, in which things moral, political, and divine, are marked and represented by comparisons implied or expressed, and adopted from sensible objects. As in common and plain language, therefore, certain words serve for signs of certain ideas; so, for the most part, in the parabolic style, certain natural images serve to illustrate certain ideas more abstruse and refined. This assertion, indeed, is not to be understood absolutely without exception; but thus far, at least, we may affirm, that the sacred poets, in illustrating the same subject, make a much more constant use of the same imagery than other poets are accustomed to; and this practice has a surprising effect in preserving perspicuity.

3. It must be observed, in the last place, that the Hebrews employ, more freely and more sparingly, that imagery in particular, which is borrowed from the most obvious and familiar objects, and the figurative effect of which is established and defined by general and constant use. This, as it renders a composition clear and luminous, even where there is the greatest danger of ob-

scurity, so it shelters effectually the sacred poets from the imputation of exuberance, harshness, or bombast.

4. These remarks may be confirmed and illustrated by two or three examples. The images of *light* and *darkness* are commonly made use of, in all languages, to imply or denote prosperity and adversity, agreeably to the common sense and perception which all men have of the objects themselves. But the Hebrews employ these metaphors more frequently and with less variation than other people; indeed, they seldom refrain from them whenever the subject requires, or will even admit of their introduction. These expressions, therefore, may be accounted among those forms of speech which in the parabolic style are established and defined, since they exhibit the most noted and familiar images; and the application of them on this occasion is justified by an acknowledged analogy, and approved by constant and unvarying custom. In the use of images so conspicuous and so familiar, among the Hebrews, a degree of boldness is excusable. The Latins introduce them more sparingly, and therefore are more cautious in the application of them. The most respectable of the Roman muses have scarcely any thing more elegant or bold than the following passage from Horace:

“Restore, great chief, thy country’s light;
Dispel the dreary shades of night;
Thy aspect, like the spring, shall cheer,
And brighter suns shall gild the year.”

5. But the Hebrews, upon a subject more sublime indeed in itself, and illustrating it by an idea which was more habitual to them, more daringly exalt their strains, and give a loose rein to the spirit of poetry. They display, for instance, not the image of the spring, of aurora, of the dreary night; but the sun and stars as rising with increased splendour in a new creation, or again involved in chaos and primeval darkness. Does the sacred bard promise to his people a renewal of the divine favour, and a recommencement of universal prosperity? In what magnificent colours does he depict it! Such, indeed, as no translation can illustrate, but such as none can obscure:

The light of the moon shall be as the light of the sun,
And the light of the sun shall be seven-fold.

Isa. xxx. 26.

But even this is not sufficient:

No longer shalt thou have the sun for thy light by day:
Nor by night shall the brightness of the moon enlighten thee:

* These are abridged from Lowth: Lectures vi., vii., viii., ix.

For JEHOVAH shall be to thee an everlasting light,
 And thy God shall be thy glory.
 Thy sun shall no more decline ;
 Neither shall thy moon wane ;
 For JEHOVAH shall be thine everlasting light ;
 And the days of thy mourning shall cease.

Isai. lx. 19, 20.

In another place he has admirably diversified the same sentiment :

And the moon shall be confounded, and the sun
 shall be ashamed ;
 For JEHOVAH God of hosts shall reign
 On Mount Sion, and in Jerusalem ;
 And before his ancients shall He be glorified.

Isai. xxiv. 23.

On the other hand, denouncing ruin against the proud king of Egypt, Ezekiel says :

And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the
 heavens,
 And the stars thereof will I make dark ;
 I will involve the sun in a cloud,
 Nor shall the moon give out her light.
 All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark
 over thee,
 And I will set darkness upon thy land, saith the
 Lord JEHOVAH.

Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8.

These expressions are bold and daring ; but the imagery is well known, the use of it is common, the signification definite ; they are, therefore, perspicuous, clear, and truly magnificent.

6. We must not omit noticing those images that are derived from rivers, and fountains, and the earth recreated with rain ; which are indeed used by other poets, but more frequently by the orientals, to whom nothing was more grateful ; for the scarcity of water, the paucity of showers, and the extreme heat of the summer, together with the wonderful fertility of the soil, rendered these more elegant and jocund comparisons in the east than with us. In spring and summer, if the east wind continue to blow a few days, the fields are in general so parched that scarcely a blade of any thing green remains ; many rivers and streams are dried up, the others are rendered briny, and all nature seems at the point of dissolution. After a plentiful shower, however, the fields revive beyond all expectation, the rivers resume their course, and the springs pour forth more delicious water ; the whole face of nature is changed ; which introduces much higher ideas of refreshment and pleasure, than the like causes can suggest so us. Hence, to represent distress, such frequent allusions among them to " a dry and thirsty land, where no water is ;" and hence, to describe a change from distress to prosperity,

their metaphors are founded on the falling of showers, and the bursting out of springs in the desert. Thus the prophet says :

The desert and the waste shall be glad,
 And the wilderness shall rejoice and flourish ;
 For in the wilderness shall burst forth waters,
 And torrents in the desert :
 And the glowing sand shall become a pool,
 And the thirsty soil bubbling springs :
 And in the haunt of dragons shall spring forth
 The grass, with the reed and the bulrush.

Isai. xxxv. 1, 6, 7.

In this prophet there are many allusions of a similar nature, the favourable or adverse state of the nations being frequently expressed by this same image, which many commentators have attempted to explain with more exactness than a poetical idea will bear. They have taken what the prophet meant figuratively, sometimes in a literal sense ; and at other times, they have explained every thing in a mystical manner, and have pretended to define what is meant by the *water*, who are those that are *thirsty*, and so on ; intermingling many pious reflections, but utterly foreign to the subject, and such as never entered the mind of the poet. For it certainly was not his intention to write enigmas, but to illustrate and adorn the beautiful figure which he introduces.

7. The numerous figures derived by the sacred writers from the mountains of Palestine must be familiar to every reader of the Bible. Lebanon and Carmel, the one remarkable as well for its height as for its age, magnitude, and the abundance of the cedars which adorned its summit, exhibiting a striking and substantial appearance of strength and majesty ; the other, rich and fruitful, abounding with vines, olives, and delicious fruits, in a most flourishing state, both by nature and cultivation, and displaying a delightful appearance of fertility, beauty, and grace ;—these two mountains are the most celebrated in the sacred poetry, and furnish the most apt comparisons, and the most beautiful metaphors. See Cant. v. 15, vii. 5 ; *Isai. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, xxxvii. 24 ; Jer. xxii. 6, 23 ; Zech. xi. 1 ; Isai. x. 34, xi. 13 ; Jer. iv. 26 ; Mic. vii. 14.*

8. In the images of the awful and terrible, with which the sacred poets abound, they plainly drew their descriptions from that violence of the elements, and those concussions of nature, with which their climate rendered them acquainted. Earthquakes were not unfrequent ; and they were sometimes accompanied by land-slips, in which pieces of ground, lying on a declivity, are removed from their place. To these the Psalmist alludes, when he speaks of the " mountains being carried

into the midst of the sea" (Ps. xli. 2); of their "skipping like lambs, and the hills like young sheep" (Ps. cxiv. 4, 6); and the prophet Isaiah describes with great majesty a scene of this description, when

The earth reeleth to and fro, like a drunkard;
And moveth this way and that, like a lodge for
the night.

Isai. xxiv. 20.

Tornadoes or whirlwinds, and darkness, followed by thunder, lightning, and rain, or hail, were also very frequent during the winter and cold season in Judea and Arabia, and far exceeded any thing of that sort which happens in more temperate regions. From these phenomena the sacred writers have borrowed many very expressive figures and allusions. Mr. Morier, describing the whirlwinds of Persia, says, that they swept along the country in different directions in a manner truly terrific. "They carried away in their vortex, sand, branches, and the stubble of the fields, and really appeared to make a communication between the earth and the clouds. The correctness of the imagery used by the prophet Isaiah, when he alludes to this phenomenon, is very striking: 'The whirlwind shall take them away as stubble' (*Isai. xl. 24*); 'Chased as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind (*Isai. xvii. 13*). In the Psalms (*lxxxiii. 13*) we read, 'Make them like a wheel; as the stubble before the wind;' which is happily illustrated by the rotatory motion of the whirlwind, that frequently impels a bit of stubble over a waste, just like a wheel set in rapid motion." * And in those circumstances of terror, with which an appearance of the Almighty is described in Ps. xviii., when "He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters and thick clouds of the sky; when hail-stones and fiery meteors were his voice; and when, at his rebuke, the channels of the waters were seen, and the foundations of the hills discovered;" though there may be some reference to the history of God's descent upon Mount Sinai, yet it seems more probable, that the figures were taken directly from those commotions of nature with which the author was acquainted, and which suggested stronger and nobler images than what now occur to us.

9. In a word, we may generally remark upon this head, that all poetry, and particularly that of the Hebrews, deduces its principal ornaments, or imagery, from natural objects: and, since these images are formed in the mind of each writer,

and expressed conformably to what occurs to his senses, it cannot otherwise happen, but that, through diversity of situation, some will be more familiar, some almost peculiar, to certain nations; and even those which seem most general, will always have some latent connexion with their immediate origin, and with their native soil. It is the first duty of a critic, therefore, to remark, as far as is possible, the situation and habits of the author, the natural history of his country, and the scene of the poem. Unless we continually attend to these points, we shall scarcely be able to judge, with any degree of certainty, concerning the elegance or propriety of the sentiments: the plainest will sometimes escape our observation; the peculiar and interior excellencies will remain totally concealed.

2. In noticing the second source of the poetic imagery of the sacred writers, which was stated to be the MANNERS, ARTS, and CIRCUMSTANCES of COMMON LIFE, it must be remarked, that the whole course and method of common or domestic life among the Hebrews of the more ancient times, was simple and uniform in the greatest degree. There existed not that variety of studies and pursuits, of arts, conditions, and employments, which may be observed amongst other nations, who boast of superior civilization; and rightly, indeed, if luxury, levity, and pride be the criterions of it. All enjoyed the same equal liberty; all of them, as being the offspring of the same ancient stock, boasted an equality of lineage and rank; there were no empty titles, no ensigns of false glory; scarcely any distinction or precedence, but that which resulted from superior virtue or conduct, from the dignity of age and experience, or from services rendered to their country. Separated from the rest of mankind by their religion and laws, and not at all addicted to commerce, they were contented with those arts which were necessary to a simple and uncultivated (or rather uncorrupted) state of life. Thus their principal employments were agriculture and the care of cattle; they were a nation of husbandmen and shepherds. The lands had been originally parcelled out to the different families; the portions of which (by the laws of the country) could not be alienated by sale, and therefore descended to their posterity without diminution. The fruits of the earth, the produce of his land and labour, constituted the wealth of each individual. Not even the greatest among them esteemed it mean and disgraceful to be employed in the lowest offices of rural labour. In the scripture history, therefore, we read of eminent persons called to the highest and most sacred offices—heroes, kings, and prophets, from the plough and from the stalls. See *Judg. iii. 31*,

* *Second Journey into Persia*, p. 202.

vi. 11; 1 Sam. ix. 3, xi. 5; 2 Sam. vii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 72, 73; 1 Kings xix. 19, 20; Amos i. 1, vii. 14, 15. Such being the state of things, we cannot reasonably be surprised to find the Hebrew writers deducing most of their metaphors from those arts particularly, in which they were educated from their earliest years. We are not to wonder that those objects which were most familiar to their senses afforded the principal ornaments of their poetry; especially since they furnished so various and so elegant an assortment of materials, that not only the beautiful, but the grand and magnificent, might be collected from them. If any person of more nicety than judgment should esteem some of these rustic images grovelling or vulgar, it may be of some use to him to be informed, that such an effect can only result from the ignorance of the critic, who, through the medium of his scanty information and peculiar prejudices, presumes to estimate matters of the most remote antiquity; it cannot reasonably be attributed as an error to the sacred poets, who not only give to those ideas all their natural force and dignity, but frequently, by the vivacity and boldness of the figure, exhibit them with additional vigour, ornament, and beauty.

1. It would be a tedious task to instance, particularly, with what embellishments of diction, derived from one low and trivial object (as it may appear to some), the barn or the threshing-floor, the sacred writers have contrived to add a lustre to the most sublime, and a force to the most important, subjects. Thus "JEHOVAH threshes out the heathen as corn, tramples them under his feet, and disperses them. He delivers the nations to Israel to be beaten in pieces by an indented flail (Hab. iii. 12; Joel iii. 14; Isai. xxi. 10), or to be crushed by their brazen hoofs. He scatters his enemies like chaff upon the mountains (Mic. iv. 13), and disperses them with the whirlwind of his indignation," Ps. lxxxiii. 14, 16; Isai. xvii. 13.

2. But we ought not to omit that supremely magnificent delineation of the divine vengeance, expressed by imagery taken from the wine-press; an image which very frequently occurs in the sacred poets, but which no other poetry has presumed to introduce. But where shall we find expressions of equal dignity with the original in any modern language? By what art of the pencil can we exhibit even a shadow or an outline of that description in which Isaiah depicts the Messiah as coming to vengeance?

Who is this that cometh from Edom?
With garments deeply dyed from Bozrah?
This that is magnificent in his apparel;
Marching on in the greatness of his strength?

I, who publish righteousness, and am mighty to save.

Wherefore is thine apparel red,
And thy garments as one that treadeth the wine-vat?

I have trodden the vat alone;
And of the peoples there was not a man with me.
And I trod them in mine anger;
And I trampled on them in mine indignation;
And their life-blood was sprinkled upon my garments;
And I have stained all my apparel.

Isai. lxiii. 1—3.

3. But the instances are innumerable which might be quoted, of metaphors taken from the manners and customs of the Hebrews. One general remark, however, may be made upon this subject; namely, that from one simple, regular, and natural mode of life having prevailed among them, it has arisen, that in their poetry these metaphors have less of obscurity, of meanness, or depression, than could be expected, when we consider the antiquity of their writings, the distance of the scene, and the uncommon boldness and vivacity of their rhetoric. Indeed, to have made use of the boldest imagery with the most perfect perspicuity, and the most common and familiar with the greatest dignity, is a commendation almost peculiar to the sacred poets. Of this, Bishop Lowth produces the following example, in which the meanness of the image is fully equalled by the plainness and inelegance of the expression; and yet such is its consistency, and such the propriety of its application, that we do not scruple to pronounce it sublime. The Almighty threatens the ultimate destruction of Jerusalem in these terms:—

And I will wipe Jerusalem,
As a man wipeth a dish:
He wipeth it, and turneth it upside down.

2 Kings xxi. 13.

3. The poetic imagery derived from SACRED TOPICS must, from the peculiar character of the Jewish economy, be less familiar to other nations, and involve more difficulties with reference to ourselves, than the imagery derived from either of the other sources which we have noticed.

1. The religion of the Hebrews embraced a very extensive circle of divine and human economy. It not only included all that regarded the worship of God; it extended even to the regulation of the commonwealth, the ratification of the laws, the forms and administration of justice, and nearly all the relations of civil and domestic life. With them almost every point of conduct was connected, either directly or indirectly, with their religion. Things which were held least in esteem by other nations, bore among them the

sanction of divine authority, and had a very close alliance with the more serious concerns of life, and with the sacred ceremonies. On these accounts it happens, in the first place, that abundance of metaphors occur in the Hebrew poetry deduced from sacred subjects; and further, that there is a necessity for the most diligent observation, lest that very connexion with the affairs of religion should escape us. For should we be mistaken in so material a point—should we erroneously account as common or profane, what is in its nature divine; or should we rank among the mean and the vulgar, sentiments and images which are sacred and sublime; it is incredible how much the strength of the language, and the force and majesty of the ideas, will be destroyed. Nothing in nature, indeed, can be so conducive to the sublime, as those conceptions which are suggested by the contemplation of the greatest of all Beings; and when the august form of religion presents itself to the mental eye,

A fervent pleasure, and an awe divine,
Seizes the soul, and lifts it to its God.

It follows, therefore, of course, that the dignity of the Hebrew poetry must, in some measure, be diminished in our eyes; since not only the connexion of the imagery with sacred things must frequently escape our observation, but even when it is most apparent, it can scarcely strike us with that force and vivacity with which it must have penetrated the minds of the Hebrews. The whole system of the Hebrew rites is one great and complicated allegory, to the study and observance of which all possible diligence and attention were incessantly dedicated by those who were employed in the sacred offices. On this occupation and study, therefore, all good and considerate men were intent; it constituted all their business, all their amusement; it was their treasure and their hope; on this every care and every thought was employed; and the utmost sanctity and reverence distinguished every part of their conduct which had any relation to it. Much dignity and sublimity must also have resulted from the recollection which these allusions produced, of the splendour and magnificence of the sacred rites themselves; the force of which, upon the minds of those who had frequent opportunities of observing them, must have been incredible. Such a solemn grandeur attended these rites, especially after the building of Solomon's temple, that, although we are possessed of very accurate descriptions, our imaginations are still utterly unable to embody them. Many allusions, therefore, of this kind, which the Hebrew poets found particularly ener-

getic, and highly popular among their countrymen, may possibly appear to us mean and contemptible; since many things which were held by them in the highest veneration, are by us but little regarded, or, perhaps, but little understood.

2. A reference to two or three topics will of themselves suggest a variety of examples, sufficiently illustrative of the subject.—Much of the Jewish law is employed in discriminating between things clean and unclean; in removing or making atonement for things proscribed or polluted; and under these ceremonies, as under a veil or covering, a meaning the most important and sacred is concealed, as would be apparent from the nature of them, even if we had not, besides, other clear and explicit authority for this opinion. Among the rest are certain diseases and infirmities of the body, and some customs evidently in themselves indifferent: these, on a cursory view, seem light and trivial; but when the reasons of them are properly explored, they are found to be of considerable importance. We are not to wonder, therefore, if the sacred poets sometimes have recourse to these topics for imagery, even on the most momentous occasions, when they display the general depravity inherent in the human mind (Isai. lxiv. 6), or exprobate the corrupt manners of their own people (Lam. i. 8, 9, 17, ii. 2), or when they deplore the abject state of the virgin, the daughter of Zion, polluted and exposed, Isai. i. 5, 6, 16; Ezek. xxxv. 17. If we consider these metaphors without any reference to the religion of their authors, they will doubtless appear in some degree disgusting and inelegant; if we refer them to their genuine source, to the peculiar rites of the Hebrews, they will be found wanting neither in force nor in dignity. Of the same nature, or at least analogous to them, are those ardent expressions of grief and misery which are poured forth by the royal prophet (who, indeed, in many of those divine compositions, personates a character far more exalted than his own); especially when he complains that he is wasted and consumed with the loathsomeness of disease, and bowed down and depressed with a burden of sin, too heavy for human nature to sustain, Ps. xxxviii. On reading these passages, some who were but little acquainted with the genius of the Hebrew poetry, have pretended to inquire into the nature of the disease with which the poet was affected; not less absurdly, than if they had perplexed themselves to discover in what river he was plunged, when he complains that "the deep waters had gone over his soul."

3. But as there are many passages in the Hebrew poets which may seem to require a similar defence, so there are, in all probability, many

which, although they now appear to abound in beauties and elegancies, would yet be thought much more sublime, were they illustrated from those sacred rites to which they allude, and, as excellent pictures, viewed in their proper light. To this purpose many instances might be produced from one topic, namely, from the precious and magnificent ornaments of the priest's attire. Such was the gracefulness, such the magnificence, of the sacerdotal vestments, especially those of the high-priest; so adapted were they, as Moses says, to the expression of glory and of beauty, that to those who were impressed with an equal opinion of the sanctity of the wearer, nothing could possibly appear more venerable and sublime. To these, therefore, we find frequent allusions in the Hebrew poets, when they have occasion to describe extraordinary beauty or comeliness, or to delineate the perfect form of supreme Majesty. The elegant Isaiah (chap. lxi. 10) has a most beautiful idea of this kind, when he describes, in his own peculiar manner (that is, most magnificently), the exultation and glory of the church, after its triumphal restoration. Pursuing the allusion, he decorates her with the vestments of salvation, and clothes her in the robe of righteousness. He afterwards compares the church to a bridegroom dressed for the marriage, to which comparison incredible dignity is added by the word *יִכָּהֵן* *yekahen*, a metaphor plainly taken from the apparel of the priests, the force of which, therefore, no modern language can express. No imagery, indeed, which the Hebrew writers could employ, was equally adapted with this to the display of the infinite majesty of God. JEHOVAH is therefore introduced by the Psalmist as "clothed with glory and with strength" (xciii. 1); he is "girded with power" (Ps. cxxxix. 15); which are the very terms appropriated to the describing of the dress and ornaments of the priests.

4. But with reference to this class of metaphors, especially, it must not be concealed, that it is scarcely or not at all possible, for any translation fully to represent the genuine sense of the sacred poets, and that delicate connexion which, for the most part, exists between their poetical imagery, and the peculiar circumstances of their nation. This connexion frequently depends upon the use of certain terms, upon a certain association between words and things which a translation generally perplexes, and very frequently destroys. This, therefore, is not to be preserved in the most literal and accurate version, much less in any poetical translation, or rather imitation, though there are extant some not unsuccessful attempts of this kind. To relish completely all the excellencies of the Hebrew literature, the fountains

themselves must be approached, the peculiar flavour of which cannot be conveyed by aqueducts, nor indeed by any exertion of modern art.

4. The poetic images which the Hebrew writers have drawn from the SACRED HISTORY, differ very materially from those we have already noticed.

1. In this class of images there is scarcely any thing that is difficult or obscure; few of the passages in which they occur will seem to require explication or defence: all will be at once perspicuous, splendid, and sublime. Sacred History illuminates this class of imagery with its proper light, and renders it scarcely less conspicuous to us than to the Hebrews themselves. There is, indeed, this difference, that to the Hebrews the objects of these allusions were all national and domestic; and the power of them, in moving or delighting the mind, was, of course, proportionably greater; nay, frequently, the very place, the scene of action, certain traces and express tokens of so many miracles lying before their eyes, must have increased the effect. To us, on the other hand, however we may hold these facts in veneration, or however great and striking they may be in themselves, the distance of time and place must of necessity render them less interesting.

2. The manner in which these metaphors are formed is well deserving of observation, and is, in fact, as follows. In describing or embellishing illustrious actions, or future events of a miraculous nature, the Hebrew poets are accustomed to introduce allusions to the actions of former times, such as possess a conspicuous place in their history; and thus they illuminate with colours, foreign indeed, but similar, the future by the past, the recent by the antique, facts less known by others more generally understood. This property seems peculiar to the poetry of the Hebrews; at least, it is but seldom to be met with in that of other nations.

3. One very fruitful topic, in furnishing to the sacred poets these allusions, is the chaos and the creation, which compose the first pages of the sacred history. These are constantly alluded to, as expressive of any remarkable change, whether prosperous or adverse, in the public affairs; of the overthrow or restoration of kingdoms and nations; and are consequently very common in the prophetic poetry, particularly when any unusual degree of boldness is attempted. If the subject be the destruction of the Jewish empire by the Chaldeans, or a strong denunciation of ruin against the enemies of Israel, it is depicted in exactly the same colours as if universal nature were about to relapse into the primeval chaos. Thus Jeremiah, in that sublime, and indeed more

than poetical vision, in which is represented the impending desolation of Judea :—

I beheld the earth, and lo! disorder and confusion ;
The heavens also, and there was no light.
I beheld the mountains, and lo! they trembled ;
And all the hills shook.
I beheld, and lo! there was not a man ;
And all the fowls of the heavens were fled.
I beheld, and lo! the fruitful field (was become) the desert ;
And all its cities were thrown down,
Before the presence of Jehovah,
Before the fierce heat of his anger.

Jer. iv. 23—26.

And on a similar subject, Isaiah expresses himself with wonderful force and sublimity,—

And he shall stretch over her the line of devastation,
And the plummet of emptiness. *Isa. xxxiv. 11.*

Each of the prophets not only had in his mind the Mosaic chaos, but actually used the words of the divine historian. The same subjects are amplified and embellished, with several adjuncts, in the following passages :—

The sun and the moon are darkened,
And the stars withdraw their shining.
Jehovah also will thunder from Sion,
And from Jerusalem will he utter his voice ;
And the heavens and the earth shall shake.

Joel iii. 15, 16.

And all the host of heaven shall waste away :
And the heavens shall be rolled up like a scroll ;
And all their host shall wither ;
As the withered leaf falleth from the vine,
And as the blighted fig from the fig-tree.

Isa. xxxiv. 4.

On the contrary, when he foretels the restoration of the Israelites :—

For I am Jehovah thy God ;
He who stilleth at once the sea,
Though the waves thereof roar ;
Jehovah, God of Hosts, is his name,
I have put my words in thy mouth ;
And with the shadow of my hand have I covered thee :

To stretch out the heavens, and to lay the foundation of the earth ;

And to say unto Zion, Thou art my people.

Isa. li. 15, 16.

Thus, therefore, shall Jehovah console Zion ;
He shall console her desolations :
And he shall make her wilderness like Eden ;
And her desert like the garden of Jehovah :
Joy and gladness shall be found in her ;
Thanksgiving and the voice of melody.

Ch. li. 3.

In the former of these two last-quoted examples, the universal deluge is exactly delineated, and on similar subjects the same imagery generally

occurs. Thus, as the devastation of the Holy Land is frequently represented by the restoration of ancient chaos, so the same event is sometimes expressed in metaphors suggested by the universal deluge :—

Behold, Jehovah emptieth the land and maketh it waste ;

He even turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad the inhabitants.

For the flood-gates from on high are opened ;

And the foundations of the earth tremble.

The land is grievously shaken ;

The land is utterly shattered to pieces,

The land is violently moved out of her place ;

The land reeleth to and fro like a drunkard ;

And moveth this way and that, like a lodge for a night. *Isa. xxiv. 1, 18—20.*

These are great ideas ; indeed the human mind cannot easily conceive any thing greater or more sublime.

4. The emigration of the Israelites from Egypt, as it affords materials for many magnificent descriptions, is commonly applied in a metaphorical manner to many events which bear no unapt resemblance to it. Does God promise to his people liberty, assistance, security, and favour ? The exodus occurs spontaneously to the mind of the poet : the dividing of the sea, the destruction of the enemy, the desert which was safely traversed, and the torrents bursting forth from the rocks, are so many splendid objects that force themselves on his imagination.—

Thus saith Jehovah :

Who made a way in the sea,

And a path in the mighty waters ;

Who brought forth the rider and the horse, the army and the warrior :

Together they lay down, they rose no more ;

They were extinguished, they were quenched like tow :

Remember not the former things ;

And the things of ancient times regard not :

Behold, I make a new thing ;

Even now shall it spring forth ; will ye not regard it ?

Yea, I will make in the wilderness a way ;

In the desert, streams of water.

Isa. xliii. 16—19.

5. Of the same kind is the last of these topics which shall be instanced, the descent of Jehovah at the delivery of the Law. When the Almighty is described as coming to execute judgment, to deliver the pious, and to destroy his enemies, or in any manner exerting his divine power upon earth, the description is embellished from that tremendous scene which was exhibited upon Mount Sinai ; there is no imagery more frequently recurred to than this, and there is none more sublime.

For, behold, Jehovah will go forth from his place ;
And he will come down, and will tread on the high
places of the earth.

And the mountains shall be molten under him ;
And the valleys shall cleave asunder ;
As wax before the fire,
As waters poured down a steep place.

Mic. i. 3, 4.

The earth shook and was alarmed,
And the foundations of the hills rocked with terror ;
For the wrath of Jehovah was hot against them.
Before his face a smoke ascended,
And a flame consumed before his presence ;
Burning fires were kindled by it.
He bowed the heavens and came down,
And clouds of darkness were beneath his feet.
He rode upon the pinions of the cherubim,
And flew on the wings of the wind.
He concealed himself in a veil of darkness ;
A pavilion encompassed him
Of black water, and thick clouds of ether.

Ps. xviii. 7—11.

III. These examples, though literally translated, and destitute of the harmony of verse, will sufficiently demonstrate the force, the grandeur, and the sublimity of those images, which, when applied to other events, suggest ideas still greater than when described as plain facts by the pen of the historian, in however magnificent terms : for, to the greatness and sublimity of the images that are alluded to, is added the pleasure and admiration which result from the comparison between them and the objects they are brought to illustrate.

IV. It is evident, however, as well from the examples that have been adduced, as from the nature of the thing itself, that this species of metaphor is peculiarly adapted to the prophetic poetry. For some degree of obscurity is the necessary attendant upon prophecy ; not that, indeed, which confuses the diction and darkens the style, but that which results from the necessity of repressing a part of the future, and from the impropriety of making a complete revelation of every circumstance connected with the prediction. The event itself, therefore, is often clearly indicated, but the manner and the circumstances are generally involved in obscurity. To this purpose, imagery, such as we have specified, is excellently adapted ; for it enables the prophet more forcibly to impress upon the minds of his auditors, those parts of his subject which admit of amplification ; the force, the splendour, the magnitude, of every incident ; and at the same time more completely to conceal, what are proper to be concealed, the order, the mode, and the minuter circumstances attending the event. It is also no less apparent, that in this respect, the sacred poetry bears little or no analogy to that of other nations ; since neither history nor fable afforded

to the profane writers a sufficient store of this kind of imagery, nor did their subjects in general require that use or application of it.

SECTION XI.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SYMBOLICAL LANGUAGE.

The Nature of Symbolical Language—Erroneous Notions entertained upon this Topic—Origin and Progressive Improvement of Writing—Picture Writing—Symbols—Language of Signs—Rules for the Interpretation and Application of Symbols.

HAVING treated of the various means by which an interpreter of the Bible must seek to ascertain the signification of words, and thence the sense of the text ; it remains to notice, as distinct branches of interpretation, those which relate to *symbols* and *types*. This section will be confined to the interpretation of *symbols* ; *types* will form the subject of another section.

I. The loose and imperfect notions entertained upon the subject of symbolic language, have induced a very general conviction, that it is necessarily of a vague and indeterminate character ; uncertain in its meaning, and subject to no defined principles of interpretation. That such an opinion is erroneous, is demonstrable from the fact, that it is a species of language employed to a very considerable extent in the sacred writings. For, surely, it would be to impeach the divine wisdom, to suppose that God has adopted, as a medium of communicating important truths, that which is extremely liable, from its arbitrary and therefore variable character, to become unintelligible, or to present no certain meaning, after a very short lapse of time. Such is not the nature of symbolic language ; for, as Bishop Hurd has remarked, it is reducible to rule, and is constructed on such principles as make it the subject of just criticism and rational interpretation.*

II. But in order to form a just conception of the principles on which this kind of language is constructed, it will be necessary to glance at the probable origin of writing, and then to trace the steps by which it has been brought to its present state of perfection.

1. With this view, let us carry ourselves back in imagination to the infant state of the world, before the use of letters was known, and when the only established mode of communication between man and man was that of vocal language. In such a state of society, how may we rationally suppose that one person would proceed to inform another of any circumstance connected with a par-

* Introduction to Discourses on the Study of Prophecy, Vol. I., p. 90.

ticular object. The reply is obvious. If the object were in sight, he would direct attention towards it, and point out the particulars upon which he desired to communicate information; if the object were not in sight, nor readily accessible, he would sketch a rude drawing of it, and substitute that for the object itself. In this manner, the idea of a man, a horse, a house, or a tree, might, as single objects, be as distinctly communicated as by alphabetic characters; while two or more houses might be made significative of a town, and two or more trees of a wood. By thus continuing to copy, in successive series, such things or objects of common notoriety as the train of ideas might call for, a kind of connected narrative of passing events might be drawn up, which, though not calculated for minute accuracy, could be generally understood and interpreted.

2. Such would be the first attempts of men to communicate their ideas by written language; but it is easy to perceive that the scope of such a species of language must be extremely limited, and would totally fail in delineating the internal qualities of objects, of pure mental conceptions, or of abstract ideas. These, however, were required to be conveyed by writing; and the common consent of mankind, in ascribing peculiar internal qualities and virtues to external forms, and associating the abstract idea with the various instruments by which certain effects were produced, soon enabled them to lay hold of such forms and objects, to express the qualities and virtues themselves.*

3. Thus, an EYE might be made to signify *watchfulness* or *care*; an ARM, *power* or *might*; an ARROW, a *calamity* or *judgment*; a CHAIN, *bondage* or *affliction*; a BOW, *strength* or *victory*; a SHIELD, *defence*. In the same way, any thing possessing certain qualities might be employed as a substitute for some other object to which one or more of the qualities proper to that object were ascribed. For instance, a FOX might be employed to represent a *cunning* man; a LAMB, a *meek* or *gentle* one; a LION, a *strong* and *powerful* one; a TIGER or LEOPARD, a *ferocious* one; or a BEAR, a *fierce* and *savage* one. If it were wished to represent a man who was both *powerful* and *ferocious*, a compound symbol of the *lion* and the *leopard* would be resorted to; and to represent one who was *cunning* and *savage*, the *fox* and the *bear* would be united in one symbol. Or each of these objects might become a representative of the abstract qualities themselves; as of *cunning*, *meekness*, *strength*, *fero-*

city, and so on; the manner in which the symbol was introduced, rendering the idea perfectly intelligible to the persons whom the language was employed to address. And what thus appears to be reasonable in theory, is found to have been actual in fact, among nearly all the nations with which we have become acquainted. Even after languages became more copious, and could furnish many terms proper for expressing abstract ideas and internal qualities, the old method continued, and was blended with oral language, and with literal writing.

4. Strange as this method of imparting knowledge may appear to the moderns, it was brought to such perfection as to possess powers of expression far beyond what can now be easily conceived. This is plain, as Dr. Tilloch has remarked, from the number of synonymous symbols that are known to have been employed in it; nor is it difficult, in some instances, as he further suggests, to see in what manner they were derived. Every department of nature furnished objects that were fitted, in some way, for the purpose: hence, to express a king, they were not confined to the brute creation: whatever was the *chief* of its kind became, or by common consent might have become, a legitimate symbol of a monarch; as *the eagle*, which was so employed, because conceived to possess the first rank among the feathered tribes. Again, as a king's power to subdue his enemies depends on the strength of his kingdom, and as animals with horns are, *ceteris paribus*, stronger than those which have none, *horns* are put for *kingdoms*; and kings having the direction of the national force, the same symbol is, by metonymy, put for kings. In like manner, the firmament, to use the ancient term, being elevated above the earth, and esteemed more splendid and glorious than terrestrial objects, was employed to symbolize the most elevated ranks among men; and as, among the planets, *the sun* possesses incomparably the highest lustre, it became the symbol of *supreme power*, while the *stars* were made the symbols of those possessing *authority subordinate to the supreme*.†

III. The oldest writings which the corroding tooth of time has suffered to reach us, and particularly the prophetic books of Scripture, abound in symbolical language.

1. The reason for this use of symbols may not at first appear, because it cannot be supposed that the paucity of the Hebrew language, at the time these writings were published, was such as rendered a resort to the language of symbols necessary; and the usual reason assigned, namely that

* See Warburton's *Divine Legation*, Vol. II., b. iv., sect. 4, § 1, 2; Blacknight's *VIIIth Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture Language*; Blair's *Lectures*, lect. vii.; and Good's *Book of Nature*, ser. ii. lect. 10.

† Tilloch on the *Apocalypse*, Dissert. 3, § 2.

it was to render the prophecies dark and obscure, is very unsatisfactory. This could have been effected without the adoption of symbols, even supposing such signs to be necessarily obscure, which they are not: besides which, it may be remarked, that the symbols employed are sometimes immediately and fully explained; as in Daniel's vision of the ram and he-goat, &c.

2 The truth seems to be, that the peculiar character of symbolic language afforded to those who employed it, the means of communicating just so much information as they were desirous to give, respecting any object of which they were treating; and the information communicated through such a medium became universally and permanently intelligible. Thus, if a collection of waters was the symbol of a concourse of people, and it were desired to express some commotion, generally, without specifying the particular kingdom or nation in which it was to occur, this might be done by depicting *the sea* as in a state of turbulent agitation. But if the design were to mark out the country where such a tumult was to take place, that could also be effected, by selecting as the symbol that river or sea by which the country was characterized; as the Nile in Egypt, the Jordan in Palestine, or the Euphrates in Turkey. In either case the symbol would be perfectly intelligible, to the full extent designed by the person who employed it.

3. But there is another thing relative to the employment of symbols in prophetic Scripture, which may not be passed over without notice; we mean what may not improperly be designated their chronology. In verbal description there is no difficulty in properly adjusting the several occurrences which pass under review, and assigning to each one of them its respective order in the series, and its particular epoch in the general history. So, also, if it be desired to trace and delineate the effects of any particular principle or transaction on different states of society, or communities of persons, a speaker or writer may do so with the greatest facility, passing from one state to the other in regular succession, and without the remotest probability of misleading his hearers or readers. Thus we have historical works extant in which the authors have, in successive chapters or sections, narrated the history of the community to which their writings appertained, in its social, its civil, and its political state; each of which topics has been again divided into separate branches: then has followed a review of ecclesiastical matters, synchronizing with the events embraced in the former sections of the work; which review has, perhaps, been divided into the internal and external affairs of the church,

and each of these again into several other distinct heads of inquiry. From such a distribution and arrangement of the several parts of a work, no inconvenience will arise, if the author but distinctly mark the limits of each, and properly adjust the whole in the general history. The reader of such a work will very naturally pass from the one to the other, carrying back his mind to the common epoch, at the beginning of each of the respective divisions. It is not so, however, in symbolical or pictorial representations. If a writer employing these be desirous to place before the mind of his reader the leading occurrences in a state, throughout the entire period of its history, he will be compelled, by the principles of the science, sometimes to represent *distant* events as existing at the *same period of time*, as in Daniel's vision of the great image, and that of the four beasts; and at other times, to employ a *successive* series of symbols to denote occurrences that are strictly *synchronical*, as in the book of Revelation. And however skilful and cautious he may be, it will be found impracticable to mark the boundaries of time, and the transition from one event to another, with as much strength and clearness as is done in verbal description or narration. Hence it is that expositors differ so materially in their views of the structure of the Apocalyptic visions. Those persons who have paid but little attention to the principles upon which symbolic language is constructed, and are but partially acquainted with the rules by which these pictorial representations are conducted, fall into the error of conceiving that the parts of each series of symbols should be considered as following each other in chronological order, each individual part having its commencement when the events of the part immediately preceding have had their accomplishment; and each whole series, in like manner, having its commencement only after the particulars of the preceding series have been consummated. The absurdities which have resulted from this mode of interpretation, have been rendered sufficiently apparent in some treatises on prophetic Scripture. To avoid this evil, particular attention must be paid to *the nature* of the symbols adopted, the links by which they are connected together, the scenes and agents employed, and the homogeneity of the respective facts when grouped as a whole.

IV. Upon the nature of symbolic language, particularly with reference to its intelligibility and permanency, we cannot do better than adopt the remarks of Dr. Johnson, of Holywood, the design of which is to show the propriety with which this species of writing is employed in prophetic Scripture. "Alphabetical characters and words," he

observes, "are not natural, but only arbitrary signs, and therefore may and do change with the changes of time and of men. But hieroglyphics and symbols are either pictures of things actually existing, or of ideas which these things naturally excite; and therefore not arbitrary, but natural signs, fixed and permanent as the things themselves. For the same reasons, the symbolical is an universal language. Every alphabetical language is local and changeable; for instance, the Greek, the Latin, the Italian, the Spanish, the French, the English languages, were or are, each the language of a particular district or territory, and are altogether unintelligible to the illiterate inhabitants of any other district; and they have all undergone such changes, that the language of one period is scarcely intelligible to the inhabitants of the same country in another period of time. Since, then, the prophecies are intended for all countries and ages, the symbolical language, being universal and unchangeable, must for such a purpose be the best adapted." *

V. These remarks will, it is to be hoped, fully dispose of the charge of vagueness and unintelligibility which has been preferred against symbolic language. But there is another consideration in favour of its use in the Bible, that ought not to be overlooked; namely, its prevalence in the East, at all times, but especially at the time when the Hebrew prophecies were promulgated. The very genius of the Oriental languages, indeed, is to represent abstract ideas by sensible images; and in nothing, perhaps, was this so fully developed as in the religious systems of the East. "What, then, was more natural," asks Bishop Hurd, "than that a style of expression which was employed in the theology of the eastern world, in its poetry, its philosophy, and all the sublimer forms of composition; what wonder that this customary, this authorized, this admired strain of language, should be that in which the sacred writers conveyed their highest and most important revelations to mankind?" †

VI. It is not to be inferred, however, from any

thing that has been said on the nature of symbols, that every person is competent to their interpretation. The discordant sentiments maintained by writers on prophecy would, in itself, refute such a notion, though they will by no means prove, as some have alleged, that symbolic language is incapable of expressing any thing with precision. In this, as in verbal language, there are numerous shades and modifications of meaning, resulting from the varied associations of the symbols; and therefore the principles upon which such arrangements and associations are made, require to be investigated, and familiarized to the mind.

1. "In such an investigation," as Dr. Tilloch has judiciously remarked, "it should not, for a moment, be forgotten, that each symbol has a precise and determinate meaning; and that, until this be ascertained, with respect to any one specified, it will be absolutely impossible to settle its peculiar signification, in combinations which necessarily affect the features, though not the radical sense, of the symbol. But an example will render this much plainer.

2. "The sun was, among the ancients, a legitimate symbol of *supreme power*; and the stars, of *subordinate authority*. A careless reasoner will be apt instantly to conclude, that when the sun is put for the *supreme ruler*, the moon must symbolize the *queen*; and he will not fail to recollect, in support of his opinion, that in Joseph's dream the sun symbolized the father, the moon the mother, and the stars the sons. In the case of a *family*, these symbols could with no kind of propriety be taken in any other sense; but it is quite otherwise in respect to a kingdom or empire; and it is so from that necessity which determines the fitness of things. The hieroglyphic of the luminaries embraces a totality, which must not be violated in any case to which it may be applied; the moon, therefore, cannot signify the wife of the sovereign, or it would follow that a kingdom cannot exist without a queen as well as a king. In fact, the sun does not symbolize the sovereignty as a *male*, or as any thing but the *supreme power*; whether vested in a male, in a female, or in a plurality of persons. A queen then, *if supreme*, may be symbolized by the sun; but in this case, what would become of the moon? If we consider the compound symbol, and then the parts of the complex machine to which it is applied, all will be plain." †

3. It is very remarkable, however, that the writer who made this observation, so just in itself, and of such great importance in the interpretation

* Comment. on the Revelation, Introd. p. 5. We have a striking example of the superiority of symbolical over alphabetical writing, for the purpose of universal instruction, in the Chinese language, which is the accurate medium of thought throughout the nations of that vast empire, entirely independent of the varieties of speech existing among them. Thus, Dr. Harrison has stated, that the European geometry and astronomy of the fifteenth century, with the logarithmic tables of Napier, being translated into the Chinese language, are by that one translation, instead of *fifteen*, which would otherwise be required, rendered legible to 300,000,000 of human beings! See *Critica Biblica*, vol. iv. p. 133.

† Discourses on Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 87.

‡ Tilloch on the Apocalypse, Dissert. 3, sect. 2.

of symbolic language, should so far have failed in its application, as to interpret the moon of the *subjects* of a state; an interpretation which violates the homogeneity of the compound symbol, and destroys the principle of analogy on which every thing in this species of language depends. Each of the symbols supposed is itself a *ruling power*, and cannot, therefore, represent the *people*, who are the *ruled*, and who are to be sought on the *earth*, or in the lower ranks, and not in the *heavens*, or the exalted ones. In this, almost all commentators of eminence agree; and Achmet, an Arabian writer, in his *Oneirocritica*, which relates to an art founded on symbolic principles, says, as translated by Dr. Lancaster, that according to the Indians, Persians, and Egyptians, the *sun* is invariably interpreted of the *king* or *supreme power*; the *moon*, of him who is next in power; and the *stars*, of men of nobility and opulence, and those who in every place live nearest to the king.

4. As an example of the apparent change which a symbol receives in its meaning, from a change of circumstances, Dr. Tilloch exhibits the following one, also drawn from the heavens. *Stars* sometimes symbolize, not inferior magistrates, but kings, which seems contradictory to what we have said. But the change is only in appearance, and the principles on which the language is founded are by no means violated, as will be evident from the following remark. Wherever *stars* are used to symbolize *kings*, it will be found that more than one king is spoken of, or that the Ruler of the universe is alluded to in the context; if the former, as there is but one sun in our system, he is necessarily excluded where a plurality of kings is the subject, and, therefore, other luminaries are substituted; if the latter, the sun symbolizing the *King of kings*, the powers ordained by him are represented by stars. The principle, therefore, is precisely the same, and could not have been preserved by any other method.

VII. From what has been said, it will be evident that there is the greatest necessity for distinguishing between metaphors and symbols. "In hieroglyphical language," remarks the writer whom we have just quoted, "it is not left to fancy, or to sagacity, to attach to a symbol any signification which the reader may imagine would have been more appropriate than that assigned to it by the ancients; for in elucidating such writings, our business is not now to make a language, but to read one already made; and we might as well refuse to assign to any word in Hebrew, Greek, or Latin, its known and admitted sense, from a conceit that a more expressive word might have been found to convey that idea, as quarrel with the meaning of a symbol, because, in our judg-

ment, a more appropriate one might have been formed. Where symbols are employed, it is our duty, instead of resorting to fancy, to employ industry; not to make, but to find out, the admitted sense. In Daniel and John, many of the symbols they employ are explained; the meaning of others may be found in other prophecies; and where these fail, recourse must be had to profane authors. Nor is there more danger in seeking the meaning of a symbol in such works, than in ascertaining the sense of any word in the New Testament, by comparing the best Greek writers with each other and with the Septuagint. By following this method, it can hardly be doubted that the true and genuine signification of every one of the symbols the sacred writers employ may be satisfactorily ascertained. It may not be in the power of any single individual to accomplish this desirable object. Where he cannot, by his industry, discover the meaning of any particular symbol, instead of showing himself ingenious, let him be ingenuous, and confess his want of success; and we may hope that others, from sources which he may not have had an opportunity of consulting, will sooner or later supply the deficiency."*

VIII. The following rules for the particular application of the general signification of symbols, and for the better understanding of the prophetic style, will assist the student in his inquiries into this subject. They are collected from the Preliminary Discourse, in Lancaster's Abridgement of Daubuz on the Revelation of St. John; a work which it is now extremely difficult to meet with.

1. *The scene of action, the actor, and sufferer, determine the sense of all the accidents described in any general vision, or part of a vision where new ones appear.* The meaning of this rule may be explained from what is observed even in common discourse. It is evident, when once the general or appellative terms are fixed to a particular signification, by some pronoun, proper name, demonstrative article, or even the time, place, or circumstance, that then they lose their general signification in all the following discourse, though the determining words or particles be not applied to each single term afterwards. Thus, if Britain be the fixed subject of the discourse, if we proceed to speak of the king, lords, commons, clergy, church, courts, laws, and the like, all which are general terms, as being common with us to several countries, though we do not at every one of them add the restriction, yet it is certain that we do it tacitly; and thus all our discourse must be determined by the first mention of its subject; and that, even though we

* Tilloch, *ubi supra*.

should not use the terms common in the country to denote those matters, but others analogical, and used in other countries. It is plain that we have settled the true notion of them by the first restriction. This is the very key of all discourse, and must consequently be so in the Revelation, which is written in a discursive method; so that the signification of the symbols is to be particularly applied by a careful and constant observation of this rule. It has been observed, as an excellence in Virgil, that he never describes the appearance of the day; but does it with such a description as suits the work of the day. The like is done throughout this prophecy. No actor or scene appears in it, but we may thereby immediately discover what action is to be performed. So that the rule is of universal use, and, as being so, is constantly observed by the Oneirocritics, who, agreeably to symbolical principles, not only suit their interpretations to the general object, but also to the condition of the party receiving the dream, as its proper scene or subject. And, indeed, when there is a multiplicity of incidents, which are all to be reduced into one system, what guide can we have, or what method take, but by considering the actor and scene first, and when these two are determined, to bring all the rest to suit with them? Hence, we find these writers explaining the symbols in different manners, according to the different conditions and circumstances of men. Kings, private men, and women, receive always different interpretations, but in proportion to their condition the same. And the same dream, seen by the same person at any long distance of time, denotes different things, proportionably to a difference of circumstances. From what has now been said, we must infer, in expounding the Revelation, that although we have the same symbols over and over again, we must, nevertheless, in every particular case refer them to the immediate scenes and actors from whence they proceed, and to which they are related; and by consequence, restrain their general signification to the particular case in which they are employed. Thus, the sun, moon, and stars are used in the visions of the seals, the trumpets, the sign of the woman in travail, and the vials; yet they must be there interpreted of things vastly different and opposed, though at the same time, in proportion to their different cases, really analogous. In short, there is nothing insignificant, or for the sake of decoration only, in the Book of Revelation; and, therefore,

2. *The apparatus or decorations of the visions are of great use, being of the nature of such sorts of prologues as explain, by way of introduction, the subject of the whole action.* They fix the

scene, describe the actors, and thereby determine the whole system of the actions, and by consequence the interpretation. They must hence be carefully observed.

3. *Invisible beings, and even conceptions of the mind, as collective notions are reckoned, are represented by such visible shapes or figures as are borrowed from some of those visible adjuncts that either attend continually, or may at any time have attended, the invisible object, so that they may absolutely determine it to be that object designed, and no other.* Thus, the eternal Father, who is invisible, is not represented in the revelation by any likeness (for none can be made of him), but by those visible adjuncts which he showed once to the Israelites, or left them the pattern of in the tabernacle; He himself, and his government, being only represented by his throne, with some other circumstances. So the Son, the *Word of God*, who in respect of his divine nature is invisible, is represented like a *lamb*, and like *the Son of Man*, from such adjuncts to his divine person as have once rendered him visible to mankind. In like manner, the Holy Spirit, who is invisible, is set forth by seven archangels collectively taken, as being his constant attendants, and consequently adjuncts, denoting his presence and efficacy. He is also represented by seven great torches or lights; because his visible appearance has been under the similitude of visible fires or lights which fell on the apostles.

4. *When a kingdom or empire is to be represented throughout its whole extent and duration, the entire picture of it is given as if all the parts were existing at the same time.* Thus, the great image in Daniel appears all of one piece, though the parts of it are found by the interpretation to have existed one after another. So the four great beasts came out of the sea, and seem to have been seen all at once, though in the explanation they are plainly successive.

5. *In bodies politic and continual, where there is found a collection of individuals of different denominations, that is said in general of the whole, which is true of the principal and greatest part. And when these bodies are considered from their beginning to their end, that may be said of them in general, which is true of them during the greatest part of their time, or when they were in their most flourishing state.* From whence it is reasonable to infer, that in the name or symbol, notice is chiefly taken of the *ἀρχή* or eminent point of things, which serves to give them their denominations. For as, in a picture, the principal part of the object, and that intended to excite in the spectator the greatest attention, is placed in the

fairest light, and its chief part the most exposed to view, the rest being by shadows insensibly withdrawn from the eye; so it is the way of the Revelation, in setting forth matters under one general extent and duration, to give the whole but one name to express it symbolically.

6. *When the things to be prophesied of are to be considered in several views, there is a change of the symbols.* The reason for this is, that the visions being represented by symbols which must bear a certain analogy to each other, and carry throughout a certain decorum, it is not possible that the same train of symbols should represent all the various circumstances of the church and its enemies; and therefore many symbols may be used to denote the same thing in different respects—what was before treated of succinctly, being enlarged upon and more fully demonstrated. The Book of Revelation is not written in the way of *annalists*, who, being obliged to reduce all matters to a chronological series, only relate briefly what happens every year, without enlarging upon the causes of the events, and omitting for the most part the consequences; but in the way of the more judicious historians, who endeavour to give a full account of every matter as they take it in hand, in order to make a complete system of the whole; interposing digressions, and then returning to the principal matters, by giving such hints and transitions as suffice to let us understand to what they belong, and how, as to point of time, they come in or end with the rest. Upon this account, there are frequent transitions, in which the prophet seems to cast the eyes of his inspired sight upon different objects, which being thus seen one after another, the particles expressive of them may seem to imply a posteriority in a matter which may be synchronical, and even may have its origin higher than that whose description preceded it in the account.

7. *The repetition of a prophecy, vision, or dream, signifies the certainty and speedy accomplishment of an event of more special concern and remarkable eminence.* Thus, in the explanation of Pharaoh's two dreams, at the same time, concerning the years of plenty and of famine, the latter is affirmed to be a confirmation of the former, to show the certainty of the event,—“for that the dream (says Joseph) was doubled unto Pharaoh twice, is because the thing is established by God, and God will bring it to pass,” Gen. xli. 32. Agreeably to this, Artemidorus makes the repetition of a dream to be the mark of an event of great moment; and among the heathen soothsayers it was a constant maxim, that an omen or symbol to the same purpose, prefigured the certainty of the event.

From this use of the repetition several passages in Scripture may be explained; as Job xl. 5. For the like reason, in the trial of jealousy (Numb. v. 22), the suspected wife is commanded to confirm the adjuration, by saying *Amen* TWICE; which is the usual form of our Saviour to confirm his doctrine; and is also conformable to the style of the Hebrew language, in which repetitions of the same word are marks of certainty; as Gen. ii. 17, “dying, thou shalt die,”—that is, thou shalt most certainly die;—and Exod. iii. 7, “seeing, I saw,” and the like. Indeed, such repetitions of an emphatic word are frequently employed for the purpose of expressing things of great concern.

8. *In all symbolical propositions, the persons of the substantive verb, as, “I am,” “thou art,” “is,” “are,” whether expressed or understood, are the copulatives showing the relation between the type and the antitype.* Thus, in Gen. xl. 12, “the three branches *are* three days;” instead of “the three branches *signify* three days.” So in our Saviour's parables, which are a species of symbolical description, we find the same style; as in Luke viii. 11, “The seed *is* the word of God.” *

9. *In symbolical rites, it is usual to ascribe an effect to the symbol by which it was represented; as if the symbol or type were the efficient cause.* Thus, Moses smote the waters of the Egyptian river, as if he gave a wound, to *turn them to blood*; and the waters were thereupon turned into blood. In like manner, a prophet, or interpreter of dreams, may be said to save and to kill, when he predicts the safety or death of any; as Joseph did of the chief butler and chief baker, in Gen. xli. 13; “Me,” says the butler, “he restored unto mine office, and him he hanged.” Thus, Artemidorus says, the symbol makes the party do or suffer what is signified by it. See Lev. xiii., *passim*; Matt. xviii. 18, &c.

10. *During the prophetic ecstasy, the actions and words of a prophet are symbolical, as is rightly observed by Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 37.* Thus, in 1 Kings xx. 37, one of the prophets commanding a man to smite him, the man refused. Now, this refusal was morally good, upon the supposition that the thing enjoined was not commanded by the Holy Spirit. But this being the case, it was an ill refusal, and the man upon that account was slain by a lion. The other man, who obeyed the commandment, by striking the prophet so that he wounded him, did well; because that action served to the intention of the prophet, whose stroke symbolically repre-

* See further examples, in CARPENTER'S “Examination of Scripture Difficulties,” pp. 301, 302.

sent, that Ahab should be so smitten; as the unbelief of the former, followed by his destruction, represented the unbelief of the king, who therefore should perish in the same manner. So Isaiah (chap. xx.) walked naked and barefooted, to represent, symbolically, the captivity of the Egyptians and Ethiopians, upon whom the Israelites trusted too much, instead of wholly confiding in God. The prophet Ezekiel (chap. iv.) is also commanded to do several things which would be absurd were they not symbolical. Hosea's marriage with a loose woman was literal, but the intent symbolical; the shame which accrued to the prophet by such an action, reflecting upon the Israelites, who were to be affected by the actions of their prophets; and therefore the actions themselves must be visible and real. In Acts x. Peter fell into an ecstasy, and had a vision to show him that God had set aside the distinction of meats, which separated the Jews from the Pagans; and under that notion to signify, farther, that the partition-wall betwixt Jews and Gentiles was now taken away, and that both should be equally received into the church; which vision was corroborated by the call of Cornelius, and the visible descent of the Holy Ghost. From the rule thus illustrated, we must infer that the actors in the Revelation being symbolical, the person of John himself, wherever he is in any way concerned in the action, must be also symbolical. He is not only the spectator commissioned by Christ to see the visions, but also the mediator, angel, or deputy, to transmit them to the church. He represents, therefore, his fellow-members of Christ's church, which are present, when the actions represented in the visions are actually performed.

IX. For the purpose of facilitating the study of symbols, Dr. Lancaster drew up, at the cost of great labour, "A Symbolical Alphabetical Dictionary," which he prefixed to his Abridgment of Daubuz's Commentary upon the Book of Revelation, and which has been deservedly held in very high repute. This work is now, however, exceedingly scarce, and when met with, fetches a high price. To the generality of students, therefore, it is not available, nor would a mere reprint of it be altogether acceptable. As the first work of the kind, it reflects great credit upon the author's research; but it is often unnecessarily diffuse, and is unfrequently inaccurate, while there is a great want of precision in distinguishing between *metaphors* and *symbols*. Mr. Horne has bestowed some labour on his "Index of Symbolical Language," in the fourth volume of his "Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures;" but it has most of the defects and redundancies of Lancaster (whom he has taken as his model), in

at least a fivefold degree. A great number of words are introduced, which have nothing to do with symbols, and can therefore only tend to distract the attention and bewilder the mind of the student. The best work we have seen is "A Key to the Symbolical Language of Scripture," by Thomas Wemyss (Edinburgh, 1835), in which the labours of preceding writers have been judiciously appropriated. The Vocabulary of Scripture Symbols, at the end of this volume, was first drawn up from careful examination and comparison of the Bible itself, and then received some additions from Lancaster's Dictionary, above mentioned. It may be found useful in the absence of a more elaborate work.

X. Intimately connected with the language of symbols, is that of *actions* or *signs*; whence it becomes necessary to submit a few remarks upon this topic also.

1. In the early ages of the world, language must have been extremely rude, narrow, and equivocal; so that men would be perpetually at a loss, as Bishop Warburton remarks, on any new conception, or uncommon accident, to explain themselves intelligibly to one another. This would necessarily induce them to supply the deficiencies of speech by apt and significant signs. Hence, mutual converse was upheld by a mixed discourse of words and actions; whence came the eastern phrase of *the voice of the sign*, Exod. iv. 8. But this custom, which originated in necessity, being improved into ornament, subsisted long after the necessity ceased, especially among the Orientals, whose natural temperament inclined them to a mode of conversation which so well exercised their vivacity by motion, and so much gratified it by a perpetual representation of material images.

2. Of this description of language, as well as of symbols, we have a great number of examples in the sacred writings. Thus, the false prophet pushed with horns of iron, to denote the entire overthrow of the Syrians, 1 Kings xxii. 11. Jeremiah, by God's direction, hid the linen girdle in the hole of a rock, near the Euphrates, Jer. xiii.; broke a potter's vessel in sight of the people, ch. xix.; put on bonds and yokes, ch. xxvii.; and cast a book into the Euphrates, ch. li. 63. Ezekiel, by the same appointment, delineated the siege of Jerusalem on a tile, Ezek. iv.; weighed the hair of his beard in balances, ch. v.; carried out his household stuff, ch. xii.; and joined together the two sticks for Judah and Israel, ch. xxxvii. 16—20. By these actions the prophets instructed the people in the will of God, and conversed with them in signs. But there is no real ground—leaving divine revelation out of

the question—there is no real ground for charging the prophets, in these symbolical actions, with absurd and fanatic conduct, as some pretenders to wisdom have done. The absurdity of an action consists, as Bishop Warburton remarks, in its being extravagant and insignificant; but use and a fixed application make the actions of the prophets both sober and pertinent: the fanaticism of an action consists in a fondness for unusual actions and foreign modes of speech; but the actions of the prophets were idiomatic and familiar.*

SECTION XII.

TYPES AND SECONDARY SENSES.

The Doctrine of Types—Fanciful Interpretations—Definition of a Type—Rules for Interpreting Types—The Secondary and Spiritual Sense of Scripture sanctioned by our Lord and his Apostles; its Extent—Analogical and Moral Application of Scripture.

I. THERE are few subjects falling within the province of biblical interpretation, that have afforded so much scope for the exercise of ingenuity, as the doctrine of types; and there are few mistakes which have been attended with worse consequences to the Christian church.

1. The word *type* frequently occurs in the New Testament, and under very different meanings. In its original and primary meaning, it properly signifies the mark or impression made by one thing upon another; and sometimes, in a more lax sense, that general likeness or resemblance which one thing may bear to another. See John xx. 25, Acts vii. 43, xxiii. 25. But the term is usually employed to denote a prefigurative action or occurrence, in which one event, person, or circumstance is intended to represent another, similar to it in certain respects, but future and distant.† And hence, because a lively and inventive imagination has discovered a very striking likeness between many of the persons, rites, and usages under the law, and those under the gospel, they have been held all to be types the one of the other. Under the notion that Christ and his church were prefigured by every thing under the law, the learned but fanciful Witsius has devoted a chapter of his work on the "Economy of the Covenants" to this subject, in which he distributes the types into three classes, natural, historical, and legal; and he urges it upon teachers, as an incumbent duty, to explain, by the same method that he has adopted, all the types of the Old Testament Scriptures. But upon what principle does he proceed in these interpretations? Let us

hear him: "When there is any thing in the antitype resembling the type, it is justly affirmed, that God, who knows all things from the beginning, ordered the type in such a manner, that it might signify beforehand that truth which was in the antitype: unless we would rather maintain, that the likeness of an ingenious picture to the original was rather the effect of chance than of the intention of the artist, which is contrary to all reason."‡ But what a specimen of reasoning is this! The point to be proved is the existence of types; and yet it is taken for granted, from the fancied resemblance which certain things and persons bore to one another, that they stood in the relation of correlates, and that, because we are pleased to make the one the antitype, the other must be the type.||

2. But these extravagances do not affect the doctrine itself, which is placed beyond dispute by the direct testimony of our Lord and his apostles. By their frequent allusions to the serpent, they show us how they understood the mystery of the first promise, and the bruising of his head, which in a merely literal sense so grossly sinks the majesty of a divine manifestation. They exhibit Abraham as a public *type* of the manner of man's justification before God, and tell us that he rescued Isaac from the dead in a figure (*εἰ παρὰ τὸν θάνατον*); that the holy places made with hands are the figures (*αὐτίματα*), the *antitypes*, of the true; that the exodus from Egypt, the effusion of water from the rock, and the stupendous history of the ancient church in the wilderness, teach us, as by so many "ensamples;" and that the sabbath adumbrates the eternal rest of the saints with God.§

3. The learned Outram has treated the subject of types in a very lucid and satisfactory manner, in his *Dissertations on Sacrifice*; but, as Bishop Marsh has expressed the substance of this writer's remarks with great perspicuity, and given additional illustrations, we prefer to make use of this learned writer's language.

(1) "To constitute one thing the *type* of another, as the term is generally understood in reference to Scripture, something *more* is wanted than mere *resemblance*. The former must not only *resemble* the latter, but must have been *designed* to resemble the latter. It must have been so designed in its *original institution*. It must have been designed as something *prepara-*

‡ *Œconom. Fœd.* vol. ii., p. 190.

|| See Shaw's *Philosophy of Judaism*, p. 199, *note*.

§ Professor Hahn, of Leipzig, has some judicious remarks on this topic, in his Tract on the Interpretation of the Scriptures, "Biblical Repository," Andover, vol. i., p. 133, &c.

* *Divine Legation*, book iv., sect. 4, § iii.

† Bishop Van Mildert's *Discourses*, p. 237.

lary to the latter. The type, as well as the antitype, must have been pre-ordained; and they must have been pre-ordained as constituent parts of the same general scheme of Divine Providence. It is this *previous design* and this *pre-ordained connexion* which constitute the relation of type and antitype. Where *these* qualities fail, where the *previous design* and the *pre-ordained connexion* are wanting, the relation between any two things, however similar in *themselves*, is not the relation of type to antitype. The *existence*, therefore, of that previous design and pre-ordained connexion must be clearly *established*, before we can have authority for pronouncing one thing the *type* of another. But we cannot establish the existence of that previous design and pre-ordained connexion, by arguing only from the *resemblance* of the things compared; for the qualities and circumstances attendant on one thing, may have a close resemblance with the qualities and circumstances attendant on *another* thing, and yet the things *themselves* may be devoid of all connexion.

(2) How, then, it may be asked, shall we obtain the proof required? By what means shall we determine, in any given instance, that that which is *alleged* as a type was really *designed* for a type? The only possible source of information on this subject is Scripture itself. The only *possible* means of knowing that two distant though similar historic facts were so connected in the general scheme of Divine Providence, that the one was *designed* to prefigure the other, is the authority of that work in which the scheme of Divine Providence is unfolded. Destitute of *that* authority, we may confound a resemblance *subsequently observed*, with a resemblance *pre-ordained*; we may mistake a comparison founded on a mere *accidental* parity of circumstances, for a comparison founded on a *necessary* and *inherent* connexion. There is no other rule, therefore, by which we can distinguish a *real* from a *pretended* type, than that of Scripture itself. There are no other *possible means* by which we can *know* that a previous design and a pre-ordained connexion *existed*. Whatever persons or things, therefore, recorded in the *Old Testament*, were expressly declared by Christ, or by his apostles, to have been *designed* as *prefigurations* of persons or things relating to the *New Testament*, such persons or things so recorded in the *former*, are *types* of the persons or things with which they are compared in the *latter*. But if we assert that a person or thing was *designed* to prefigure *another* person or thing, where no such prefiguration has been declared by *divine authority*, we make an assertion for which we neither *have* nor *can* have the slightest foundation. And even

when comparisons *are* instituted in the New Testament between antecedent and subsequent persons or things, we must be careful to distinguish the examples, where a comparison is instituted merely for the sake of *illustration*, from the examples where such a *connexion* is declared, as exists in the relation of a type to its antitype.*

4. It was remarked in the preceding section, that a type and a symbol differ from each other, as a genus and a species; and it is very necessary that this distinction should be strictly attended to, in the interpretation of Scripture. The term *symbol*, as Outram observes, is equally applicable to that which represents a thing past, or present, or future; whereas the object represented by a *type* is invariably future.† Thus, those institutions of Moses which had the nature of types, are called "a shadow of things to come" (Col. ii. 17); and those things which "happened unto the fathers for types," are said to have been "written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come," 1 Cor. x. 1—11. In the same sense, the Mosaic law, which abounded with numerous types, is declared to have had "a shadow of good things to come" (Heb. x. 1); and those things which, by the command of God, were formerly transacted in the tabernacle, are described as prefiguring what was afterwards to be done in the heavenly sanctuary, Heb. ix. 11, 12, 23, 24.‡

5. In the interpretation of types, as thus defined, it will be necessary to attend to the following circumstances, all of which are pointed out by Witsius and Outram.

(1) *The efficacy really possessed by the antitype, exists in the type only in appearance, or in a much lower degree.* For though a type often possesses some quality in common with its antitype, yet that quality is always considerably weaker in the type than in the antitype; as the death of those victims by which the Messiah's death was prefigured, had far less efficacy with God and men, than what belongs to the death of Christ. Hence the apostle says, "For the law, having a *shadow* of good things to come, and not the very image of

* Lectures on Criticism and Interpretation, Part II., lect. vi.

† Hence a type is virtually a *prediction* of its antitype. Mr. Horne has been guilty of a strange contradiction, in treating of types and the *typical sense* of Scripture. In his chapter on the interpretation of Types, he says, quoting from Outram: "Our definition of a type includes, also, that the object represented by it is *something future*," vol. ii. p. 650, 4th edit. In his chapter on the *sense of Scripture*, however (vol. ii. p. 495), he says, "The *typical sense* is, when, under external objects or prophetic visions, secret things, whether *present* or *future*, are represented!"

‡ The relation between Judaism and Christianity, by means of types, is discussed by Mr. Faber, *Hor. Mos.* book ii. sect. 2.

the things, can never, with those sacrifices which they offer year by year continually, make the comers thereunto perfect," Heb. x. 1. Here, as he uses the phrase, *the very image of the things*, to denote the things themselves, so he declares the Jewish sacrifices, which were types of the sacrifice of Christ, to have had only a *shadow* of that efficacy of which his sacrifice possesses the reality. And this was the reason why those sacrifices never perfectly purified the persons by whom they were offered; as is evident from the language of the same apostle, "For if the blood of bulls and goats, and the ashes of an heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God?" Heb. ix. 13, 14. The argument on which this inference proceeds, is, that the efficacy which was found only in a figure, or in a very small degree in the type, is possessed in reality, and in a far superior degree, in the antitype.*

(2) But, as was said, the type is sometimes destitute of the properties of the antitype, even in the lowest degree, and possesses only some quality which symbolizes or shadows them forth. Thus, the daily incense burned in the temple, which represented the prayers of the saints (Rev. v. 8; viii. 3, 4), possessed no real quality in common with prayers. For its sweet odour, though sufficiently adapted to indicate how acceptable all pious prayers were to God, was not a quality of the same kind as that which it represented in those prayers. So, also, the brazen serpent, which healed all who fixed their eyes upon it, and which was typical of the Saviour of the world, possessed no efficacy in itself, and had no property in common with that divine person "in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily."

(3) *The analogy between the type and the antitype must not be pushed beyond the point to which revelation has extended it.* "Thus, because we find Paul, by a singular usage, perhaps, of the word *τύπος*, expressing that connexion and contrast which existed between the first and the second Adam, and his illustration of the subject, amounting strictly to this, that 'as in' (the one) 'Adam all die, so in (the one) 'Christ shall all be made alive'; are we, therefore, authorized to pursue this same idea of relation through all the circumstances of our first parents' creation and fall? To advance, that as Eve was drawn forth from the side of Adam, so from the wounded side of our Redeemer

was drawn his mystic consort, the church of the faithful? That as Adam *was made on the sixth day*, and did eat the fruit *at the sixth hour*, so our Lord was crucified on the same day, and at the same hour? That as Adam's soul was in spiritual darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour, so the earth was covered by the material darkness which succeeded our Lord's death, for the same space of time? That David, in his kingly power and character, typified the future king of the spiritual Israel; that in the sufferings and sorrows which caused him so repeatedly and pathetically to pour out his soul before God, he bore, however faintly and imperfectly, the figure of him who for us suffered as no man ever has or could, we readily grant; and though, in this case, we may not be able to assent to all that is proposed even by a Horne or a Horsley, yet by denying this typical character of the royal Psalmist, we incur the danger, at least, of sacrificing to the excessive and ungrounded indulgence of critical refinement, means of personal edification and advancement in the love of Christ, which no man may despise or overlook with safety. But are these feelings enhanced or enlivened—are we not rather disposed to suspect and doubt the grounds on which we have hitherto cherished them—when it is urged to us by our fathers in this blessed faith and hope of the Christian, that the voice and harp of David, expelling the evil spirit of Saul, prefigured the authority with which our Lord commanded the evil spirits, and they obeyed him; that the rescue of David's two wives from the hands of the Amalekites, prefigured the rescue of the spiritual sisters, Israel and Judah, both the daughters of one mother, the heavenly Jerusalem? It were easy to occupy a much longer time with instances which show abundantly the necessity and wisdom of restricting in general our exposition of scriptural types to those express points in which the Scripture itself authorizes us to consider them as typical, or which immediately flow from the nature of the relation or character which we are taught to regard as constituting the analogy between the type and its antitype? Thus we readily grant that Aaron, as the appointed high-priest of JEHOVAH, was a real and intelligible type of Him who is made for us a High-priest for ever; and that the sacrifices which he offered were typical. Admitting this, we can see no absurdity in admitting also, that when, in his sacerdotal character, he stood between the living and the dead, and stayed the plague from Israel, he exhibited the prefiguration and symbol of a still higher deliverance. And there are types, it may be added, of so general and extensive a character, as to admit, by the fairest deductions of criticism, the application of much that is said

* This subject is ably treated in Dr. J. P. Smith's *Discourses on the Sacrifice and Priesthood of Christ*, Disc. I.

concerning them, to the known character and features of their established antitype. This appears to be especially the case with respect to the sacrifices of the Mosaic ritual, and the analogy existing between the typical and the spiritual Israel; an analogy which must be regarded as intentionally and largely adumbrated in all the prophetic writings.*

(4) Another thing to be noticed is, that a *variation sometimes takes place in the signification of the type*. That is, the same person or thing is occasionally typical of different persons or things, in different respects. So Isaac, when virtually sacrificed by Abraham, was a type of Christ; but when he was rescued from the sacrificial knife, and the ram offered in his stead, the figure was changed; the ram representing Christ, who was delivered up to death; and Isaac, the church, which was redeemed by the death of Christ.

(5) The last thing to be noticed is, that the *type is superseded, or wholly removed from its place, by the antitype*. This results from the very nature of the things, the one being the *shadow*, the other the *substance*; the one the *figure*, the other the *truth*: and, as Jerome has remarked, "the shadow ceased on the coming of the substance;" and "where the truth is present, there is no need of the figure."†

(6) If these things be carefully attended to, the doctrine of types will appear much more determinate, and less liable to abuse, than at present; as well as by far more worthy a place in the volume of revelation.

II. Very nearly allied to the interpretation of symbols and types, is the *spiritual or mystical sense* of Scripture; with a few suggestions on which, the present section may be closed.

1. On this, as on most other subjects, involving any difficulty, the extremes to which some persons have gone, and the extravagancies of which they have been guilty, have created in others so strong a distaste for the doctrine, that their efforts, it is to be feared, are almost exclusively directed to obtain a correct acquaintance with the mere letter of Scripture; in which should they terminate, it will have been to them altogether dead and useless.

2. That the Old Testament Scriptures sometimes possessed, in addition to their literal and obvious meaning, a secondary or spiritual sense, is evident from those Scriptures themselves. Thus David prayed that God would open his eyes, that

he might behold wondrous things out of his law (Psalm cxix. 18); and in Psalm lxxviii. he has himself shown that the whole history of Israel, from the time when they left Egypt, to his own days, had a parabolic or mystical meaning. But this has been placed beyond dispute, by the interpretations which our Lord and his apostles have given of those divinely inspired writings. They show us how they understood the promises to Adam and Abraham; that Mount Sinai and Jerusalem are both to be *allegorized*; and with respect to prophecies, that several occurrences and sayings in the Old Testament, which in the letter appear not to refer to any thing beyond the occasion, were fulfilled, as actually prophetic, by the events of the life, death, and resurrection of our Redeemer. These, and other instances, no just criticism can ever so explain as to make them consistent with a total denial of the spiritual and evangelical sense of many parts of the Old Testament. Nor can it be denied or questioned, as Mr. Conybeare has ably argued, that even in the records of the new covenant, the things which concern the renewal of the inner man, and the salvation of the believer, are in more than one case shadowed out to us under types and analogies, which, if we accept the testimony of those records, we are not only authorized but bound to understand and to apply spiritually. To pass over much of that part of our Lord's teaching which was confessedly *in parables*, if we allow that there be any spiritual grace connected with the right usage and reception of the Christian sacraments, we must admit their outward elements to be the certain and pre-ordained symbols of that grace, and of the means whereby it is conveyed to us: we must (be it spoken with reverence and faith) admit the material body and blood of our glorious Redeemer himself to be typical of that spiritual food whereby the inward life of the believer's soul—that life which, as we are expressly told, "is hidden with Christ in God"—is produced and supported. When the apostle urges, that as our Saviour died and rose again for us, so should we, who are buried with him in baptism, die unto sin and rise again unto righteousness; when he expressly exhorts the believers as "those who are risen with Christ;" we cannot deny that he sees in the history of thus much at least in his Master's life, a spiritual as well as a literal import. The luxuriance of human ingenuity may, indeed, as it has often done, push its imitation of these mysterious analogies much too far; the pride of scepticism may refuse to be taught at all after this manner, and its votary may question the inspiration of those Scriptures which would thus teach him; but neither the abuses of the one, nor the perverse-

* Conybeare's Bampton Lectures, pp. 305—310.

† Witness on the Covenants, book iv. chap. 6; Outram on Sacrifices, Dissert. i. ch. 18.

ness of the other, can invalidate the truth of the general position, that the New Testament does not only assert the secondary and spiritual meaning of much that is contained in the Old, but authorizes and strengthens the legitimacy of such interpretation, by affixing the like sense to portions also of its own contents.*

3. "The extent to which subsequent writers of doctrinal and practical theology have considered themselves at liberty to pursue the same track, is generally known," says the same writer, "to have varied very considerably, according to their age, school, genius, and other local or personal circumstances. On the one hand, allegorical or spiritual meanings have been attached, not only to those passages of Moses and the prophets which our Lord and his disciples expressly refer to as typical or prophetic of the person and office of the Messiah, and the economy of his covenant, but to every part, whether historical or preceptive, of the Old Testament, and to much even of the New. It has been contended virtually, if not in so many words, that whatsoever meaning of this nature the ingenuity or piety of the expositor might affix to any given passage of Scripture, was in reality the sense of that passage, the express intention of him who gave it, and that in this mode of exposition and application alone was to be found the 'spirit which giveth life,' the 'wisdom which maketh wise unto salvation.'

4. "On the other hand, many divines, even among those justly entitled to our respect and gratitude, fearful, perhaps, of the evils which might be supposed to result, both to those within and those without, from the admission of a principle of interpretation so lax and variable, have kept, with a prudence bordering somewhat too much upon coldness and timidity, what they esteemed the safer path; while of later years a school has arisen, happily not in our own church or country, but yet a school which possibly may not be without its share of influence upon our theological students, openly and professedly discarding as irrational and uncritical, all spiritual and allegorical interpretations whatsoever, and including in one sweeping and indiscriminate censure, the human expositions of Origen and Augustine, of Cocceius and Vitringa, and the inspired parallelisms of the Epistle to the Hebrews."†

5. It becomes, therefore, a matter of grave importance to ascertain the extent to which the mys-

tical or spiritual sense of Scripture prevails; but upon this point those who admit the general principle are far from being agreed. A writer of high respectability in the Swedenborgian school of divinity, contends that the principle is of universal application, and that there is no part of the Bible, whatever may be the subject on which it treats, that is not invested with a secondary and spiritual meaning.

6. Mr. Conybeare, on the other hand, who is the most strenuous and successful advocate of the secondary sense of Scripture which modern times have produced, contends that it is only of limited application; at least, that the utmost extent to which we can consider any secondary or spiritual sense as having a character strictly argumentative, is that for which we have the direct authority of our Lord and his apostles.‡ This is certainly the more sober and also the safer view of the subject, while it leaves open to us, in the way of *illustration* and *moral use*, the whole contents of the Bible. While we cautiously avoid multiplying the senses of Scripture, where we have neither express nor implied authority for so doing, there is no reason why we should run into the opposite extreme, and fail to draw those inferences and make those moral applications which the nature of the book warrants us to do, and which we cannot neglect to do without sustaining considerable loss.

7. In making these improvements and applications of scriptural subjects, the same sobriety of judgment and purity of taste must be exercised as in every other branch of interpretation. Remote and far-fetched analogies should be carefully avoided, as such a practice vitiates the religious taste, and produces a morbid longing for ingenious explications, mystical meanings, and forced resemblances; while it creates a strong disrelish for the pure milk of the word. In the interpretation of parables and allegories, especially, this suggestion should be attended to, because there is here, perhaps, a stronger temptation to give rein to the imagination than elsewhere. The general design of the composition should be ascertained, which it usually may be, from the context, and then the particular parts should each be referred to this.§ Professor Stuart has laid it down as

‡ Mr. Noble: The Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures Asserted, 8vo. Lond., 1825.

|| Bampton Lectures, p. 322.

§ It is gratifying to find that this sentiment was maintained by the celebrated Jewish writer, Maimonides, who says, that "in explaining the Scriptures, and especially the parables, the general scope and intention of the writer is to be regarded, and not every word and syllable of the parable." He adds, "Should the expositor act contrary to this, he will lose his time in endeavouring to explain what is inexplicable, or make the author say many things he never intended. More Nev. in Pref."

* Conybeare's Bampton Lectures, pp. 82, 83. Pareau wholly denies this doctrine, but we do not think that his reasoning is at all conclusive. See his "Principles of Interpretation," Part II., sect. i.

† Conybeare's Bampton Lectures, pp. 4-7.

one of the most important principles in explaining allegories, that *comparison is not to be extended to all the circumstances of the allegory*; and had this rule been generally attended to by expositors, many of the extravagances that have been put forward as interpretations of Scripture, would have been withheld. Thus, "in the parable of the good Samaritan, the point to be illustrated is *the extent of the duty of beneficence*. Most of the circumstances in the parable go to make up merely the verisimilitude of the narration, so that it may give pleasure to him who hears or reads it. But how differently does the whole appear when it comes to be interpreted by an allegorizer of the mystic school? The man going down from Jerusalem to Jericho, is Adam wandering in the wilderness of this world; the thieves who robbed and wounded him, are evil spirits; the priest who passed by on the one side without relieving him, is the Levitical law; the Levite, is good works; the good Samaritan, is Christ; and the oil and wine, are grace." What may not a parable be made to mean, asks the Professor, if imagination

is to supply the place of reasoning and philology? And what riddle or oracle of Delphos could be more equivocal, or of more multifarious significance, than the Bible, if such exegesis be admissible? "It is a miserable excuse which interpreters make for themselves," says the same writer, "that they render the Scriptures more edifying and significant by interpreting them according to the mystic school. Are the Scriptures, then, to be made more *significant* than God has made them; or to be mended by the skill of the interpreter, so as to become *more edifying* than the Holy Spirit has made them? If there be a *semblance* of piety in such interpretations, a *semblance* is all. Real piety and humility appear to the best advantage, in receiving the Scriptures as they are, and expounding them as simply and as skilfully as the rules of language will render practicable, rather than by attempting to *amend* and *improve* the revelation which God has made."*

* Elements of Interpretation, pp. 116, 117.

PART II.

BIBLICAL BOOKS.

WE have already spoken of the value of that description of information which it is intended to comprise in this part of our work ; viz., that relative to the authors, times of publication, immediate object, historical connexion, and other circumstances pertaining to the several books composing the sacred volume. It is not necessary,

therefore, that we should enlarge upon it here. Presuming that our readers understand something of the aid which an interpreter may derive from this source, we shall at once proceed to notice the several biblical books, and the particular circumstances relating to them.*

CHAPTER I.

OF THE PENTATEUCH.

1. THE books comprised under this title are mentioned in several parts of Scripture as "the Law," and "the Law of Moses:" they are cited as the indisputable works of Moses, and have been received as such, by every sect of the Jewish and Christian churches. Immediately after their composition, they were deposited in the tabernacle, and thence transferred to the temple, where they were preserved with the most vigilant care. The Pentateuch was read every sabbath-day in the synagogues, and again publicly and solemnly every seventh year. The prince was obliged to copy it ; and the people were commanded to teach it to their children, and to wear it "as signs on their hands, and frontlets between their eyes." By the special providence of God a sufficient number of these books was always preserved ; and the high veneration with which the Jews regarded every letter, called forth numerous guardians to watch over its purity, and preserve its integrity.† The Pentateuch furnishes us with a compendious history of the world, from the creation till the arrival of the Israelites on the verge of Canaan—a period of

above 2,553 years, according to the vulgar computation ; or of 3,765 years, according to the chronology of Dr. Hales.‡ It blends revelation and history together, furnishes laws and describes their execution, exhibits prophecies and relates their accomplishment. Some of the principal details of the Pentateuch are confirmed by pagan tradition, and the earliest uninspired historical records which exist, can only be rendered intelligible by the superior and more consistent histories of Moses.||

2. The duty of studying these venerable records of antiquity results from their forming part of the revealed will of God, and from the circumstance that many of the events recorded in them adumbrate others under the Christian dispensation. "All these things happened unto them for ensamples [or types], and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come," 1 Cor. x. 11.

‡ For a tabular exhibition of the chronology of the Pentateuch, the reader may refer to Dr. Clarke's Commentary, Vol. I. *ad fin.*

|| After all the vaunting of infidels respecting the high antiquity of the Hindoo Chronology, the fact appears to be, that the records of the Hindoos go to confirm the truth of the Mosaic writings. In a work on the "Hindoo Astronomy," by Mr. Bentley, of Calcutta, it is shown that, according to the Hindoo system of Chronology, the creation took place in the very year of the Mosaic Deluge !

* Some remarks upon the division and arrangement of the biblical books have been offered in Part I., chap. ii., sect. 7.

† The reader will find a variety of interesting information relative to the Masora, and also some good remarks on the authenticity of the Pentateuch, in Butler's "Horæ Biblicæ."

A GENERAL VIEW OF ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE LAW, AND OF THE PROPHETS, *As read in the different Jewish Synagogues, for every Sabbath of the Year.**

PARESHIOTH, or sections of the Law.

HAPHTAROTH, or sections of the Prophets.

Portuguese and Italian Jews. German and Dutch Jews.

GENESIS.

Sac. i. בִּרְשִׁית Bereshith,	i. 1 to vi. 8.....	Isal. xlii. 5—21.....	Isal. xlii. 5—25; xliii. 10.
ii. לֶלֶךְ Lech lecha,	vi. 9 to xi. 32.....	Isal. liv. 1—10.....	Isal. liv. 1—17; lv. 1—5.
iii. לֶלֶךְ Lech lecha,	xii. 1 to xvii. 27.....	Isal. xl. 27—31; xli. 1—16.....	Ditto.
iv. וַיָּרָא Vayera,	xviii. 1 to xxii. 24.....	2 Kings iv. 1—23.....	2 Kings iv. 1—37.
v. חַיֵּי שָׂרָה Chaiyey Sarah,	xxiii. 1 to xxv. 18.....	1 Kings i. 1—31.....	Ditto.
vi. תּוֹלֶדֶת Toledoth,	xxv. 19 to xxviii. 9.....	Mal. i. 1—14; ii. 1—7.....	Ditto.
vii. וַיֵּצֵא Vayetze,	xxviii. 10 to xxxii. 3.....	Hos. xi. 7—12; xli. 1—11.....	Ditto.
viii. וַיַּלְשָׁח Vayilshach,	xxxii. 4 to xxxvi. 43.....	Obad. i. 1—21.....	Hos. xii. 12—14; xlii. 1—16.
ix. וַיֵּשֶׁב Vayesheb,	xxxvii. 1 to xl. 23.....	Amos ii. 1—16; iii. 1—8.....	Ditto.
x. מִקְנֵי Mikket,	xl. 1 to xlv. 17.....	1 Kings iii. 15—28; iv. 1.....	Ditto.
xi. וַיִּגְשָׁא Vayigsaah,	xlv. 18 to xlvii. 27.....	Ezek. xxxvii. 15—28.....	Ditto.
xii. וַיַּעֲכֵי Vayechi,	xlvii. 28 to i. 26.....	1 Kings ii. 1—12.....	Ditto.

EXODUS.

xiii. שְׁמוֹת Shemoth,	i. 1 to vi. 1.....	Jer. i. 1—19; ii. 1—3.....	Isal. xxvii. 6 to xxix. 23.
xiv. וַאֲרָא Vaera,	vi. 2 to ix. 35.....	Ezek. xxviii. 25 to xxix. 21.....	Ditto.
xv. בֹּא אֶל פָּרוֹחַ Bo el Paroh,	x. 1 to xlii. 16.....	Jer. xli. 13—28.....	Ditto.
xvi. בִּשְׁלַח Beshallach,	xlii. 17 to xlvii. 16.....	Judg. v. 1—31.....	Judg. iv. 4 to v. 1—31.
xvii. יִתְרוֹ Yithro,	xlviii. 1 to xx. 26.....	Isal. vi. 1—13.....	Isal. vi. 1—13; vii. 1—6; ix. 6, 7.
xviii. מִשְׁפַּטִּים Mishpatim,	xxi. 1 to xlv. 18.....	Jer. xxxiv. 8—22 & xxxlii. 25, 26.....	Ditto.
xix. תְּרֻמָּה Terumah,	xxv. 1 to xxvii. 19.....	1 Kings v. 12—18; vi. 1—13.....	Ditto.
xx. תִּצְטָוֶה Tetsaveh,	xxvii. 20 to xxx. 10.....	Ezek. xliii. 10—27.....	Ditto.
xxi. כִּי תִשָּׂא Ki thissa,	xxx. 11 to xxxiv. 35.....	1 Kings xviii. 20—39.....	1 Kings xviii. 1—39.
xxii. וַיַּקְהֵל Vayakhel,	xxxv. 1 to xxxviii. 20.....	1 Kings vii. 13—26.....	1 Kings vii. 40—50.
xxiii. פְּקֻדֵי Pekudey,	xxxviii. 21 to xl. 38.....	1 Kings vii. 40—50.....	1 Kings vii. 51; viii. 1—21.

LEVITICUS.

xiv. וַיִּקְרָא Vayikra,	i. 1 to vi. 7.....	Isal. xliii. 21—28; xlv. 1—25.....	Ditto.
xv. וַיִּקְרָא Vayikra Tsav,	vi. 8 to viii. 36.....	Jer. vii. 21—34; viii. 1—3; ix. 23, 24.....	Ditto.
xvi. שְׁמִינִי Shemini,	ix. 1 to xl. 47.....	2 Sam. vi. 1—19.....	2 Sam. vi. 1—23; vii. 1—17.
xvii. תַּזְרִיעַ Tazria,	xii. 1 to xlii. 59.....	2 Kings iv. 42—44; v. 1—19.....	Ditto.
xviii. מִצְרַע Metsora,	xiv. 1 to xv. 33.....	2 Kings vii. 3—20.....	Ditto.
xix. אַחֲרֵי מוֹת Acharey Moth,	xvi. 1 to xviii. 30.....	Amos ix. 7—15.....	Ezek. xxii. 1—19.
xx. קְדוֹשִׁים Kedoshim,	xix. 1 to xx. 27.....	Ezek. xx. 2—20.....	Amos ix. 7—15.
xxi. עֵמֹר Emor,	xxi. 1 to xxiv. 23.....	Ezek. xli. 15—31.....	Ditto.
xxii. בְּהַר סִינַי Behar Sinai,	xxv. 1 to xxvi. 2.....	Jer. xxxii. 6—27.....	Ditto.
xxiii. בְּחֻקֵּי Bechukkothal,	xxvi. 3 to xxvii. 34.....	Jer. xvi. 19—21; xvii. 1—14.....	Ditto.

NUMBERS.

xiv. בְּמִדְבָּר Bemidbar,	i. 1 to iv. 20.....	Hos. i. 10, 11; ii. 1—20.....	Ditto.
xv. נָסֹא Naso,	vi. 21 to vii. 89.....	Judg. xlii. 2—25.....	Ditto.
xvi. בְּהַאֲלוֹתֶיחָ Behaalothcha,	viii. 1 to xii. 16.....	Zech. ii. 10—13; iii. 1—13; iv. 1—7.....	Ditto.
xvii. שֶׁלַח Shelach,	xiii. 1 to xv. 41.....	Josh. ii. 1—24.....	Ditto.
xviii. קִרַּח Korach,	xvi. 1 to xviii. 32.....	1 Sam. xi. 14, 15; xii. 1—22.....	Ditto.
xix. חֻקֵּי Chukoth,	xix. 1 to xxii. 1.....	Judg. xi. 1—33.....	Ditto.
xx. בָּלָק Balak,	xxii. 2 to xxv. 9.....	Micah v. 7—15; vi. 1—8.....	Ditto.
xxi. פִּנְחָס Pinehas,	xxv. 10 to xxx. 1.....	1 Kings xx. 46; xli. 1—31.....	Ditto.
xxii. מַטֹּת Mattoth,	xxx. 2 to xxxii. 42.....	Jer. i. 1—19; ii. 1—3.....	Ditto.
xxiii. מַסֵּעַ Masey,	xxxiii. 1 to xxxvi. 13.....	Jer. ii. 4—28; iv. 1, 2.....	Jer. ii. 4—28; iii. 4.

DEUTERONOMY.

xlv. דְּבָרִים Debarim,	i. 1 to iii. 22.....	Isal. i. 1—27.....	Ditto.
xlv. וַאֲתַחֲנָן Vaethannan,	iii. 23 to vii. 11.....	xl. 1—26.....	Ditto.
xlv. עֵקֶב Ekev,	vii. 12 to xi. 25.....	xlii. 14—26; i. 1—3.....	Ditto.
xlv. רֵאָה Reeh,	xi. 26 to xvi. 17.....	lv. 11—17; lv. 1—5.....	Ditto.
xlv. שֹׁפְטִים Shophetim,	xvi. 18 to xxi. 9.....	ii. 12—23; iii. 1—12.....	Ditto.
xlv. תֵּצֵא Tetsa,	xxi. 10 to xxv. 19.....	lv. 1—10.....	Ditto.
i. תָּבוֹא Tabo,	xxvi. 1 to xlix. 8.....	ix. 1—22.....	Ditto.
ii. נִתְּנָבִים Nitnabim,	xxix. 9 to xxx. 20.....	lxi. 10, 11; lxii. 1—12; lxiii. 1—9.....	Ditto.
iii. וַיֵּלֶךְ Vayelech,	xxxi. 1 to xxxi. 30.....	Hos. xiv. 1—9; Micah vii. 18—20.....	Isal. iv. 6—13; lvi. 1—8.
iiii. חַזְקִינוּ Haazinu,	xxxii. 1 to xxxii. 52.....	2 Sam. xxii. 1—51. Some say.....	Hos. xiv. 1—9; Joel ii. 1—27.
		Ezek. xvii. 22—24; xlvii. 1—32.....	
v. חֲבֵרָה Vezoth Habberachab,	xxxiii. 1 to xxxiv. 12.....	Josh. i. 1—18; Eccles. i.—xii. inclusive.....	Ditto.

In the above chapters and verses I have, in general, followed the divisions in the best Masoretic Bibles, from which our common English Bibles will in some cases be found to differ a little.

In the synagogues the law is read entirely through in the fifty sabbaths of their lunar year; for they join certain sections together, which are noticed at the end of the tables. But in their *intercalated* years, in which they add a month, they have then *fifty-four* sabbaths, and this is one reason why we find *fifty-four* *Pareshahs*, and *fifty-four* *Haphtarash*, instead of *fifty-two*. See the concluding tables.

It has already been observed that when *Antiochus Epiphanes* conquered the Jews about the year 168 before the Christian Era, he forbade the law to be publicly read in the synagogues, on pain of death. The Jews, that they might not be wholly deprived of the word of God, selected from other parts of the sacred writings *fifty-four* portions, which were termed *Haphtarash*, חֲפָטָרוֹת *haphtaroth*, from חָפַר *chaphar*, he dismissed, let loose, opened—for though the Law was dismissed from their synagogues, and was closed to them by the edict of this persecuting king, yet the *prophetic writings*, not being under the *interdict*, were left open, and therefore they used them in place of the

others. It was from this custom of the Jews, that the primitive Christians adopted theirs of reading a lesson every sabbath out of the Old and New Testaments; and on this custom, the practice of the church in our own country, in reading certain portions of the *epistles* and *gospels* every Sunday in the year was founded.

As a proper knowledge of these *Haphtarash* or *prophetic sections* may sometimes help to fix the *chronology* of some events in the New Testament, it hath been deemed proper to give a table of them in connexion with the *Pareshah* or *sections of the law*, in the place of which they were originally read; and with which, ever since the days of the *Amoneans* or *Maccabees*, they continue to be read in the various synagogues belonging to the *English, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, and German* Jews.

From the above tables the reader will perceive that though the Jew are agreed in the sections of the law that are read every sabbath, yet they are not agreed in the *Haphtarash* or sections from the *prophets*; it appears above, that the *Dutch and German* Jews differ in seven cases from the *Italian and Portuguese*; and there are some slight variations besides those above, which I have not noticed.

SECTION I.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

1. THIS book is so named from its title in the Septuagint (ΒΙΒΛΙΟΣ ΓΕΝΕΣΕΩΣ), *the book of the GENERATION or PRODUCTION* of all things.. Moses is universally considered to have been its author; and it is believed that he wrote it after the promulgation of the law. Its authenticity is attested by the most indisputable evidence, and it is cited as an inspired record thirty-three times in the course of the Scriptures. Its history comprises a period of about 2,369 years, according to the lowest computation; but according to Dr. Hales, a much longer period.* It contains an account of the creation (chap. i., ii.); the primeval state and fall of man (chap. iii.); the history of Adam and his descendants, with the progress of religion and the origin of the arts (chap. iv.); the genealogies, age, and death of the patriarchs, until Noah (chap. v.); the general defection and corruption of mankind, the general deluge, and preservation of Noah and his family in the ark (chap. viii.); the history of Noah and his family subsequent to the time of the deluge (chap. ix.); the re-peopling and division of the earth among the sons of Noah (chap. x.); the building of Babel, the confusion of tongues, and the dispersion of mankind (chap. xi.); the lives of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, chap. xii.—1.

2. "It may be asked how a detail so circumstantial and minute could have been preserved when there was no *writing* of any kind, and when the earth, whose history is here given, had already existed more than 2000 years. To this inquiry a very satisfactory answer may be given. There are only *three* ways in which these important records could have been preserved and brought down to the time of Moses: viz., *writing*, *tradition*, and *divine revelation*. In the antediluvian world, when the life of man was so protracted, there was comparatively little need for *writing* of any kind, and perhaps no alphabetical writing then existed. *Tradition* answered every purpose to which writing in any kind of characters could be subservient; and the necessity of erecting *monuments* to perpetuate public events could scarcely have suggested itself, as during those times there could be little danger apprehended of any important fact becoming obsolete, as its history had to pass through very few hands, and all these *friends* and *relatives* in the most proper sense of the terms; for they lived in

an insulated state under a patriarchal government. Thus it was easy for Moses to be satisfied of the truth of all he relates in the Book of *Genesis*, as the accounts came to him through the medium of very few persons. From *Adam* to *Noah* there was but *one man* necessary to the correct transmission of the history of this period of 1656 years. Now this history was, without doubt, perfectly known to Methuselah, who lived to see them both. In like manner *Shem* connected *Noah* and *Abraham*, having lived to converse with both; as *Isaac* did with *Abraham* and *Joseph*, from whom these things might be easily conveyed to *Moses* by *Amram*, who was contemporary with *Joseph*. Supposing, then, all the curious facts recorded in the Book of *Genesis* had no other authority than the *tradition* already referred to, they would stand upon a foundation of credibility *superior* to any that the most reputable of the ancient Greek and Latin historians can boast. Yet, to preclude all possibility of mistake, the unerring Spirit of God directed Moses in the selection of his *facts* and the ascertaining of his *dates*. Indeed, the narrative is so simple, so much like truth, so consistent every where with itself, so correct in its dates, so impartial in its biography, so accurate in its philosophical details, so pure in its morality, and so benevolent in its design, as amply to demonstrate that it never could have had an *earthly* origin. In this case, also, Moses constructed every thing according to the pattern which God showed him in the mount." †

SECTION II.

THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

1. THE title of this book is descriptive of the principal event which it records; namely, the EXODUS, or departure of the Jews from Egypt. It is universally ascribed to Moses, and is cited as his work by David, Daniel, and others of the sacred writers. Rivet has remarked, that twenty-five passages are quoted from it by Christ and his apostles in express words, and nineteen as to the sense. Exodus embraces the history of about 145 years, from A. M. 2369 to A. M. 2514 inclusive;—from the death of Joseph to the erection of the tabernacle. It contains an account of the tyranny exercised by Pharaoh over the Israelites, with their wonderful increase (chap. i.); the birth, preservation, education, and exile of Moses (chap. ii.); his divine legation (chap. iii., iv.); the infliction of the eight first plagues (chap. iv. 29—

* Dr. A. Clarke has given the chronology of this book at the close of his commentary upon it.

† Dr. A. Clarke's Preface to the Book of Genesis.

x. 21); the institution of the passover (chap. xii. 1—21); the two last plagues (chap. x. 21—xii. 21—31); the departure of the Israelites (chap. xii. 31—37, 40—42); their miraculous passage of the Red Sea, &c. (chap. xii. 43—xv. 22); their subsequent journeyings in the wilderness (chap. xv. 23—xix. 2); the promulgation of the law from Sinai, the defection of the Israelites, the renewal of the tables, and the erection of the tabernacle, chap. xix. 3—xl.

2. It should be remarked, that many events recorded in this book adumbrate the state of the church in the wilderness of this world, until her arrival at the promised Canaan—the eternal rest.* See 1 Cor. x. 1, &c. This idea will help to point out the consistency of the divine purpose, and the harmony subsisting between the old and the new dispensations, with an eye to which the Bible should ever be read. In this book are also presented several types of the Messiah; such as *Moses*, Deut. xviii. 15; *Aaron*, Heb. iv. 14—16, v. 4, 5; the *paschal lamb*, Exod. xii.; John xix. 36; the *manna*, Exod. xvi. 15; 1 Cor. x. 3; the *rock* in Horeb, Exod. xvii. 6; 1 Cor. x. 4; and the *mercy-seat*, Exod. xxxvii. 6; Rom. iii. 25; Heb. iv. 16.

SECTION III.

THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

1. THIS book is thought to have taken its name from detailing the institution of the sacrifices and services, the charge of which was committed to the Levitical priesthood. It is cited as the work of Moses in 2 Chron. xxx. 16; Dan. ix. 13; and as an inspired writing in Jer. vii. 22, 23; 2 Cor. vi. 16; 1 Pet. i. 16. There are no *data* furnished in the book by which a chronological arrangement of the facts narrated in it can be effected. It contains an account of the laws concerning sacrifices and offerings (chap. i.—vii.); of the institution of the priesthood (chap. viii.—x.); of clean and unclean animals, &c. (chap. xi.); of the laws concerning purification (chap. xii.—xv.); of the great day of atonement (chap. xvi.); the place of offering sacrifices, things prohibited, marriage, and various acts of impurity; the sin of consecrating children to Moloch, consulting wizards, &c. (chap. xvii.—xx.); laws relative to the conduct and persons of the priests (chap. xxi., xxii.); laws concerning the sacred festivals, vows, things devoted, and tithes, chap. xxiii.—xxvii.

2. The style in which the rites and ceremonies described in this book are given, and the manner in which their minute particulars are so often repeated, show that they were expressive of something beyond the mere letter, and were figurative of gospel appointments. The sacrifices and oblations were significant of the atonement of Christ; their requisite qualities were emblematical of his immaculate character; and the prescribed mode in their form, and the mystical rites ordained, were allusive institutions,† calculated to enlighten the apprehensions of the Jews, and to prepare them for the reception of the gospel. The institution of the high-priesthood typified Jesus the great High-priest. The prohibition of meats as unclean, taught the avoidance of what God prohibits; and the various kinds of uncleanness, with their prescribed expiations, illustrated the necessity and importance of internal purity and holiness. Care, however, must be taken not to overstrain these ideas, nor to run into excess in the mode of interpreting the ritual law; for although it is certain that a great number of its most important institutions were designed to point to another and a fuller dispensation, there were, nevertheless, some imposed only as punishments on a rebellious people, and as a yoke to restrain them from idolatry; and others, as a mark to discriminate and keep them apart from all other nations.‡ The book of Leviticus and the Epistle to the Hebrews should be read together, as they mutually illustrate each other.

SECTION IV.

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

1. THIS book is so called because it contains an account of the numbering and marshalling of the Israelites, in their journey through the wilderness to the promised land. It seems from chap. xxxvi. 13, that it was penned by Moses in the plains of Moab. But, however this may be, it is certain it was written under divine inspiration, it being cited as an inspired work in various parts of Scripture. See 2 Chron. xxix. 11; Ezek. xx. 13; Matt. xii. 5; 1 Cor. x. 1—10, &c. It contains a history of the Israelites, from the first day of the second month of the second year, after their departure out of Egypt, to the beginning of the eleventh month of the fortieth year of their jour-

† The reader will do well to peruse with care Ortram's Dissertation on Sacrifices, a judicious translation of which has been executed by Mr. Allen.

‡ See Lowman on the Hebrew Ritual, *throughout*.

* Roberts, Clay. Bibl. p. 25.

neyings; from A. M. 2514 to A. M. 2552. The whole of the book may be considered as a diary; and is the most ancient *book of travels* ever published. The route taken by the Israelites under the direction of their inspired leader has been traced out by modern travellers, and many places here mentioned still bear the same name, and correspond exactly in their geographical situation. This book contains an account of the enumeration and marshalling of the people (chap. i. 11); the census of the Levites, and their appointment to the service of the tabernacle (chap. iii., iv.); the institution of various legal ceremonies (chap. v., vi.); the offerings of the princes (chap. vii.); the consecration of the Levites (chap. viii.); the celebration of the passover (chap. ix.); regulations for fixing and removing the camp (chap. x. 1—10); the order of the march, &c. (chap. x. 11—36); the journey through the wilderness to the land of Moab (chap. xi.—xii.); the transactions in the plains of Moab (chap. xiii.—xxx.); the defeat of the Midianites and the offerings to the Lord (chap. xxxi.); the division of the land east of the Jordan, &c. (chap. xxxii.—xxxvi.)

2. The book of Numbers contains one signal prediction relative to the Messiah, chap. xxiv. 17, 19; and in the Targums of Jonathan and Onkelos it is so interpreted.

SECTION V.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

1. THE title of this book has been derived from the Greek Version, where it is called *Δευτερονόμιον*—a compound term, signifying the *second law*; because it contains a repetition of the law given to the Israelites by the mediation of Moses.* From a comparison of chap. i. 5 with chap. xxxiv. 1, it appears to have been written by Moses in the plains of Moab, a short time prior to his death. It is cited as his work in 2 Chron. xxv. 4; Dan. ix. 13, &c.; and is often quoted as an inspired writing by Christ and his apostles. It embraces the history of about five weeks; from the first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year, to the seventh day of the twelfth month. It contains a compendious recapitulation of the laws given by Moses, enlarged with many explanations and additions, and enforced by the strongest and most pathetic exhortations to obedience; and was no doubt intended for the benefit of those born in

the wilderness, and who consequently were not present at the giving of the law on Sinai. The variations in expression observable in the repetition of the law have been considered as an intimation that its *spirit*, rather than its *letter*, is that which is to be regarded.

2. In this book may be found the pathos and sublimities of religion, in a strain not to be surpassed in any part of the Old Testament. It embraces a rehearsal and republication of the law by the great prophet of it himself; with a survey of the wonders of Egypt and the wilderness; the past acts of God's mighty arm, working in terror and in mercy; the stipulated blessings of obedience (which may be called the Mosaic beatitudes); and a terrific insight into the future plagues of the apostate people. Of the majesty of the book, and its impressiveness in these particulars, a calm and deliberate perusal can alone convey a just idea. It also helps us to trace the progressive scheme of Scripture; for in its doctrinal character and use, it may be set above the simpler and earlier promulgation of the law, as recorded in Exodus; while it may be marked as only approaching to the practical standard of faith and personal obedience exhibited in the doctrines, promises, and precepts of the prophets. The considerate reader will judge whether this account of the expansion of the divine law by the later prophets be not a just one. If it be admitted, one use and intent of their mission will be better understood; and the remote members of revelation will be seen to compose a consistent whole, not by uniformity, but progression, every part of it silently advancing toward the spirit and perfection of the gospel.†

3. The book contains a recapitulation of the transactions in the wilderness (chap. i.—iii.); an affectionate exhortation to the obedience and love of God (chap. iv.); a repetition of the *moral* law (chap. v.—xi.); a repetition of some parts of the *ceremonial* law (chap. xii.—xvi.); a repetition of sundry *judicial* laws (chap. xvii.—xviii. 14); a promise of the GREAT PROPHET, and of a covenant between Jehovah and the Israelites (chap. xviii. 15, xxvi.); directions for the confirmation of the law on the people's arrival in Canaan (chap. xxvii.—xxx.); the appointment of Joshua as the successor of Moses (chap. xxxi.); the prophetic song of Moses, and the blessing of the tribes (chap. xxxii., xxxiii.); and the death and burial of the great lawgiver (chap. xxxiv.)

* Dr. A. Clarke, Pref. Deut.

† Davison's Discourses on Prophecy, pp. 51, 52.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

1. SACRED history differs from every other species of authentic history in this: that while the latter records events and details facts, simply; the former combines them with the doctrines of Providence, and demonstrates the event to be coincident with the purposes of an Eternal Mind. The connexion of every mode of communicating the will of God to man, with moral and eternal purposes, is a feature of divine revelation never to be overlooked; and sacred history is but a part of that revelation. In preparing mankind for another world, the universal Parent has adopted and recorded a certain process with individuals, with families, and with nations, in this.* The historical books, then, form part of those Scriptures written under the inspiration of the Spirit of God, and are therefore free from error, and to be resorted to "for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness;" because "*whatsoever* was written aforetime was written for our learning," Rom. xv. 4.

2. It is evident from a close examination of the historical books, that they are collections from the authentic records of the Jewish nation, which were carefully kept by the priests or other publicly-appointed persons.† These collections, though generally made while the events were fresh in memory, and by persons who were contemporary with the periods to which they severally relate, appear to have been thrown into their present form, and to have received some additions, at a much later period. The work of collecting and revising has been attributed to the joint labours of Jeremiah and Ezra. It is enough for us to know that the authenticity of the books, in their present form, has been attested by Christ and his apostles.

3. The historical writings of the Old Testament comprise twelve books—from Joshua to Esther, inclusive; and contain a compendium of the Jewish history, from the death of Moses to the reformation effected by Nehemiah, after the return from Babylon, A. M. 2555—A. M. 3595.

4. While the twelve tribes were united under one

government, their history is represented under one point of view. When a separation took place, the kingdom of Judah, from which the Messiah was to descend, was the chief object of attention with the sacred historians; they treat, however, of the events which occurred in Samaria, especially when connected with the concerns of Judah. It should be remarked, that in their chronological accounts, the sacred writers generally calculate in round numbers, and also assume various eras. In Genesis, Moses reckons by the ages of the patriarchs; in Exodus, from the departure out of Egypt. Other writers, living in later times, compute from the building of the temple; from the commencement of the reigns of their several kings; from the captivities and deliverances of the people, and other important national events; or, lastly, from the reigns of foreign kings. The difficulties which occur on a superficial perusal of the historical Scriptures, chiefly originate in a want of attention to these considerations; and those persons who have not the leisure or industry to elucidate such particulars, will do well rather to collect the obvious instruction so richly spread through every page of the sacred volume, than to engage in speculations of delicate discussion. The historical books, like all other parts of Scripture, have every mark of genuine and unaffected truth. Many relations are interwoven with accounts of other nations, yet no inconsistencies have ever been detected.

5. The following table exhibits the contemporary reigns of the respective kings of Judah and Israel, and will assist in reading the historical books:—

A.M.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	Ante A.D.
3029	Rehoboam	Jeroboam	975
3046	Abijah	_____	958
3049	Asa	_____	955
3050	_____	Nadab	954
3051	_____	Baasha	953
3074	_____	Elah	950
3075	_____	Zimri	921
_____	_____	Omri	_____
3086	_____	Ahab	918
3090	Jehoshaphat	_____	914
3106	_____	Ahaziah	898
3108	_____	Jehoram, or Joram	896
3112	Jehoram, or Joram	_____	892
3119	Ahaziah	_____	885
3120	Queen Athaliah	Jehu	884

* The reader is referred to an ably-written paper on the uses and claims of sacred history, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, which will abundantly repay the labour of an attentive reading.

† See Josephus against Apion, b. 1, § 6.

A.M.	JUDAH.	ISRAEL.	Ante A.D.
3126	Joash, or Jehoash	_____	878
3148	_____	Jehoahaz	856
3163	_____	Jehoash, or Joash	841
3165	Amaziah	_____	839
3179	_____	Jeroboam II.	825
3194	Azariah, or Uzziah	_____	810
3231	_____	Zachariah	773
3232	_____	Shallum	772
_____	_____	Menahem	_____
3243	_____	Pekahiah	761
3245	_____	Pekah	759
3246	Jotham	_____	758
3262	Abaz	_____	742
3364	_____	{ First capt. of Israel, }	740
_____	_____	{ by Tiglath Pileser }	
_____	_____	An interregnum	_____
3364	_____	Hoshea	730
3368	Ezekiah	_____	726
3380	_____	{ Second captivity, by }	721
_____	_____	{ Shalmaneser. }	
3396	Manasseh	_____	698
3398	_____	{ Third captivity, by }	678
_____	_____	{ Esar-haddon }	
A.M.	JUDAH.		Ante A.D.
3361	Amon	_____	643
3363	Josiah	_____	641
3364	Jehoahaz	_____	610
_____	Jehoiakim	_____	_____
3368	First captivity of Judah	_____	606
3406	Jehoiachin, Coniah, or Jeconiah	_____	599
_____	Second captivity of Judah	_____	_____
_____	Zedekiah	_____	_____
3416	Third and final captivity.	_____	588

6. We now proceed to notice the historical books in the order in which they are placed in our Bible.

SECTION I.

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

1. THIS book immediately follows the Pentateuch, of which it forms a continuation, and derives its name either from relating the achievements of Joshua, the son of Nun, in the conquest of the promised land, or from his being the author of it; or probably from both. That Joshua was its author, was the general opinion prevailing in the Jewish and also in the ancient Christian church, and is also strongly intimated by internal evidence. See chap. v. 1, and xxiv. 26. The objections brought against this hypothesis, from the alleged facts of the book having been written posterior to this time, such as chap. iv. 9, viii. 28, xv. 63, may be rationally and satisfactorily met, on the supposition that there were slight but necessary

additions made, when the canonical books were collected and revised.

2. The book of Joshua comprises a history of about 17 years; or, according to some chronologists, of 27 or 30 years. There has been some accidental derangement in the order of the chapters, occasioned probably by the mode of rolling up MSS., written upon different pieces of material, anciently practised. In the following analysis they are restored to their proper place. The mission of Joshua (chap. i. 1—10); the spies sent out to view the land (chap. ii.); the passage of the Jordan, and the renewal of the covenant (chap. i. 10 to end, iii.—v. 13); the victories of Joshua and the conquest of the land (chap. vi. 11, v. 14, to end, vi. 2—33, ix.; xi., viii., 30 to end); return of the Reubenites (chap. xxii.); recapitulation of the conquests (chap. xii.—xiii. 15); division of the country among the tribes (chap. xiv.—xxi.); the assembling of the people and the first address of Joshua (chap. xxiii.); his last address (chap. xxiv. 1—28); his death and burial (chap. xxiv. 29, 30); Joseph's remains interred in Shechem, and the death and burial of Eleazar, chap. xxiv. 32, 33.

3. Dr. Adam Clarke has remarked, that the book of Joshua is one of the most important documents in the old covenant, and should never be separated from the Pentateuch, of which it is at once both the continuation and the completion. Between this book and the five books of Moses, there is the same analogy as between the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The PENTATEUCH contains a history of the acts of the great Jewish legislator, and the LAWS on which the Jewish church could be established. The book of Joshua gives an account of the *establishment* of the church in the land of Canaan, according to the oft-repeated promises and declarations of God. THE GOSPELS give an account of the *transactions* of Jesus Christ, the great Christian legislator, and of those laws on which *his* church should be established, and by which it should be governed. The ACTS of the APOSTLES give an account of the actual *establishment* of that church, according to the predictions and promises of its great Founder. Thus, then, the PENTATEUCH bears as pointed a relation to the GOSPELS, as the book of JOSHUA does to the ACTS of the APOSTLES. On this principle, it would be a matter of high utility to read the *Old Testament and the New Testament books together*; as they reflect a strong and mutual light on each other, bear the most decided testimony to the words and truth of prophecy, and show the ample fulfilment of all the ancient and gracious designs of God.

SECTION II.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

1. THIS book derives its name from the account it gives of the Israelites under the government of the Judges, from the death of Joshua to the time of Eli. From a comparison of chap. i. 21, with 2 Sam. v. 6, and chap. ix. 53, with 2 Sam. ix. 21, it will be seen that this book was written before that, and also before the capture of Jerusalem by David. Its author is not known, but it is quoted as canonical Scripture by several subsequent inspired writers (see 1 Sam. xii. 9—11; 2 Sam. xi. 21; Ps. lxxviii. 12; Isai. ix. 4, x. 26; Heb. xi. 32, &c.), and the origin of many mythological fables is to be found in the relations it gives.* It comprises the history of about 300 years—from A. M. 2579 to 2887, and is very properly inserted between Joshua and Samuel, as the judges were governors intermediate between Joshua and the kings.

2. In reading this book, it should be borne in mind that the judges frequently acted under a divine impulse, and were endowed with preternatural courage and strength; for if this be lost sight of, it will be impossible to approve their conduct on some occasions, when the sanction of a divine warrant superseded all general rules of conduct.

3. The latter part of the book is removed from its proper place, the chapters having been carried forward, probably that the thread of the narrative might not be interrupted. In the following analysis they are inserted in the order of the history. Interregnum after the death of Joshua (chap. i.—ii. 10); the introduction of idolatry among the tribes (chap. xvii., xviii.); history of the Levite of Ephraim, and the war among the tribes (chap. xix.—xxi.); the intermixture of the Israelites with the Canaanites (chap. ii. 11—iii. 7); servitude and deliverances of the Israelites (chap. iii. 8—iv.); triumphant song of Deborah and Barak (chap. v.); the subjugation of the eastern and northern Israelites by Midian, and their deliverance by Gideon (chap. vi.—viii.); usurpation and death of Abimelech (chap. ix.); administration of Tola and Jair (chap. x. 1—6); oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines and Ammonites, and their deliverance by Jephthah (chap. x. 7—xii. 7); administration of Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon (chap. xii. 8—15); oppression of the Israelites by the Philistines, and their deliverance by Samson (chap. xiii.—xvi.).

* See Allix's Reflections on the Old Test., Part III. chap. 2.

SECTION III.

THE BOOK OF RUTH.

THIS tract has generally been considered as supplemental to the book of Judges, and as introductory to the books of Samuel. The general opinion assigns its authorship to Samuel; and that it could not have been written before his time is certain, from the genealogy recorded in chap. iv. 17—22. The history related in this book is extremely interesting, and is detailed with the most beautiful and affecting simplicity. It is a continuous history, and needs no analysis.

SECTION IV.

THE TWO BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

1. THESE and the two following books were formerly termed the first, second, third, and fourth books of Kings; as being the four books in which the histories of the kings of Judah and Israel are related. It is probable that the history in the first book, down to the end of the twenty-fourth chapter, is from the pen of Samuel, and the remaining part from the pens of Nathan and Gad; See 1 Chron. xxix. 29, 1 Sam. xxii. 5. From the frequent mention of times and circumstances posterior to those that are here historically detailed, some critics have been of opinion that the books were written at a much later period than that above assigned to them. The probability seems to be, that they were compiled out of the memoirs of the persons above named, whose duty it was to record the transactions of the kingdom; and that the marks of posteriority to be found in them were explanatory *additions* made by the compiler, whom the Jews have generally conceived to be the prophet Jeremiah. They contain intrinsic proofs of their verity, by appealing to existing monuments.

2. The history contained in the books of Samuel, embraces a period of about 120 years, from A. M. 2866 to A. M. 2986. The first book contains the political and ecclesiastical history of the Israelites, from the birth of Samuel to the death of Saul, a period of about eighty years; and the second book carries on the history to within about two years of the death of David, a period of about forty years. In these interesting books, the sacred author illustrates the characters and describes the events of his history in the most engaging manner, and furnishes the richest instruction. The inspired hymn of Hannah (1 Sam. ii. 1—10), and the thanksgiving song of David (2 Sam. xxii.), are sublime compositions, and

contain some clear predictions of the Messiah's coming and kingdom. The book of Psalms should be read in connexion with them, as they mutually illustrate each other.

3. The *first book* of Samuel contains an account of the birth of Samuel (chap. i.); the song of Hannah (chap. ii. 1—10); the mal-administration of Eli's sons (chap. ii. 11—36); the call of Samuel, and the denunciations against Eli's house (chap. iii.); the capture of the ark, and the death of Eli, &c. (chap. iv.); the chastisement of the Philistines, &c., and the restoration of the ark (chap. v., vi.); the people repent, renounce their idols, and defeat the Philistines (chap. vii.); the people ask and obtain a king (chap. viii.—xi.); Samuel protests his integrity to the assembled people, and exhorts them to obedience (chap. xii.); Saul's wars with the Philistines (chap. xiii., xiv.); his war with the Amalekites, and his rejection from the throne intimated (chap. xv.); the anointing of David, and his introduction to Saul (chap. xvi.); his victory over Goliath (chap. xvii. 1—54); Saul notices David, and afterwards persecutes him (chap. xvii. 55—xxvii.); consults the witch of Endor (chap. xxviii.); his defeat, death, and burial (chap. xxix.—xxx.).

4. The *second book* contains David's lamentation over Saul and Jonathan (chap. i.); his subjugation of the house of Saul, and his own confirmation in the kingdom (chap. ii.—v. 4); his victories over the Jebusites and Philistines (chap. v. 8 to end); he fetches the ark from Kirjath-jearim, and purposes to build the temple, but is not permitted (chap. vi., vii.); his victories over the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, &c. (chap. viii.—x.); his sin with Bathsheba, and the birth of Solomon (chap. xi.—xii. 25); he takes Rabbah (chap. xii. 26 to end); his domestic troubles and flight from Jerusalem (chap. xiii.—xviii.); his return to the capital, and quelling of the insurrection (chap. xix., xx.); the punishment of the sons of Saul, and war with the Philistines (chap. xxi.); David's psalm of thanksgiving, and last words (chap. xxii.—xxiii. 7); catalogue of his mighty men (chap. xxiii. 8, to end); his offence in numbering the people, and his penitence and sacrifice (chap. xxiv.). It should be noted, that the book is imperfect, and wants 1 Chron. xxii.—xxiv. to complete it.

SECTION V.

THE TWO BOOKS OF KINGS.

1. THE authors of these books cannot be ascertained with more certainty than those of the former.

They were doubtless, like those, compiled from the authentic national records, which were kept by the prophets or priests who were contemporary with the events. See 2 Chron. ix. 29, xv. 34, xxvi. 22, xxxii. 32. There are several passages which seem to point out Ezra as the compiler; but their authenticity and inspiration are attested by the prophecies they contain, and which were afterwards fulfilled: see 1 Kings vi. 12, xi. 11—13, 30—39, xiii. 1—3; compare 2 Kings xxiii. 15—20, xiv. 10, 11, 14, xvi. 1—4, i. 16, iv. 16, v. 10, vii. 1, viii. 10, 12, 19, xx. 6—20; by the citations of our Saviour and his apostles, see Matt. xii. 42, Luke iv. 25—27, Acts vii. 47, and other places; by the universal reception of them in the Jewish and Christian churches; and by the corresponding testimonies of ancient profane writers.*

2. The history related in these books embraces a period of about 426 years—A. M. 2989 to A. M. 3416. The *first book* commences with the anointing of Solomon, and carries the history down to the death of Jehoshaphat, A. M. 3115; the most prosperous and glorious period of the Israelitish history. In this book is related the separation of the ten tribes, which laid the foundation of the kingdom of Israel. The *second book* continues the contemporary history of the two kingdoms, down to the destruction of the city and temple by Nebuchadnezzar. Nearly the whole period contained in this book seems to have been dark and guilty; both the nations appear to have departed with equal steps from the worship of the true God; and idolatry and ambition were the ruling features in the characters of both kings and subjects. During this time many of the prophets flourished.

3. The *first book* contains an account of the last days of David and the inauguration of Solomon (chap. i.); David's charge to Solomon, and his death (chap. ii. 1—11); Solomon's reign to the building of the temple and the king's house (chap. ii. 12—vii.); the dedication of the temple (chap. viii.); God's covenant with Solomon (chap. ix. 1—9); transactions during the latter part of his reign, and his death (chap. ix. 10—xi.); the accession of Rehoboam, and division of the kingdom (chap. xii. 1—19); the contemporary reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam (chap. xii. 20—xiv.); reigns of several contemporary kings (chap. xv., xvi.); part of the life of Elijah, with the calling of Elisha (chap. xvii.—xix., xxi. 17—29); the remaining part of Ahab's reign (chap. xx.—xxii.

* See Allix's Reflections on the Old Test., Part III. chap. 2.

1—40); the reign of Jehoshaphat (chap. xxii. 41, to end).

4. The *second book* contains an account of the contemporary reigns of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, of Judah; and of Ahaziah and Joram, of Israel; the translation of Elijah and the ministry and miracles of Elisha (chap. i.—viii. 2); the contemporary reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah, of Judah, and Jehoram of Israel (chap. viii. 3—29); the appointment and reign of Jehu over Israel, and the death of Jehoram; the death of Ahaziah, king of Judah, and the usurpation of Athaliah (chap. ix.—xi. 3); the contemporary reigns of Jehoash, over Judah; and of Jehoahaz and Jehoash, over Israel; the death of Elisha; and the miracle performed at his grave (chap. xi. 4—xiii.); the reigns of several contemporary kings (chap. xiv., xv. 35); the reign of Ahaz over Judah, and of Hosea over Israel, in the ninth year of whose reign Samaria, his capital, is taken by the king of Assyria, and the people sent into captivity (chap. xv. 36—xvii. 23); the Cuthites corrupt the religion of Samaria (chap. xvii. 24, to end); the reign of Hezekiah; the destruction of Sennacherib's army; Hezekiah's miraculous recovery, and Isaiah's prediction of the Babylonian captivity (chap. xviii.—xx. 19); Hezekiah's death; and the reigns of Manasseh, Amon, and Josiah, in whose reign the religion was reformed, and the covenant renewed (chap. xx. 20—xxiii. 25); death of Josiah, and reigns of the subsequent kings, to the taking of the city and temple, and the carrying away of the people into Babylon (chap. xxiii. 26—xxv. 26); treatment of Jehoiachin at the court of Evil-merodach, chap. xxv. 27, to end.

SECTION VI.

THE TWO BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.

1. THE title of "Chronicles" was given to these books by Jerome, because they contain an abstract, in the order of time, of the whole of the sacred history, down to the period when they were written. They appear to have been compiled out of the national diaries or annals; and hence they are called in the Hebrew Bibles, *the words of days*, or *the journals*. They contain many things not extant elsewhere; and several relations in the former books are here enlarged upon, and elucidated. Hence the Greek translators have called them "*Paraleipomena*," *things omitted*. Although we cannot decide upon their authors, their authenticity is placed beyond dispute, as well by a great mass of external evidence as by the indirect

attestations of our Lord and his apostles. Compare 1 Chron. xxiv. 10 with Lev. i. 5; 2 Chron. ix. 1 with Matt. xii. 42, Luke xi. 31; 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21, with Matt. xxiii. 35, Luke xi. 51; 1 Chron. xvii. 13, xxii. 10, with Heb. i. 5. There are several manifest variations in names, facts, and dates, between the books of Kings and Chronicles, and it is therefore necessary to bear in mind that the latter books are supplemental to the former. It should also be borne in mind, that the vernacular language had been slightly varied; that several places had received new names, or had undergone sundry vicissitudes; that certain things were now better known to the returned Jews under other appellations; and that from the materials before him, the author selected those passages which were best adapted to his purpose, and most suitable to the times in which he wrote. The variations in proper names of persons will generally be accounted for by attending to the precise period of time spoken of, whence it will appear that frequently two different persons are described.

2. The principal object of the author of these books appears to have been, to point out, from public records, the state of the different families before the captivity, with the distribution of the lands, so that each tribe might, as far as was possible, obtain the ancient inheritance of their fathers, at their return. The books may be considered as an epitome of all the Sacred History, but more especially from the origin of the Jewish nation to the return from the first captivity. The period of time embraced in the history is about 3468 years. The first book traces the rise and propagation of the people of Israel from Adam, and afterwards gives a circumstantial account of the reign and transactions of David. In the second book the narrative is continued, and relates the progress and dissolution of the kingdom of Judah, to the year of the return of the people from Babylon. As the books of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles relate the same histories, they should each be read and compared together, not only for the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Jewish history, but also in order to illustrate and amend from one book what is obscure or defective in either of the others.

3. The *first book* contains the genealogies of those persons through whom the Messiah was to descend, from Adam to the captivity, and to the time of Ezra (chap. i.—viii.); the first inhabitants of Jerusalem after the captivity (chap. ix. 2—34); the reign and death of Saul (chap. ix. 35—x.); and the transactions of the reign of David (chap. xi.—xxix.).

4. The *second book* contains the history of the kingdom of Israel under Solomon (chap. i.—ix.); the accession of Rehoboam; the division of the kingdom; and the plundering of Jerusalem by Shishak (chap. x.—xii.); the reigns of Abijah and Asa, kings of Judah (chap. xiii.—xvi.); the reign of Jehoshaphat (chap. xvii.—xx.); the reigns of Jehoram and Ahaziah, and the usurpation of Athaliah (chap. xxi.—xxiv.); the reigns of Amaziah, Uzziah, and Jotham (chap. xxv.—xxvii.); the reign of Ahaz (chap. xxviii.); the reign of Hezekiah (chap. xxxix.—xxxii.); the reigns of Manasseh and Amon (chap. xxxiii.); the reign of Josiah (chap. xxxiv., xxxv.); the subsequent reigns to the destruction of the city and temple (chap. xxxvi. 1—21); and the edict of Cyrus, ver. 22 to the end.

SECTION VII.

THE BOOK OF EZRA.

1. THIS and the book of Nehemiah were reckoned as one by the ancient Jews, though they were sometimes called the first and second books of Esdras. The third book of Esdras, received as canonical by the Greek church, is merely this book interpolated; and the fourth book is a palpable forgery, undeserving of notice. That the last four chapters of this book were written by the person whose name it bears, has never been disputed; but the first six have been ascribed to another, because it appears from the commencement of the 7th chapter, that Ezra did not go up to Jerusalem till the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, a period of sixty years from the commencement of this history, whereas the author of the former part represents himself as present at Jerusalem in ch. v. 4. But the intimate connexion of all parts of the history, and the prevalence of the same method of narration, render it probable that the whole history was written by one person. The apparent discrepancy may easily be removed, by supposing that Ezra literally copied the original record which was written by a person contemporary with the transactions.

2. This book is a continuation of the Jewish history, from the period at which the Chronicles close, and it begins with a repetition of two verses of the latter of those two books. The period of time embraced in the history is about 79 years; and according to some chronologists, 100 years: from B. C. 458 to A. M. 3568. As the history harmonizes most strictly with the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, which it materially elucidates, they should be read in connexion. It contains the edict of Cyrus, permitting the Jews

to return to Judea, and rebuild their city and temple (ch. i.); an account of the Jews who returned under Zerubbabel, with their offerings towards rebuilding the temple (chap. ii.); the altar of burnt offering set up, and the foundations of the temple laid (chap. iii.); the opposition of the Samaritans, and the suspension of the building (chap. iv.); the decree of Darius Hystaspes in favour of the Jews, and the completion of the city and temple (chap. v., vi.); return of Ezra from Babylon with a commission from Artaxerxes Longimanus (chap. vii.); an account of those who accompanied him, and their arrival at Jerusalem (chap. viii.); Ezra's prayer on account of the intermixture of the Jews with the idolatrous people (chap. ix.); and the reformation effected by him (chap. x.).

SECTION VIII.

THE BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

1. THAT Nehemiah was the author of this book there is no reason to doubt: it is written in his name; and, differing from all the preceding books, it is written in the first person. The register in chap. xii. has been added by some subsequent hand; probably by the authority of the great synagogue. The history presents us with a faithful narrative of the commencement, progress, and completion of the noble and patriotic undertaking of Nehemiah, to restore Jerusalem from the ruin in which it lay to a state of dignity, and his subsequent return to Shushan. It comprises the commission of Nehemiah and his arrival at Jerusalem (chap. i., ii. 12); the building and dedication of the walls of the city (chap. ii. 13, vii. 4, xii. 27—44); a register of the persons who first returned from Babylon, and an account of the oblations at the temple (chap. vii. 5—73); the reading of the law and celebration of the feast of Tabernacles (chap. viii.); a solemn fast and the renewal of the covenant (chap. ix., x.); the names and families of those who dwelt in Jerusalem, of the priests, Levites, and singers (chap. xi., xii. 26); occurrences at Jerusalem during Nehemiah's absence (chap. xiii.); his return to Jerusalem, and the second reformation effected by him (chap. xiii. 7—31.)

2. The administration of Nehemiah lasted about 36 years, and the Old Testament history closes with this book.

SECTION IX.

THE BOOK OF ESTHER.

1. THIS book derives its name from the person

who principally appears in it; a virtuous Jewess, who obtained the favour of Ahasuerus, the Persian monarch, and by her influence delivered her people from a furious persecution which threatened their extinction. The author cannot now be ascertained, but the authenticity of the book is substantiated by the most indisputable evidence. The feast of Purim, the institution and origin of which are here related, is still observed by the Jewish people; and such is the estimation in which they hold the book, that they believe, whatever may be the fate of other parts of Scripture, this will ever be preserved.

2. The history contained in this book embraces a period of about 20 years, or perhaps something less, commencing about A. M. 3544. The prince, here called Ahasuerus, is, no doubt, the Artaxerxes Longimanus of profane history, who, it will be remembered, granted the Jews permission to rebuild the walls of the holy city. In our Bibles this book concludes with the third

verse of the tenth chapter, but the Septuagint and Vulgate add ten more verses with six additional chapters; though they were never extant in the Hebrew, and are justly rejected as spurious by Jews and Protestants. The history contains the disgrace of Vashti (ch. i.); the elevation of Esther to the throne, and the discovery of a plot against the monarch, by the diligence of Mordecai (chap. ii.); the promotion of Haman, and his plotting against the Jews (chap. iii.); the affliction of the Jewish people, and the measures adopted by them (chap. iv. 1—14); Esther undertakes their cause, defeats Haman's plot, and causes him to be hanged (chap. iv. 15—vii.); the advancement of Mordecai, and the deliverance and rejoicing of the Jews (chap. viii.); the destruction of the enemies of the Jews with Haman's sons (chap. ix. 1—19); the institution of the feast of Purim (chap. ix. 20 to the end); a recital of the power and glory of Ahasuerus, and of the dignity of Mordecai (ch. x.).

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, IN THE CONSECUTIVE ORDER OF THEIR REIGNS:

*From their commencement to the destruction of the former by the Assyrians;
and of the latter by the Babylonians.*

REGAL STATE OF JUDEA BEFORE THE DIVISION:

SAUL reigned 40 years.—DAVID reigned 40 years.—SOLOMON reigned 40 years.

ISRAEL AND JUDAH AFTER THE DIVISION OF THE TWELVE TRIBES.

				KINGDOM OF ISRAEL. With the contemporary	KINGDOM OF JUDAH. events of Heathen nations.
Year of the World.	Year of the Jewish Era.	Year of the Christian Era.	Year of the Islamic Era.		
3029	975	199	222	1 JEROBOAM. Reigned 22 years.	1 REHOBOAM. Reigned 17 years. Forsaking
3030	974	198	221	2 The disobedient prophet slain by a	2 the counsel of the old men, ten tribes
3031	973	197	220	3 lion	3 revolt from under his government; and
3032	972	196	219	4 Jehoiada the priest born about this time.	4 are formed into a distinct kingdom.
3033	971	195	218	5 He lived in eight Jewish reigns, viz.,	5 Shishak king of Egypt (thought by Sir Isaac
3034	970	194	217	6 those of Rehoboam, Abijah, Asa,	6 Newton to have been the same with the
3035	969	193	216	7 Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, Ahaziah,	7 famous Sesostris) invades Judea, and takes
3036	968	192	215	8 Athaliah, and Joash.	8 away the shields of gold out of the temple.
3037	967	191	214	9	9
3038	966	190	213	10	10
3039	965	189	212	11	11
3040	964	188	211	12 Capys Sylvius succeeds Capetus in the	12
3041	963	187	210	13 kingdom of Alba, and reigned 28	13
3042	962	186	209	14 years. The commencement of this	14
3043	961	185	208	15 reign happened (according to Dionys-	15
3044	960	184	207	16 sius of Halicarnassus) in the 221st	16
3045	959	183	206	17 year from the destruction of Troy.	17
3046	958	182	205	18	1
3047	957	181	204	19	2 ABIJAH or ABIJAM. Reigned 3 years.
3048	956	180	203	20 Death of Abijah, the son of Jeroboam.	2 The king of Judah obtains a great victory
3049	955	179	202	21	3 over Jeroboam, and takes Beth-el, &c.
3050	954	178	201	22 1 NADAB. Reigned 2 years.	1 ASA. Reigned 41 years.
3051	953	177	200	2 1 BAASHA. Reigned 24 years.	2
3052	952	176	199	2 About this time flourished the prophets	4 Phorbas succeeds Thersippus as perpetual
3053	951	175	198	3 Jehu, Hanani, and Azariah. Baasha	5 archon of the Athenians, and rules 31
3054	950	174	197	4 begins his reign by extirpating the	6 years.
3055	949	173	196	5 whole house of Jeroboam. The	7 Birth of Jehoshaphat, who was afterwards
3056	948	172	195	6 <i>dynasty of Jeroboam</i> lasted not quite	8 king of Judah.
3057	947	171	194	7 24 years, and is followed by that of	9
3058	946	170	193	8 Baasha, which continues till the	10
3059	945	169	192	9 death of Elah, a period of not quite	11
3060	944	168	191	10 26 years.	12
3061	943	167	190	11	13
3062	942	166	189	12	14
3063	941	165	188	13	15 Zerah, with an immense host of Ethiopians
3064	940	164	187	14	16 and Lubims, invades Judea. Asa over-
3065	939	163	186	15	17 comes him in the valley of Zephathah at
3066	938	162	185	16	18 Maresah, abolishes idolatry out of Judea,
3067	937	161	184	17	19 and enjoys a peace for ten years. The
3068	936	160	183	18 Calpetus Sylvius succeeds Capys in	20 the number of men in Zerah's army is stated
3069	935	159	182	19 the kingdom of Alba, in the 249th	21 to have amounted to a <i>million</i> , 2 Chron.
3070	934	158	181	20 year from the destruction of Troy.	22 xiv. 9.
3071	933	157	180	21 He is named, by Eusebius, Carpetus	23
3072	932	156	179	22 Sylvius.	24
3073	931	155	178	23 [reigned 7 days.	25
3074	930	154	177	24 1 ELAH. Reigned 2 years. ZIMRI	26 Baasha comes up against Judah, and begins
3075	929	153	176	2 1 OMRI and TIBNI reign together	27 to build Ramah, but is diverted from his
3076	928	152	175	2 about 5 years. Commencement of	28 purpose by the policy of Asa. This is
3077	927	151	174	3 the <i>third dynasty</i> by the accession	29 stated, in 2 Chron. xvi. 1, to have been in
3078	926	150	173	4 of Omri to the throne.	30 the 36th year of Asa; but there is most
3079	925	149	172	5 TIBNI dying, OMRI reigns alone	31 manifestly a corruption in the sacred text;
3080	924	148	171	6 about 7 years.	32 see on 1 Kings xv. 16.
3081	923	147	170	7 Tiberius Sylvius succeeds his father	33
3082	922	146	169	8 Calpetus in the kingdom of Alba,	34
3083	921	145	168	9 and reigned 8 years. The river Ti-	35 Megacles succeeds Phorbas in the perpetual
3084	920	144	167	10 ber was so named from this king.	36 archonship of the Athenians, and rules
3085	919	143	166	11	37 30 years.

Year of the World.	Year before Christ.	Year before the Christian Æra.	Year before the building of Rome.	KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.		KINGDOM OF JUDAH.	
				With the contemporary events of Heathen nations.			
3086	918	142	165	12	1 AHAB. Reigned 22 years. In this	38	
3087	917	141	164	2	reign Jericho was rebuilt by Hiel,	39	Asa begins to be diseased in his feet, and
3088	916	140	163	3	the Beth-elite.	40	dies in the 41st year of his reign.
3089	915	139	162	4	About this time Agrippa Sylvius suc-	41	
3090	914	138	161	5	ceeds Tiberinus Sylvius in the king-	1	JEHOSHAPHAT. Reigned 25 years.
3091	913	137	160	6	dom of Alba, and reigned 40 years.	2	
3092	912	136	159	7		3	The king of Judah sends Levites with the
3093	911	135	158	8		4	princes throughout his realm to instruct
3094	910	134	157	9	Commencement of the three years	5	the people in the law of the Lord.
3095	909	133	156	10	and six months' drought foretold by	6	
3096	908	132	155	11	Elijah.	7	
3097	907	131	154	12	The widow's son raised to life.	8	Polydectus (of the family of the Proclidæ)
3098	906	130	153	13	The prophets of Baal slain by Elijah,	9	succeeds Eunomus in the throne of Lacedæ-
3099	905	129	152	14	at the brook Kishon. Termination	10	mon, and reigned 9 years.
3100	904	128	151	15	of the long drought. Great fall of	11	
3101	903	127	150	16	rain in the land of Israel.	12	
3102	902	126	149	17		13	
3103	901	125	148	18	The Syrians defeated by Ahab.	14	
3104	900	124	147	19	The Syrians again defeated by Ahab.	15	
3105	899	123	146	20	Naboth stoned to death.	16	
3106	898	122	145	21		17	Lycurgus begins his reign over the Spartans.
3107	897	121	144	22	1 AHAZIAH. Reigned 2 years.	18	Jehoshaphat joins Ahab against the Syrians.
3108	896	120	143	2	1 JORAM or JEHORAM. Reigned	19	Ahab is slain at the siege of Ramoth-
3109	895	119	142	3	12 years. Assumption of Elijah in	20	gilead, agreeably to the prophecy of Mi-
3110	894	118	141	4	the first year of this reign. Elisha	21	caiah, and the dogs lick up his blood,
3111	893	117	140	5	succeeds him in the prophetic office.	22	1 Kings xxii. 2—38.
3112	892	116	139	6		23	1 JEHORAM associated with his father in
3113	891	115	138	7	Diognetus succeeds Megacles in the	24	the government, and reigns 8 years.
3114	890	114	137	8	perpetual archonship of the Athe-	25	
3115	889	113	136	9	nians, and rules 28 years.	3	
3116	888	112	135	10		4	JEHORAM. Reigned 5 years alone.
3117	887	111	134	11		5	
3118	886	110	133	12		6	
3119	885	109	132	1	1 JEHU. Reigned 28 years. End of	7	
3120	884	108	131	2	the <i>dynasty of Omri</i> , after it had	8	1 AHAZIAH. Reigned 1 year.
3121	883	107	130	3	ruled over Israel 46 years. Jehu	1	ATHALIAH usurps the throne, and retains
3122	882	106	129	4	began his reign by slaying all the	2	it 6 years.
3123	881	105	128	5	posterity of Ahab, and destroying	3	
3124	880	104	127	6	the worshippers of Baal. About this	4	
3125	879	103	126	7	time Lycurgus, 42 years of age,	5	
3126	878	102	125	8	establishes his laws at Lacedæmon;	6	
3127	877	101	124	9	and, together with Iphitus and Cleo-	1	JOASH. Reigned 40 years. He maintains
3128	876	100	123	10	thenes, restores the Olympic games	2	the purity of the Jewish worship during
3129	875	99	122	11	at Elis, about 108 years before the	3	the life of Jehoiada, the high-priest. In
3130	874	98	121	12	era usually called the first Olympi-	4	the fourth year of this reign Alladius Syl-
3131	873	97	120	13	piad. A wful death of Jezebel, the	5	vius succeeds Agrippa in the kingdom of
3132	872	96	119	14	wife of Ahab.	6	Alba, and reigns 19 years. This monarch
3133	871	95	118	15		7	is called Romulus Sylvius.
3134	870	94	117	16		8	
3135	869	93	116	17	Phidon, king of Argos, is supposed to	9	
3136	868	92	115	18	have invented scales and measures,	10	
3137	867	91	114	19	and coined silver at Ægina. Car-	11	
3138	866	90	113	20	thage built by Dido.	12	
3139	865	89	112	21		13	
3140	864	88	111	22	[archonship of the Athenians.	14	
3141	863	87	110	23	Phereclus succeeds to the perpetual	15	
3142	862	86	109	24	The Ninevites repent at the preaching	16	Birth of Amaziah, who was afterwards king
3143	861	85	108	25	of Jonah the prophet. There are	17	of Judah.
3144	860	84	107	26	a few years of uncertainty in the	18	
3145	859	83	106	27	date of this event. We here follow	19	
3146	858	82	105	28	the margin of our English Bibles.	20	
3147	857	81	104	29		21	
3148	856	80	103	1	1 JEHOAHAZ. Reigned 17 years.	22	Joash issues a mandate that the breaches of
3149	855	79	102	2	About the commencement of this	23	the temple be repaired, and gives the
3150	854	78	101	3	reign Aventinus Sylvius is supposed	24	charge thereof to Jehoiada the high-priest.
3151	853	77	100	4	to have succeeded Alladius Sylvius	25	
3152	852	76	99	5	in the kingdom of Alba. He reigned	26	
3153	851	75	98	6	37 years, according to Dionysius of	27	
3154	850	74	97	7	Halicarnassus, and was succeeded	28	
3155	849	73	96	8	by Procas Sylvius, who reigned 23	29	
3156	848	72	95	9	years.	30	
						31	

				KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.		KINGDOM OF JUDAH.	
				With the contemporary		events of Heathen nations.	
Year of Israel.	Year of Judah.	Year of the Christian Era.	Year of the Hebrew Era.	Year of the Hebrew Era.	Year of the Hebrew Era.	Year of the Hebrew Era.	Year of the Hebrew Era.
3157	847	71	94	10	JEHOAHAZ.	32	JOASH.
3158	846	70	93	11		33	
3159	845	69	92	12		34	
3160	844	68	91	13	Ariphron succeeds Phereclus in the	35	
3161	843	67	90	14	perpetual archonship of the Athe-	36	
3162	842	66	89	15	nians.	37	Jehoiada, the high-priest, dies at the age of
3163	841	65	88	16	1 JEHOASH reigns in consort with	38	130.
3164	840	64	87	17	2 his father.	39	Zechariah, the priest, stoned to death.
3165	839	63	86	3	Jehoash reigns alone. Hazael, king	40	1 AMAZIAH. Reigned 29 years. Soon
3166	838	62	85	4	of Syria, dies about this time, and	2	after the commencement of his reign he
3167	837	61	84	5	is succeeded by his son Ben-hadad.	3	slew all his servants who had killed his
3168	836	60	83	6	Elisha dies in the second year of	4	father.
3169	835	59	82	7	Ben-hadad, king of Syria, after hav-	5	
3170	834	58	81	8	ing been invested with the prophetic	6	
3171	833	57	80	9	office nearly 60 years.	7	
3172	832	56	79	10		8	
3173	831	55	78	11		9	
3174	830	54	77	12		10	
3175	829	53	76	13		11	
3176	828	52	75	14		12	
3177	827	51	74	15		13	Ten thousand of the children of Seir slain
3178	826	50	73	16		14	by Amaziah in the Valley of Salt; and
3179	825	49	72	1	1 JEROBOAM II. Reigned 41 years.	15	ten thousand precipitated from the top of
3180	824	48	71	2	Thespies succeeds Ariphron in the	16	a rock, and dashed to pieces. Amaziah,
3181	823	47	70	3	government of Athens.	17	proud of his victory over the Edomites,
3182	822	46	69	4		18	provokes the Israelitish king to battle.
3183	821	45	68	5		19	The following year Jehoash overcomes
3184	820	44	67	6	6 The fall of the Assyrian empire by the	20	him, takes him prisoner, breaks down
3185	819	43	66	7	death of Sardanapalus is supposed	21	four hundred cubits of the wall of Jeru-
3186	818	42	65	8	to have taken place about this time.	22	salem, and having spoiled the temple and
3187	817	41	64	9	Arbaces founds the empire of the	23	the king's house of a vast treasure, re-
3188	816	40	63	10	Medes upon the ruins of the Assy-	24	turns to Samaria.
3189	815	39	62	11	rian empire.	25	
3190	814	38	61	12	Caranus founds the kingdom of Mace-	26	
3191	813	37	60	13	don, and reigns 28 years. This	27	
3192	812	36	59	14	kingdom continued till the battle of	28	
3193	811	35	58	15	Pydna, a period of 646 years.	29	
3194	810	34	57	16		1	UZZIAH. Reigned 52 years. He is vic-
3195	809	33	56	17	Charilaus, the successor of Lycurgus,	2	torious over the Philistines, Arabians, and
3196	808	32	55	18	dying after a reign of 64 years, Ni-	3	Mehunims. His standing army consisted
3197	807	31	54	19	cander succeeds him in the kingdom	4	of 307,500 men. In this reign lived the
3198	806	30	53	20	of Lacedæmon, and reigns 39 years.	5	prophets Amos and Hosea.
3199	805	29	52	21		6	
3200	804	28	51	22		7	
3201	803	27	50	23		8	
3202	802	26	49	24		9	
3203	801	25	48	25		10	
3204	800	24	47	26		11	
3205	799	23	46	27		12	
3206	798	22	45	28		13	[vernment of the Athenians.
3207	797	21	44	29	Ardysus begins his reign over Lydia,	14	Agamestor succeeds Thespies in the go-
3208	796	20	43	30	and rules 36 years.	15	Amulius Sylvius and Numitor succeed Pro-
3209	795	19	42	31		16	cas in the kingdom of Alba, the former of
3210	794	18	41	32		17	whom reigned 44 years. Numitor reigned
3211	793	17	40	33		18	alone two years, and was their last king.
3212	792	16	39	34	Sosarmus is supposed to have suc-	19	He died about 751 B. C.
3213	791	15	38	35	ceeded Arbaces in the government	20	
3214	790	14	37	36	of the Medes about this time; but	21	
3215	789	13	36	37	the chronology of this event is very	22	
3216	788	12	35	38	uncertain. He is succeeded 30	23	
3217	787	11	34	39	years after by Medidus.	24	
3218	786	10	33	40	The triremes first invented by the Co-	25	Cœnus, the second king of Macedon, begins
3219	785	9	32	41	rinthians.	26	his reign.
3220	784	8	31			27	
3221	783	7	30		After Jeroboam's death an interregnum	28	Birth of Jotham, who was afterwards king
3222	782	6	29		of 11 years and a half is supposed	29	of Judah.
3223	781	5	28		to have taken place; for Zachariah,	30	
3224	780	4	27		the son of Jeroboam, did not com-	31	
3225	779	3	26		mence his reign till the 38th year of	32	The monarchical government abolished at
3226	778	2	25		Azariah, or Uzziah, king of Judah.	33	Corinth, and the Prytanes elected. Two
3227	777	1	24		See 2 Kings xv. 8. The fourth	34	years after, Æschylus succeeds Agamestor

Year of the World.	Year before the building of Rome.	Era of the Olympiads.	Year before the building of Rome.	Kingdom of the Romans.	KINGDOM OF ISRAEL. With the contemporary	KINGDOM OF JUDAH. events of Heathen nations.
3228	776	I. 1	23		JEROBOAM II. <i>dynasty of Israelitish monarchs, viz., that of Jehu, is terminated by the death of Zachariah, B. C. 773.</i>	UZZIAH. 35 in the perpetual archonship of the Athenians.
3229	775	2	22			36
3230	774	3	21		ZACHARIAH. Reigned 6 mths.	37 Thurimas succeeds to the throne of Macedon, and reigns 45 years.
3231	773	4	20		1 SHALLUM. Reigned 1 month.	38
3232	772	II. 1	19		2 MENAHEM. Reigned 10 years.	39
3233	771	2	18		3 Here begins the <i>sixth dynasty</i> of Israelitish kings, that of Shallum subsisting only a single 6 month.	40
3234	770	3	17			41 Theopompus succeeds Nicander in the kingdom of Lacedæmon, and reigns 47 years.
3235	769	4	16			42
3236	768	III. 1	15			43
3237	767	2	14			44
3238	766	3	13			45
3239	765	4	12			46 Uzziah, attempting to burn incense upon the altar of incense in the temple, is smitten with the leprosy.
3240	764	IV. 1	11			47
3241	763	2	10			48
3242	762	3	9			49
3243	761	4	8		1 PEKAHIAH. Reigned 2 years.	50 Alyattes succeeds to the Lydian throne.
3244	760	V. 1	7			51
3245	759	2	6		1 PEKAH. Reigned 20 years.	52 Isaiah begins to prophesy.
3246	758	3	5		2 Here begins the <i>seventh Israelitish dynasty</i> , that of Menahem having subsisted twelve years.	1 JOTHAM. Reigned 16 years.
3247	757	4	4			2 This king overcomes the Ammonites, whom he compels to pay tribute.
3248	756	VI. 1	3			3
3249	755	2	2			4
3250	754	3	1			5 Alcmaeon, the last perpetual archon, begins his administration, and rules two years; after whom decennial archons are appointed, Charops being first.
		A.U.C.				9 Birth of Hezekiah, who succeeded his father Ahaz in the kingdom of Judah.
3251	753	4	1	1	7 Rome built on the 20th of April of this year according to Varro.	10
3252	752	VII. 1	2	2		11
3253	751	2	3	3		12
3254	750	3	4	4	10 The rape of the Sabines.	13 Meles succeeds Alyattes in the Lydian throne.
3255	749	4	5	5		14
3256	748	VIII. 1	6	6		15
3257	747	2	7	7		16
3258	746	3	8	8		17 The first Messenian war begins; and continues 19 years, to the taking of Ithome.
3259	745	4	9	9		18
3260	744	IX. 1	10	10		19
3261	743	2	11	11		20 Pekah slain in the 4th year of Ahaz by Hoshea, the son of Elah. An anarchy is supposed to have succeeded for some years, as Hoshea is said not to have commenced his reign before the 12th year of Ahaz, 2 Kings xvii. 1. The beginning of Hoshea's reign is placed two years later, that his 9th year may synchronize with Hezekiah's 6th.
3262	742	3	12	12		1 HOSHEA. Reigned 9 years.
3263	741	4	13	13		2 Here begins the <i>eighth and last dynasty</i> of Israelitish kings.
3264	740	X. 1	14	14		1 HEZEKIAH. Reigned 29 years.
3265	739	2	15	15		2
3266	738	3	16	16		3 Zeuxidamus succeeds Theopompus in the throne of Lacedæmon, and reigns 33 years.
3267	737	4	17	17		4
3268	736	XI. 1	18	18		5 In the sixth year of Hezekiah (which was the ninth year of Hoshea, the son of Elah) Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, took Samaria, carried the Israelites into captivity, and so put an END TO THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL, 254 years after the revolt of the ten tribes from Rehoboam.
3269	735	2	19	19		6
3270	734	3	20	20		7
3271	733	4	21	21		8
3272	732	XII. 1	22	22		9
3273	731	2	23	23		10
3274	730	3	24	24		11
3275	729	4	25	25		12
3276	728	XIII. 1	26	26		13
3277	727	2	27	27		14
3278	726	3	28	28		15
3279	725	4	29	29		16
3280	724	XIV. 1	30	30		17
3281	723	2	31	31		18
3282	722	3	32	32		19
3283	721	4	33	33		20
3284	720	XV. 1	34	34		21
3285	719	2	35	35		22
3286	718	3	36	36		23
3287	717	4	37	37		24
3288	716	XVI. 1	38	38		25
3289	715	2	39	39		26
3290	714	3	40	40		27
3291	713	4	41	41		28
3292	712	XVII. 1	42	42		29
3293	711	2	43	43		30
3294	710	3	44	44		31

Year of the World.	Year before Christ.	Era of the Olympiads.	Year from the building of Rome.	Kings of the Romans.	KINGDOM OF JUDAH. With the contemporary events of Heathen nations.
3295	709		45	7	HEZEKIAH.
3296	708	XVIII.	46	8	18 consisting of 185,000 men, is destroyed in one night by an angel
3297	707		47	9	19 of the Lord. Birth of Manasseh, who succeeded Hezekiah in
3298	706		48	10	20 the kingdom of Judah.
3299	705		49	11	21
3300	704	XIX.	50	12	22 [Tarentum by the Parthenians.
3301	703		51	13	23
3302	702		52	14	24 Coreyra built by the Corinthians, four years after the building of
3303	701		53	15	25 Leocrates, the successor of Hippomenes, dying, Apsandrus suc-
3304	700	XX.	54	16	26 ceeds him in the Athenian government.
3305	699		55	17	27 Deioces, governor of the Medes, assumes the title of king, and
					28 reigns 53 years. Ecbatana was built in this reign, according to
3306	698		56	18	29 Herodotus.
3307	697		57	19	1 MANASSEH. Reigned 55 years. This is the longest reign in
3308	696	XXI.	58	20	2 the Jewish annals.
3309	695		59	21	3
3310	694		60	22	4
3311	693		61	23	5
3312	692	XXII.	62	24	6
3313	691		63	25	7 Eryxias, the last perpetual archon of the Athenians, begins his
3314	690		64	26	8 administration.
3315	689		65	27	9 Anaxidamus succeeds his father Zeuxidamus in the throne of
3316	688	XXIII.	66	28	10 Lacedæmon, and reigned 39 years. He was of the race of the
3317	687		67	29	11 Proclidæ.
3318	686		68	30	12
3319	685		69	31	13
3320	684	XXIV.	70	32	14 The second Messenian war begins; and continues 14 years to the
3321	683		71	33	15 taking of Ira, after a siege of 11 years.
3322	682		72	34	16 The government of Athens intrusted to annual archons, Creon
3323	681		73	35	17 being the first.
3324	680	XXV.	74	36	18
3325	679		75	37	19 Ardysus II. succeeds Gyges in the Lydian throne, and reigns 49
3326	678		76	38	20 years.
3327	677		77	39	21 Argæus, king of Macedon, begins his reign.
3328	676	XXVI.	78	40	22 Manasseh, on account of his impiety, is carried into captivity by
3329	675		79	41	23 the Assyrians; but, upon his repentance, God restores him to his
3330	674		80	42	24 liberty and kingdom.
3331	673		81	43	25 End of the second Messenian war, which confirmed the Messenians
3332	672	XXVII.	82	1	26 under the power of the Lacedæmonians. The Messenians at-
3333	671		83	2	27 tempted a third time to free themselves from the power of Lacedæ-
3334	670		84	3	28 mon, B. C. 465: but it was not till 370 B. C. that the
3335	669		85	4	29 descendants of the Messenians finally returned into the Pelopon-
3336	668	XXVIII.	86	5	30 nesus, after a long banishment of upwards of 300 years.
3337	667		87	6	31
3338	666		88	7	32 Battle of the Horatii and Curiatii. Death of Metius Suffetius, the
3339	665		89	8	33 Alban dictator.
3340	664	XXIX.	90	9	34 Alba destroyed, and the inhabitants carried to Rome. Birth of
3341	663		91	10	35 Amon, son of Manasseh, king of Judah.
3342	662		92	11	36
3343	661		93	12	37
3344	660	XXX.	94	13	38
3345	659		95	14	39
3346	658		96	15	40 Cypselus usurps the government of Corinth, and keeps it for 30
3347	657		97	16	41 years. The following year Byzantium is said to have been built
3348	656	XXXI.	98	17	42 by a colony of Argives, or Athenians. Paterculus says it was
3349	655		99	18	43 founded by the Milesians; Justin, that it was founded by the
3350	654		100	19	44 Lacedæmonians; and Ammianus, that it was founded by the
3351	653		101	20	45 Athenians. Byzantium is the same with what was afterwards
3352	652	XXXII.	102	21	46 called Constantinople.
3353	651		103	22	47 Birth of Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece.
3354	650		104	23	48 Archidamus succeeds to the throne of Lacedæmon, and reigns 46
3355	649		105	24	49 years.
3356	648	XXXIII.	106	25	50 Birth of Josiah, who was afterwards king of Judah.
3357	647		107	26	51
3358	646		108	27	52 Phraortes succeeds Deioces in the kingdom of Media. This
3359	645		109	28	53 monarch is supposed to be the same with the Arphaxad mentioned
3360	644	XXXIV.	110	29	54 in Judith.
3361	643		111	30	55
3362	642		112	31	1 AMON. Reigned 2 years.
3363	641		113	32	2 [this time.
					1 JOSIAH. Reigned 31 years. Birth of Thales happened about

Year of the World.	Year before Christ.	Era of the Olympiads.		Year from the building of Rome.	Kingdom of the Romans.	KINGDOM OF JUDAH.	
						With the contemporary events of Heathen nations.	
3364	640	XXXV.	1	114	1	JOSIAH.	
3365	639		2	115	2	Philip succeeds Argeus in the throne of Macedon, and reigns	
3366	638		3	116	3	thirty-eight years.	
3367	637		4	117	4	The celebrated Solon was born about this time. He died B. C.	
3368	636	XXXVI.	1	118	5	558, at the age of 80.	
3369	635		2	119	6		
3370	634		3	120	7	Josiah (only 16 years of age) begins to manifest great zeal	
3371	633		4	121	8	towards the pure worship of Jehovah.	
3372	632	XXXVII.	1	122	9		
3373	631		2	123	10	Sadyattes succeeds Ardysus II. in the Lydian throne.	
3374	630		3	124	11	Josiah commences a thorough reformation in the religion of Judea,	
3375	629		4	125	12	which is completed in his eighteenth year. Cyrene built by Battus.	
3376	628	XXXVIII.	1	126	13		
3377	627		2	127	14		
3378	626		3	128	15		
3379	625		4	129	16	[Media and Persia, and reigns 40 years.	
3380	624	XXXIX.	1	130	17	Cynaxares, or Cyaraxes, succeeds Phraortes in the kingdom of	
3381	623		2	131	18	Josiah repairs the temple, destroys the vessels of Baal and Asherah,	
3382	622		3	132	19	puts down the idolatrous priests, breaks down the houses of the	
3383	621		4	133	20	Sodomites and the high places, defiles Topheth, takes away the	
3384	620	XL.	1	134	21	horses of the sun, destroys Jeroboam's altar, and celebrates a	
3385	619		2	135	22	great passover.	
3386	618		3	136	23	Alyattes II. of the family of the Mermnadæ, and father of the cele-	
3387	617		4	137	24	brated Croesus, succeeds to the Lydian throne, and reigns 57	
3388	616	XLI.	1	138	1	years. This king drove the Cimmerians from Asia, and made war	
3389	615		2	139	2	against the Medes. An eclipse of the sun terminated a battle	
3390	614		3	140	3	between him and Cyaxares. He died when engaged in a war	
3391	613		4	141	4	against Miletus.	
3392	612	XLII.	1	142	5		
3393	611		2	143	6		
3394	610		3	144	7	JEHOAHAAZ. Reigned 3 months.	
3395	609		4	145	8	JEHOIAKIM. Reigned 11 years.	
3396	608	XLIII.	1	146	9	[his reign over Babylon.	
3397	607		2	147	10	Jeremiah foretels the 70 years' captivity. Nebuchadnezzar begins	
3398	606		3	148	11	Nineveh taken and destroyed by Cyaxares and his allies.	
3399	605		4	149	12	Agasicles succeeds to the throne of Lacedæmon, and reigns 41 years.	
3400	604	XLIV.	1	150	13	The Phœnicians sailed round Africa by order of Necho. The age	
3401	603		2	151	14	of Arion, Pittacus, Alcæus, &c.	
3402	602		3	152	15	Æropas succeeds to the throne of Macedon, and reigns 20 years.	
3403	601		4	153	16		
3404	600	XLV.	1	154	17	Birth of Sappho, the celebrated poetess, happened about this time.	
3405	599		2	155	18	JEHOIACHIN. Reigned 3 months and 10 days.	
3406	598		3	156	19	ZEDEKIAH. Reigned 11 years. He was the last Jewish king.	
3407	597		4	157	20	and commenced his reign in the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar.	
3408	596	XLVI.	1	158	21	The Scythians are expelled from Asia Minor by Cyaxares, king of	
3409	595		2	159	22	Media and Persia.	
3410	594		3	160	23		
3411	593		4	161	24	About this time Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar, king	
3412	592	XLVII.	1	162	25	of Babylon.	
3413	591		2	163	26	The Pythian games first established at Delphi.	
3414	590		3	164	27	Jerusalem besieged by Nebuchadnezzar; and two years after (<i>viz.</i> ,	
3415	589		4	165	28	in the 19th year of Nebuchadnezzar, Jer. lii. 12.), the city is taken,	
3416	588	XLVIII.	1	166	29	the temple burnt, and the people carried away into captivity.	
					30	Thus ends THE KINGDOM OF JUDAH, after it had stood	
					31	from the death of Solomon 387 years, and from the captivity	
						of the ten tribes 133 years. About this time flourished Chilo, Ana-	
						charsis, Thales, Epimenides, Solon, the prophets Ezekiel and	
						Daniel, Æsop, Stesichorus, &c. Nebuchadnezzar lived after the	
						destruction of the temple 24 years.	

*. * This Table is taken from Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary, vol. ii., and will be found of great utility to the student of the Bible.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE POETICAL BOOKS.

1. UNDER this denomination are comprehended those books which are termed by the Jews the *Hagiographa*, or Holy Writings; viz., the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, and the book of Job. They are termed poetical, because they are generally composed in measured sentences, and possess the distinguishing characteristics of Hebrew poetry. They are placed in our Bibles between the historical and the prophetic books.

2. In reading these parts of the Sacred Writings, much assistance will be derived from a strict attention to the peculiar structure of the sentences, of which we have fully treated in Part II., ch. v., sect. 2.

3. Another thing demanding attention in reading the poetical parts of the sacred writings, is the change of persons, which often occurs without the least intimation being given by the writer. This is occasioned in many cases by the form of composition—dialogue, or a kind of dramatic ode—in which there are different characters introduced, sustaining their respective parts. This observation applies more particularly to the book of Psalms, to the remarks on which the reader is referred.

SECTION I.

THE BOOK OF JOB.

1. THIS is one of the most extraordinary books of the Holy Scriptures. Considerable diversity of opinion has obtained among biblical writers on its chronology, character, hero, and author. Some have denied the actual existence of the venerable patriarch from whom it derives its name, and considered the book as a fictitious narration, intended to instruct through the medium of parable. That such a notion should have been entertained by men who credit the writings of Ezekiel or of James, is something to excite surprise; for both these inspired writers speak of him as a real, and not as a fictitious personage. See Ezek. xiv. 14; James v. 11. To this we may add, that he is also mentioned as a real person in the apocryphal book of Tobit; and as such, he has been contemplated immemorially in Arabia and Palestine. No good reason can be given, why we should abandon an opinion thus strongly supported.

2. With regard to the time when the events recorded in the Book of Job took place, and

when the history was committed to writing, critics are not agreed. Some are of opinion, that it was the earliest written of all the books of the Bible, while others ascribe it to an origin subsequent to the captivity. It has been attributed to Moses, to Elihu, to Job himself, to Solomon, and to Ezra; Those who wish to investigate the claims of these different hypotheses, may consult the writings of Lowth, Warburton, Stock, Peters, Faber, Good, or the "Introduction" of Mr. Horne, where may be found an ably written summary of the controversy on these interesting questions.

3. Dr. Hales assigns the time of Job's trial to the period that intervened between the confusion of languages and the call of Abraham; and in confirmation of this opinion, Mr. Townsend* has added several arguments of a moral character, which carry with them considerable weight. In the opinion of these writers, the book was written by Job himself, or one of his contemporaries, and is supposed to have been obtained by Moses when in the land of Midian; and, with some alterations, addressed by him to the Israelites. The country in which the scene of the history is laid, is said to be the land of Uz (chap. i. 1), which Mr. Good has shown to have been Idumea. Of the character and structure of this extraordinary book, as a literary composition, various opinions have been also entertained. Calmet, Warburton, and others have regarded it as a drama; Bishop Lowth conceived it to be of a mixed character; but Mr. Good considers it to be a regular epic poem, possessing all the prominent features of that species of composition, as laid down by Aristotle himself.

4. The general scope and moral of this sublime production, namely, that the troubles and afflictions of a good man are, for the most part, designed as tests of his virtue and integrity, out of which he will at length emerge with additional splendour and happiness, are common to eastern poets, and not uncommon to those of Greece. But, in various respects, the poem of Job stands alone and unrivalled. In addition to every corporeal suffering and privation which it is possible for man to endure, it carries forward the trial in a manner and to an extent which has never been attempted elsewhere, into the keenest faculties and sensations of the mind, and mixes the bitterest taunts and accu-

* Arrangement of the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 29.

sations of friendship with the agonies of family bereavement and despair. The body of other poems consists chiefly of incidents; that of the present poem, of colloquy or argument, in which the train of reasoning is so well sustained, its matter so important, its language so ornamented, the doctrines it develops so sublime, and its transition from passion to passion so varied and abrupt, that the want of incidents is not felt, and the attention is rivetted as by enchantment. In other poems the supernatural agency is fictitious, and often incongruous; here the whole is solid reality, supported in its grand outline by the concurrent testimony of every other part of Scripture; an agency not obtrusively introduced, but demanded by the magnitude of the occasion; and as much more exalted and magnificent than every other kind of similar interference, as it is more veritable and solemn. The suffering hero is sublimely called forth to the performance of his part, in the presence of men and angels; each becomes interested, and equally interested, in his conduct; the Almighty assents to the trial, and for a period withdraws his divine aid; the malice of Satan is in its full career and activity; hell hopes, earth trembles, and every good spirit is suspended with awful anxiety. The wreck of his substance is in vain; the wreck of his family is in vain; the scalding sores of a corroding leprosy are in vain; the artillery of insults, reproaches, and railing, poured forth from the mouths of bosom friends, is in vain. Though at times put, in some degree, off his guard, the holy sufferer is never completely overpowered. He sustains the shock without yielding; he still holds fast his integrity. Thus terminates the trial of faith: Satan is confounded; fidelity triumphs; and the Almighty, with a magnificence well worthy of the occasion, unveils his resplendent tribunal, and crowns the afflicted champion with his applause.* The scope of this speech, says Bishop Stock, is to humble Job, and teach others, by his example, to acquiesce in the Divine dispensations, from an unbounded confidence in his wisdom, equity, and goodness; an end worthy the interposition of the Deity. On the conclusion of the Almighty's address, Job humbles himself, acknowledges his ignorance, "repents as in dust and ashes," offers sacrifices for his friends, and is restored to double prosperity, comfort, and honour. Bishop Lowth is of opinion that the principal object of the poem is the third and last trial of Job, from the unkindness and unjustness of his accusing friends; the consequence of which is, in the first place, the anger, indignation, and contumacy of Job, and afterwards his composure, submission, and penitence. The de-

sign of the poem is, therefore, to teach men, that, having a due respect to the corruption, infirmity, and ignorance of human nature, as well as to the infinite wisdom and majesty of God, they are to reject all confidence in their own strength and righteousness, and to preserve on all occasions an unwavering and unsullied faith, submitting with becoming reverence to the divine decrees.†

5. But independent of the important instruction which may be derived from a devout perusal of the Book of Job, it must be considered as a most invaluable document, containing a faithful delineation of the patriarchal religion, and thus completing the Bible, by adding the dispensation of the earliest ages to the dispensations of the law and the gospel, by which it was successively superseded. On this principle the expediency of its introduction into the Hebrew canon may be successfully shown, and the objections urged against it, as an exotic production, effectually silenced.

6. The chief doctrines of the patriarchal religion, as collected from different parts of the poem by Dr. Hales and Mr. Good, are as follow:

(1) The creation of the world by one Supreme and Eternal Intelligence. See chap. xxxviii.—xli.

(2) Its regulation by his perpetual and superintending providence. See chap. i. 9, 21, ii. 10, v. 8—27, ix. 4—13.

(3) The intentions of his providence carried into effect by the ministrations of a heavenly hierarchy. See chap. i. 6, 7, iii. 18, 19, v. 1, xxxiii. 22, 23.

(4) The heavenly hierarchy, composed of various ranks and orders, possessing different names, dignities, and offices. As *obelim*, servants; *malachim*, angels; *melizim*, intercessors; *memitim*, destinies or destroyers; *alep*, the chiliad or thousand; *kedoshim*, *SANCTI*, the heavenly saints or hosts generally. See chap. iv. 18, xxxiii. 22, 23, v. 2, xv. 15.

(5) An apostasy, or defection, in some rank or order of these powers (ch. iv. 18, xv. 15), of which Satan seems to have been one, and perhaps chief, chap. i. 6—12, ii. 2—7.

(6) The good and evil powers or principles, equally formed by the Creator, and hence equally denominated "sons of God;" both of them employed by him in the administration of his providence; and both amenable to him at stated courts, held for the purpose of receiving an account of their respective missions. See chap. i. 6, 7, ii. 1.

(7) A day of future resurrection, judgment, and retribution to all mankind. See chap. xiv. 13—15, xix. 25—29, xxi. 30, xxxi. 14.

(8) The propitiation of the Creator, in the case of human transgressions, by sacrifices (chap. i.

* Good's Prelim. Dissert. p. xviii.

† Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, Gregory's Transl. vol. ii. p. 383.

5, xlii. 8); and the mediation and intercession of a righteous person. See chap. xlii. 8, 9.*

(9) The idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies a judicial offence, to be punished by the judge. See chap. xxxi. 26—28.

(10) The innate corruption of man; or what is generally termed "Original Sin." See chap. xiv. 4, xv. 14—16, xxxv. 4.

7. Several of these doctrines are more clearly developed than others, but the whole of them are fairly deduced from the obvious meaning of the words.

8. Mr. Good, to whom we have been indebted for the foregoing outline, has remarked, that nothing can be more unfortunate for this most excellent composition than its division into chapters, and especially such a division as that in common use; in which, not only the unity of the general subject, but, in many instances, that of a single paragraph, or even of a single clause, is completely broken in upon and destroyed.† Various other divisions have been adopted. Dr. Hales, who excludes the exordium and conclusion, divides it into five parts; but Mr. Good, who justly remarks that these are requisite to the unity of the composition, divides it into six. We follow his arrangement, only dividing his sixth part into two. We have then, 1. *History of Job's character and trials* (chap. i.—iii.) 2. *First series of conversations or controversy*—Eliphaz's address (chap. iv., v.); Job's answer (chap. vi., vii.); Bildad's address (chap. viii.); Job's answer (chap. ix.—x.); Zophar's address (chap. xi.); Job's answer (chap. xii.—xiv.) 3. *Second series of controversy*—Eliphaz's address (chap. xv.); Job's answer (chap. xvi., xvii.); Bildad's address (chap. xviii.); Job's answer (chap. xix.); Zophar's address (chap. xx.); Job's answer (chap. xxi. 4.) 4. *Third series of controversy*—Eliphaz's address (chap. xxii.); Job's answer (chap. xxiii., xxiv.); Bildad's address (chap. xxv.); Job's answer (chap. xxvi.—xxxi.) 5. *Elihu's four speeches to Job* (chap. xxxii.—xxxvii.) 6. *Jehovah's first and second address to Job* (chap. xxxviii.—xli.) 7. *Humiliation of Job, and his final prosperity* (chap. xlii.).

SECTION II.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS

1. THIS collection of sacred hymns has been ever held in the highest estimation, as containing instruction and comfort for the truly pious, whatever may be their experience, or the circumstances in which they are placed. The principal part of these divine compositions, perhaps, was indited by David, who has given name to the collection; the

others were probably written by Moses, Solomon, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, Jeduthun, Ezra, and the sons of Korah. Upon the titles prefixed to many of the Psalms implicit confidence cannot be placed; nor is it certain whether the Jews, who attached these notices, intended to denote that the respective psalms were written *by*, or *for*, such a person.

2. The right of the Book of Psalms to a place in the sacred canon has never been disputed; and its divine authority has been attested by the quotations of our Saviour and his apostles, as well as by the numerous predictions dispersed throughout it, and which have been subsequently fulfilled.

3. In these compositions we are presented with every variety of Hebrew poetry. Some of them were prepared for particular solemnities in the Jewish worship; others appear to have been designed generally to celebrate the glorious perfections of God; and a few to have been drawn forth by the peculiar circumstances or experience of the inspired writers. They abound in the most impressive and consoling predictions. One greater than David is continually presenting himself, even Christ the Redeemer. Divine inspiration so guided the Psalmist, that in many instances his words, at the same time that they referred with sufficient precision to the circumstances of his own life, prefigured, in terms the most accurate and sublime, the humiliation, the sufferings, the triumphant resurrection, and the universal and eternal kingdom of the Messiah. Dr. Horsley has considered the greater part of the Psalms as a kind of dramatic ode, consisting of dialogues between certain persons, sustaining certain characters, as the priests, Levites, singers, &c. "The other persons introduced are Jehovah, sometimes as one, sometimes as another, of the three persons: Christ, in his incarnate state, is personated sometimes as a priest, sometimes as a king, sometimes as a conqueror."‡ And in these reciprocations and divisions of parts, we discern, according to Dr. Lowth, the immediate cause of the disposition of the verse into equal strophes or stanzas, and why these consisted for the most part of distichs, in a sort of parallelism to each other, the last line responding to the first, and seconding, educating, and enforcing the sense. A recent writer has very materially extended this doctrine of parallelism, and, by an arrangement of several of the psalms, has succeeded in showing that each one is a complete parallelism, either of the alternate or the introverted kind. In some cases, the parallelism will be found to depend on a correspondence of the topic; sometimes on an agreement of the person: but whatever form the composition may assume, it will be found suscept-

* Good's Prelim. Dissert. p. lxiv.

† Ibid., p. xxi.

‡ Horsley's Psalms, vol. i, p. xvi.

ible of great elucidation by the arrangement of the parallelism. *

4. In studying the book of Psalms, it will be necessary to ascertain, where it can be done, the author by whom each ode was written, and the circumstances in which he was placed when it was indited.

5. The following arrangement from the Scripture Magazine, † is chiefly compiled from Mr. Townsend's Historical and Chronological Arrangement of the Old Testament. For an analysis of each of the Psalms, the student may consult Dr. A. Clarke's Commentary.

* See Boy's Key to the Book of Psalms.

† Vol. iii. pp. 296, 297.

THE PSALMS, IN THE ORDER OF THEIR CHRONOLOGY.

Numbers.	Authors.	Probable Occasions.	Connexions.	B. C.
88.	Heman.	Affliction of Israel in Egypt.	Exod. ii. 25.	1631
90.	Moses.	Shortening of man's life.	Numb. xiv. 45.	1489
9.	David.	Victory over Goliath.	1 Sam. xviii. 4.	1063
11.	.....	Advised to flee to the mountains.	 xix. 3.	1062
59.	.....	Saul's soldiers surrounding the town.	 — 17.	—
56.	.....	With Philistines at Gath.	 xxi. 15.	—
34.	.....	Leaving the city of Gath.	 — —	—
142.	.....	In the cave of Adullam.	 xxii. 1.	—
17.	.....	Priests murdered by Doeg.	 — 19.	—
52. 109. 35. 140.	.....	Persecution by Doeg.	 — —	—
64. 31.	.....	Persecution by Saul.	 xxiii. 12.	1061
54.	.....	Treachery of the Ziphites.	 — 23.	—
57. 58.	.....	Refusal to kill Saul.	 xxiv. 22.	—
63.	.....	Wilderness of Engedi.	 — —	—
141.	.....	Driven out of Judea.	 xxvii. 1.	1053
139.	.....	King of all Israel.	1 Chron. xii. 4.	1048
68.	.....	First removal of the Ark.	2 Sam. vi. 11.	1042
132.	.....	Second removal of the Ark.	1 Chron. xv. 4.	—
105. 106. 96.	.....	Ark taken from Obed-Edom's.	 xvi. 43.	—
2. 45. 22. 16. 118. 110.	.....	Nathan's prophetic address.	 xvii. 27.	—
60. 106.	.....	Conquest of Edom by Joab.	1 Kings xi. 20.	1040
20. 21.	.....	War with Ammonites and Syrians.	2 Sam. x. 19.	1036
51.	.....	Confession of adultery and murder.	 xii. 15.	1034
32. 33. 103.	.....	Pardon and thanksgiving.	 — —	—
3.	.....	His flight from Absalom.	 xv. 29.	1023
7.	.....	The reproaches of Shimei.	 xvi. 14.	—
42. 43. 55. 4. 5. 62. 143.	}	By the Jordan, from Absalom.	 xvii. 29.	—
144. 70. 71.		Conclusion of his wars.	 xxii. 51.	1019
18.	.....	Dedication of Araunah's threshing-floor.	1 Chron. xxi. 30.	1017
30.	.....	After his advice to Solomon.	 xxviii. 10.	1015
91.	.....	A review of his past life.	 — —	—
145.	.....	Dates and occasions unknown.	 xxviii. 21.	—
40. 41. 61. 65. 69. 78.	}	At some periods, after his accession.	 — —	—
63. 19. 12. 23. 24. 28. 29. 38.		The Coronation of Solomon.	 xxix. 19.	—
39. 86. 95. 101. 104. 120.		Ark removed into the temple.	2 Chron. vii. 10.	1004
121. 122. 124. 131. 133.		Dedication of Solomon's Temple.	 — —	—
72.	.....	The reign of Jehoshaphat.	 xx. 26.	896
47. 97. 98. 99. 100.	Solomon.	Blasphemous message of Rabshakeh.	2 Kings xix. 7.	710
135. 136.	.....	Destruction of Sennacherib's army.	 — 19.	—
82. 115. 46.	Asaph and others.	Burning of the Temple at Jerusalem.	Jer. xxxix. 10.	588
44.	Hezekiah.	.....	..... — —	—
73. 75. 76.	Asaph.	.....	..... — —	—
79. 74. 83. 94.	.....	.....	..... — —	—
137. 130. 80. 77. 37. 67. 49.	}	During the Babylonian Captivity.	Dan. vii. 28.	541—539
53. 50. 10. 13. 14. 15. 25.		Near the close of that Captivity.	 ix. 27.	538
26. 27. 36. 89. 92. 93. 123.	}	Cyrus's decree for restoring the Jews.	Ezra i. 4.	536
102.		.....	..... — —	—
126. 85.	Daniel.	.....	..... — —	—
107. 87. 111. 112. 113.	Sons of Korah.	Israel's return from the Captivity.	 iii. 7.	—
114. 116. 117. 125. 127.	.....	.....	..... — —	—
128. 134.	Various.	.....	..... — —	—
84. 66.	}	Foundation of the second Temple.	 — 13.	535
129.		Opposition of the Samaritans.	 iv. 24.	534
138.		Rebuilding of the Temple.	 vi. 13.	519
48. 81. 146. 147. 148.	}	Dedication of the second Temple.	Zech. viii. 23.	—
149. 150. ....		.....	..... — —	—
1 and 119.	Ezra.	Manual of devotion.	Neh. xiii. 3.	444

SECTION III

THE BOOK OF PROVERBS.

THIS book, with the exception probably of the two concluding chapters, was composed by Solomon, chap. i. 1; x. 1; xxv. 1. The 30th chapter was penned by Agar, son of Jakeh, of whom we no where else read; and the last chapter contains the instructions given to Lemuel by his mother, of both of whom we are ignorant. From the first verse of the 25th chapter it has been thought that the Proverbs following were collected out of the other writings of Solomon, and placed in the order in which we now possess them in this book. But this is no more than vague conjecture. The design of the inspired author of these pointed and sententious maxims may be gathered from the first three verses; and so admirably adapted to the purposes of instruction have they appeared, that many heathen philosophers and legislators have drawn their brightest sentiments from them. The Proverbs are frequently quoted in the New Testament. See Matt. xv. 4; Luke xiv. 10; Rom. xii. 16, 17, 20; 1 Thess. v. 14; 1 Pet. iv. 8, v. 5; James iv. 6, &c.

SECTION IV.

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES;

THAT is, *the Preacher*, or one who harangues a public auditory. This book was written by Solomon, evidently towards the close of his splendid career, and after he had been brought to repentance for his awful apostasy from God. The purpose of the book is explicitly declared in its title; namely, to demonstrate the vanity of all earthly acquisitions, and to show that, when the heart is set on sublunary enjoyments, all will prove to be "vanity and vexation of spirit." In the course of his argument, the wise teacher anticipates the objections of the licentious and the thoughtless, and produces their absurd opinions for the purpose of refuting them. It is therefore necessary to keep the eye steadily fixed on the purport of the discourse, and to discriminate what the author delivers in his own, and what in an assumed, character. Mr. Holden, in his "Attempt to illustrate the Book of Ecclesiastes," has divided the work into two principal parts. The first, which extends to the tenth verse of the sixth chapter, he considers as taken up in demonstrating the vanity of all earthly conditions, occupations, and pleasures; and the second part, which includes the remainder of the book, as occupied in eulogizing WISDOM, and in describing its nature, excellence, and bene-

ficial effects.* The conclusion of the work is worthy of an inspired author: "Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man," &c. The following synopsis is from the work just referred to.

PART I.—*The vanity of all earthly conditions, occupations, and pleasures.* The vanity of all earthly things (i. 2); the unprofitableness of human labour, and the transitoriness of human life (i. 3—11); the vanity of laborious inquiries into the ways and works of man (i. 12—18); luxury and pleasure are only vanity and vexation of spirit (ii. 1—11); though the wise excel fools, yet, as death happens to them both, human learning is but vanity (ii. 12—17); the vanity of human labour, in leaving it they know not to whom (ii. 18—23); the emptiness of sensual enjoyments (ii. 24—26); though there is a proper time for the execution of all human purposes, yet are they useless and vain; the divine counsels, however, are immutable (iii. 1—14); the vanity of human pursuits proved from the wickedness prevailing in courts of justice, contrasted with the righteous judgment of God (iii. 15—17); though life, considered in itself, is vanity, for men die as well as beasts, yet in the end, it will be very different with the spirit of man and that of beasts (iii. 18—22); vanity is increased unto men by oppression (iv. 1—3); the vanity of prosperity (iv. 4); the vanity of folly, or of preferring the world to true wisdom (iv. 5, 6); the vanity of covetousness (iv. 7, 8); though society has its advantages, yet dominion and empire are but vanity (iv. 9—16); errors in the performance of divine worship, which render it vain and unprofitable (v. 1—7); the vanity of murmuring at injustice; for though the oppression of the poor and the perversion of judgment greatly prevail, they do not escape the notice of the Almighty (v. 8, 9); the vanity of riches, with an admonition as to the moderate enjoyment of them (ver. 10—20); the vanity of avarice (vi. 1—9).

PART II.—*The nature, excellence, and beneficial effects of wisdom, or religion.* Since all human designs, labours, and enjoyments are vain, it is natural to inquire, What is good for man? What is his supreme good (vi. 10—12)? The answer is contained in the remainder of the book. The praise of character and reputation (vii. 1); affliction improves the heart, and exalts the character of the wise (vii. 2—10); the excellence of wisdom (vii. 11—14); an objection, with the answer (vii. 15—viii. 7); the evil of wickedness shows the

* Preliminary Discourse, p. lxxv.

advantage of true wisdom (viii. 8—13); an objection, with the answer (viii. 14—ix. 1); an objection with the answer (ix. 2, 10, 17); the banefulness of sloth (x. 18); the power of wealth (x. 19); an exhortation against speaking evil of dignities (x. 20); an exhortation to charity and benevolence (xi. 1—10); an exhortation to the early cultivation of religious habits (xii. 1—7); the conclusion (xii. 8—14).

SECTION V.

THE SONG OF SOLOMON.

1. GREAT diversity of opinion is found among critics and commentators on the character of this poem. The majority of writers consider it to be an inspired book; while others regard it as a merely human composition: some view it as a sacred allegory, shadowing forth the intimate relation between Christ and his church; but others insist upon its literal meaning, as referring to the marriage of Solomon with the princess of Egypt. Nor are those who concur in viewing it as a mystical allegory, agreed as to its precise interpretation. Bishop Lowth restricts it to the universal church, and conceives that it has no reference whatever to the spiritual state of individuals; while others interpret it of the individual members who compose that church. Amid this conflict of opinion, supported as each theory is by the highest names and talents, it is extremely difficult to decide; and as our limits will not allow a full discussion of the merits of the respective hypotheses, we must be satisfied with a few words conveying our own notions of the character and claims of this singular composition. That Solomon was the author, is affirmed by the concurrent testimony of the Jewish and Christian churches. He is also mentioned as such in the poem itself, ver. 1; and the several allusions to his works and character, fix it indubitably to the period of his reign. That it is an inspired composition, may be

inferred from its finding a place in the Hebrew canon, probably settled by Ezra, and also from its translation in the Septuagint Version. It forms one of the books of canonical Scripture mentioned by Josephus, and one book in the Jewish divisions of Scripture adopted by our Saviour and his apostles; the only reason for which is to be inferred from a mystical meaning. Under the figure of a marriage seems to be typified the intimate relation subsisting between Christ and his church, and the same figures found in this allegory, have been transferred into the New Testament. See Matt. ix. 15, xxii. 2, xxv. 1—11; John iii. 29; 2 Cor. xi. 2; Eph. v. 23, 27; Rev. xix. 7, 9, xxii. 17.

2. Mr. Good, whose excellent translation of this book of Scripture will afford much valuable aid in its perusal, considers it to be a series of Idyls, like the *cassides* of the poets of Arabia. Its style, as remarked by Bishop Lowth, is of the pastoral kind, the two principal personages being represented in the character of shepherds.

3. The manner in which the Song of Solomon has been interpreted by most expositors, has had the effect of exposing it to unmerited ridicule and contempt. Not entering into the style and spirit of oriental poesy, they have given to some passages a coarse and indelicate appearance; and, not distinguishing between the literal and the allegorical senses, they have destroyed the consistency and beauty of the poem, while they have bewildered the mind of the reader. To understand it well, requires not only a renewed heart and an enlightened mind, but a sober and cautious judgment. The spiritual senses must be exercised to discern clearly spiritual truths, and the imagination must be curbed by a reverential apprehension of the majesty and condescension of God. Among the Jews, they were not allowed to read it until they had attained the sacerdotal age of thirty years.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE PROPHETICAL BOOKS.

SECTION I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

1. THIS section of the books of the Old Testa-

ment is so called, because the subjects thereof are chiefly, though not exclusively, prophetic.

2. If we take up the prophetic volume, we find that it readily divides itself into two parts, which

may be called the moral or doctrinal, and the predictive. It is not a series of mere predictions—far from it. It abounds in matter of another kind: there is a continued strain of moral doctrine which runs through it, including under that name the only efficacious and sufficient moral doctrine, that which is founded upon a knowledge of God, his attributes, and his will, with a sense of the direct, personal, and responsible relation of man to him. Accordingly, the most frequent subjects of the prophet are the laws of God, his supreme dominion and his universal providence, the majesty of his nature, his spiritual being, and his holiness, together with the obligations of obedience to him in the particular duties of an inward faith and worship, and of justice and mercy to man, the whole of these duties being enforced by explicit sanctions of reward and punishment. These original principles of piety and morals overspread the pages of the book of prophecy; they are brought forward, they are inculcated, from first to last. They are often the subject when nothing future is in question; they are constantly interwoven with the predictions; they are either the very thing propounded, or they are connected with it, and all the way they are impressed with a distinctness and energy of instruction, which show it was none of the secondary ends of the prophet's mission to be this teacher of righteousness; insomuch that, if we except the gospel itself, there can nowhere be shown, certainly not in the works or systems of pagan wisdom, so much of luminous and decisive information concerning the unity, providence, mercy, and moral government of God, and man's duty founded upon his will, as is to be gathered from the prophetic volume. Let the predictions of prophecy, then, for a time be put out of our thoughts, and let the prophetic books be read for the pure theology they contain. With what feelings of conviction they are read by the religious person, it is not hard to tell. He perceives that he is instructed and elevated by the discoveries made to him of the Supreme Being, and the kind of worship and obedience required from himself; and these discoveries, made with an authority and a commanding power which argue them to be what they are given for,—a law of life and practice; doctrines, not of theory, but of self-government and direction; the most useful, therefore, to himself, and the most worthy of the source whence they profess to come. On this view of the prophetic writings, Origen, who does not overstate their persuasive force, says, that "to the meditative and attentive reader they raise an impression of enthusiasm" (a true and rational enthusiasm, like a spark of their own inspiration),

"and by his perceptions, convince him, as he reads, that these compositions can be none of the works of men which have obtained the credit of being the oracles of God." The more sceptical reader will see in them something to arrest his attention, at least, and to excite in him a suspicion, that the teachers of so excellent and virtuous a discipline of life, and the expositors of so rational a theology, are not to be set down for vain pretenders to inspiration.

3. We may further remark, that this moral revelation, made by a succession of prophets, holds an intermediate place between the law of Moses and the gospel of Christ. It is a step in progress beyond the law, in respect of the greater distinctness and fulness of some of its doctrines and precepts; it is a more perfect exposition of the principles of personal holiness and virtue; the sanctions of it have less of an exclusive reference to temporal promises, and incline more to evangelical: the ritual of the law begins to be discountenanced by it; the superior value of the moral commandment to be enforced; and altogether, it bears a more spiritual and a more instructive character than the original law given by Moses. In a word, in the prophets there is a more luminous, a more perfectly reasoned, rule of life and faith, than in the primary law; and therefore God's moral revelation was progressive. It is more perfect in the prophets than in the law; more perfect in the gospel than in either.*

4. Lastly, the prophets had a practical office to discharge, as pastors and ministerial monitors of the people of God. To "show Jacob his transgressions, and Israel his sins," was a part of the commission they received. Hence their work to admonish and reprove; to arraign for every ruling sin, to blow the trumpet to repentance, and shake the terrors of the divine judgments over a guilty land. Often they bore the message of consolation or pardon; rarely, if ever, of public approbation and praise. The integrity and fortitude with which they acquitted themselves of this charge, is attested by impartial history, which recites the death and martyrdom some of them endured. But it lives also in their own writings; not in the praise of their sincerity and zeal, but in the faithful record of the expostulations and reproofs which they delivered in the face of idolatrous or oppressive kings, a degenerate priesthood, and a corrupt, idolatrous people. "Great was the fidelity and great the boldness of the prophets," is their just panegyric. But in this service they betray none

* Davison's Discourses on Prophecy, pp. 41—48.

of the spirit of turbulent and fanatical agitators; men who step out of order to make the public sin their field of triumph; but a grave and masculine severity, which bespeaks their entire soberness of mind, and argues the reality of their commission. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, are all eminent examples of this ministerial duty. And if Paul could say of holy writ, that it "is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," as he speaks of the old Scripture, so to no part of it does that idea more fitly belong, than to the admonitory homilies of the prophets.*

5. With respect to the precise nature and extent of prophetic inspiration, much has been written with which it is unnecessary that we should trouble the reader. We may rest satisfied in the assurance that these "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (2 Pet. i. 21); and that by them "God spake, at sundry times and in divers manners, unto the fathers," Heb. i. 1.

6. The prophetic books are sixteen in number; and in modern editions of the Bible, they are usually divided into two classes, viz., *the greater prophets*, comprising Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, who were thus distinguished from the length of their books; and *the minor prophets*, comprising Hosea, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. They are not placed in our Bibles in the order of time in which they prophesied; but this circumstance should be carefully attended to, if we would understand them correctly.

7. The great object of prophecy was a description of the Messiah and his kingdom. The particulars of these were gradually unfolded by successive prophets, in prophecies more and more distinct. They were at first held forth in general promises; they were afterwards described by figures, and shadowed forth under types and allusive institutions, as well as clearly foretold in the full lustre of descriptive prophecy. The prophets were oftentimes the representatives of the future dispensers of evangelical blessings; as Moses and David were unquestionably types of Christ, Ezek. xxxiv. 23; Matt. xi. 14; Heb. vi. 20, vii. 1—3. Persons were sometimes descriptive of things, also, as Sarah and Hagar were allegorical figures of the two covenants, Gal. iv. 22—31, Rom. ix. 7—13. And, on the other hand, things were used to symbolize persons, as the brazen serpent and the paschal lamb were signs of our healing

and spotless Redeemer, John iii. 14: compare Exod. xii. 46 with John xix. 36. Hence it was, that many of the descriptions of the prophets had a two-fold character; bearing often an immediate reference to present circumstances, and yet being in their nature predictive of future occurrences. What they reported of the types was often, in a more signal manner, applicable to the thing typified; what they spoke literally of the present, was figuratively descriptive of future particulars; and what was applied in a figurative sense to existing persons, was often actually characteristic of their distant archetypes. Many passages, then, in the Old Testament, which in their first aspect appear to be historical, are in fact prophetic; and they are so cited in the New Testament, not by way of ordinary accommodation, or casual coincidence, but as intentionally predictive; as having a double sense, a literal and mystical interpretation. This mode of wrapping up religious truth in allegory, gives great interest to the sacred books, in the diligent perusal of which the most admirable contrivance and unexpected beauty will be discovered. That many of the prophecies in the Old Testament were direct, and singly and exclusively applicable to and accomplished in our Saviour, is certain; and that some passages are cited from the Old Testament by way of accommodation to circumstances described in the New, is perhaps equally true: but that this typical kind of prophecy was likewise employed, is evident from a vast number of passages; and it is this double character of prophecy which occasions those unexpected transitions and sudden interchange of circumstance, so observable in the prophetic books. Thus different predictions are sometimes blended and mixed together; temporal and spiritual deliverances are foretold in one prophecy; and greater and smaller events are combined in one point of view. To unravel this requires much attention, and a considerable acquaintance with the scope of the Scriptures.†

8. The language of the prophets is remarkable for its magnificence; the ornaments being derived, not from accumulation of epithet, or laboured harmony, but from the real grandeur of its images, and the majestic force of its expressions. Its sudden bursts of eloquence, its earnest warmth, its affecting exhortations and appeals, afford very interesting proofs of that vivid impression, and of

† For an able discussion of the structure and gradual development of prophecy, reference is made to Davison's Discourses on Prophecy, a work which cannot be too highly commended.

that inspired conviction, under which the prophets wrote. No style, perhaps, is so highly figurative as that of the prophets. Every object of nature and of art, which can furnish allusions, is explored with industry; every scene of creation, and every page of science, seems to have unfolded its rich varieties to the sacred writers, who, in the spirit of eastern poetry, delight in every kind of metaphorical embellishment.

9. On the style of the prophets much has been written, particularly by Vitranga, Calmet, Lowth, Michaëlis, and Newton. From the preliminary observations to Dr. Smith's "View of the Prophets," &c., where the principal observations of these learned writers have been abridged with great judgment, the following remarks have been selected.

10. The writings of the prophets, the most sublime and beautiful in the world, from their not being more generally understood, lose much of that usefulness and effect which they are so well calculated to produce on the souls of men. Many prophecies are somewhat dark, till events explain them. They are, besides, delivered in such lofty and figurative terms, and with such frequent allusions to the customs and manners of times and places the most remote, that ordinary readers cannot, without some help, be supposed capable of understanding them. What is not understood is seldom read; or if it be, it is only as a task, begun without inclination, gone through without pleasure, and ended without profit.

11. Some prophecies seem as if they were not intended that they should be clearly understood before they are fulfilled. As they relate to different periods, they have been intended for exciting the attention of mankind, from time to time, both to Providence and to Scripture, and to furnish every age with new evidence of the truth of divine revelation; by which means they serve the same purpose to the last ages of the world that miracles did to the first. Whereas, if they had been in every respect clear and obvious from the beginning, this wise purpose had been in a great measure defeated. Curiosity, industry, and attention, would at once be at an end; or, by being too easily gratified, would be little exercised.

12. Besides, a great degree of obscurity is necessary to some prophecies before they can be fulfilled; and if not fulfilled, the consequence would not be so beneficial to mankind. Thus, many of the ancient prophecies concerning the destruction of Jerusalem had a manifest relation to the remoter destruction by the Romans, as well as to the nearer one by the Chaldeans. Had the Jews perceived this, which was not indeed clear enough

till the event explained it, they would probably have wished to have remained for ever in their captivity at Babylon, rather than expose themselves or their offspring, a second time, to a destruction so dreadful as that which they had already experienced. In like manner, the prophecies relating to the Messiah had a view both to his first and to his second coming; they spoke of him as suffering, and yet conquering and reigning. The Jews, led by their situation first to wish, and then to expect, a conquering Messiah, did not clearly see the order of the prophecy, and that it behoved Christ, first to suffer, and then to enter into his glory; and therefore ignorantly, and in unbelief, they were instrumental in fulfilling the prophecy, by shedding that blood which was to atone for the sins of mankind. But this they could never have been so impious as to have attempted, had they fully known that they were crucifying the Lord of Glory.

13. With respect to our times, by far the greatest number of prophecies relate to events now past; and therefore a sufficient acquaintance with history, and with the language and style of prophecy, is all that is requisite in order to understand them. Some prophecies, however, relate to events still future; and these, too, may be understood in general, although some particular circumstances connected with them may remain obscure till they are fulfilled. If prophecies were not capable of being understood in general, we should not find the Jews so often blamed, in this respect, for their ignorance and want of discernment. That they did actually understand many of them, when they chose to search the Scriptures, we know. Daniel understood from the prophecies of Jeremiah the time at which the captivity in Babylon was to be at an end; and the scribes knew from Micah, and told Herod, where the Messiah was to be born. A very little attention might have enabled them in the same manner to understand others, as they probably did; such as the seventy weeks of Daniel, the destruction of the Babylonian empire, and of the other three that were to succeed; and also the ruin of the people and places around them, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, Sidon, Philistia, Egypt, and Idumea. Perhaps, indeed, a few enigmatical circumstances might have been annexed, which could not be understood till they were accomplished; but the general tenor of the prophecies they could be at no loss to understand. With regard to prophecies still future, we are in a similar situation. We know, in general, that the Jews will be gathered from their dispersions, restored to their own land, and converted to Christianity; that the fulness of the Gentiles will likewise come in, that

Antichrist, Gog, and Magog, and all the enemies of the church will be destroyed, after which the gospel will remarkably flourish, and be more than ever glorified. But several circumstances connected with those general events must probably remain in the dark, till their accomplishment shall clearly explain them.

14. Nevertheless, the obscurity which attends prophecy, does not always proceed from the circumstances or subject; but frequently from the highly poetical and figurative style in which it is for the most part conveyed.*

15. It is of importance to remark, that the same prophecies have frequently a double meaning, and refer to different events, the one near, the other remote; the one temporal, the other spiritual, or perhaps eternal. The prophets having thus several events in their eye, their expressions may be partly applicable to one, and partly to another; and it is not always easy to mark the transitions. Thus, the prophecies relating to the first and second restoration of the Jews, and the first and second coming of our Lord, are often interwoven together; like our Saviour's own prediction (Matt. xxiv.) concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. What has not been fulfilled in the first, we must apply to the second; and what has been already fulfilled may often be considered as typical of what still remains to be accomplished.

16. Almost all the prophecies of the Old Testament, whatever view they may have to nearer events, are ultimately to be referred to the gospel, where only we are to look for their full completion. Thus, Babylon, under the Old Testament, was a type of mystical Babylon, under the New; and the king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, a type of Antichrist; the temporal enemies of the Jews, types and figures of the spiritual enemies of Christians. We must not, however, expect to find always a mystical meaning in prophecy; and when the near and most obvious meaning is plain, and gives a good sense, we need not without reason depart from it, nor be over-curious to look beyond it.

17. In prophecies, as in parables, we are chiefly to consider the scope and design, without attempting

too minute an explication of all the poetical images and figures with which the sacred writers use to adorn their style.

18. Prophecies of a general nature are applicable by accommodation to individuals; most of the things that are spoken of the church in general, being no less applicable to its individual members. Prophecies of a particular nature, on the other hand, admit and often require to be extended. Thus Edom, Moab, or any other enemy of God's people, is often put for the whole of them; what is said of one being generally applicable to the rest. In like manner, what is said to or of any of God's people, on any particular occasion, is of general application and use; all that stand in the same relation to God having an interest in the same promises.

19. In the reckoning of time, a day is used by the prophets to denote a year; and things still future, to denote their certainty, are spoken of as already past. When the prophets speak of the last or latter days, they always mean the days of the Messiah, or the time of the gospel dispensation. *That day* means often the same, and always some period at a distance.

20. When places are mentioned as lying north, south, east, or west, it is generally to be understood of their situation with respect to Judea or Jerusalem, when the context does not plainly restrict the scene to some other place. By the earth (or the word so translated) the prophets frequently mean the land of Judea; and sometimes, says Sir Isaac Newton, the great continent of all Asia and Africa, to which they had access by land. By the isles of the sea, on the other hand, they understood the places to which they sailed, particularly all Europe, and, probably, the islands and sea-coasts of the Mediterranean.

21. The greatest part of the prophetic writings was first composed in verse; and still retains, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of a literal prose translation, much of the air and cast of the original, particularly in the division of the lines, and in that peculiarity of Hebrew poetry of which we have already treated.

22. The following table of the order and time of the appearance of the prophets is from Archbishop Newcome, who follows the chronology of Blair with some slight variations:—

* Of this we have copiously treated in Part I., ch. iii. sect. 10. The Section (11) on Symbolical Language should also be consulted.

Prophets.	Dates, B. C.	Kings of Judah.	Kings of Israel.
Jonah.	Between 856 and 784.		Jehu and Jehoahaz, according to Lloyd; but Joash and Jeroboam the second, according to Blair. Jeroboam the second, ch. i. 1.
Amos.	810 and 785.	Uzziah, ch. i. 1.	
Hosea.	810 and 725.	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, the third year of Hezekiah.	
Isaiah.	810 and 698	Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, ch. i. 1, and perhaps Manasseh.	Overthrown.
Joel.	810 and 690, or later.	Uzziah, or, possibly, Manasseh.	
Micah.	758 and 690.	Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, ch. i. 1.	Pekah and Hosea.
Nahum.	720 and 698.	Probably towards the close of Hezekiah's reign.	Overthrown.
Zephaniah.	640 and 609.	In the reign of Josiah, ch. i. 1.	
Jeremiah.	628 and 586.	In the 13th year of Josiah.	
Habakkuk.	612 and 598.	Probably in the reign of Jehoiakim.	
Daniel.	606 and 534.	During all the captivity.	
Obadiah.	588 and 583.	Between the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the destruction of the Edomites by him.	
Ezekiel.	595 and 536.	During part of the captivity.	
Haggai.	520 and 518.	After the return from Babylon.	
Zechariah.	From 520 to 518, or longer.		
Malachi.	Between 436 and 397.		

23. In this order we shall treat of the several prophets, dividing them into three classes; viz., those who flourished before the Babylonian captivity—those who flourished near to and under the captivity—and those who flourished after the return from Babylon.

SECTION II.

PROPHETS WHO FLOURISHED BEFORE THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

§ 1.—*The Book of Jonah.*

1. THIS book is so called from its author, Jonah, the son of Amittai, of Gath-Hepher, in Galilee, ch. i. 1. He is generally supposed to have prophesied in the reigns of Joash and Jeroboam II., kings of Israel, the former of whom began to reign A. M. 3163, the latter died A. M. 3220, 2 Kings xiv. 25. Jonah is said to have prophesied concerning Jeroboam, that he should restore the coast of Israel; which prophecy, not now extant, was perhaps delivered in the reign of Jehoahaz, the grandfather of Jeroboam, when the kingdom of Israel was greatly oppressed by the Syrians, comp. 2 Kings xiii. 3—7 with xiv. 26. It is therefore probable that Bishop Lloyd does not place Jonah too high in supposing that he prophesied towards the latter end of Jehu's reign, or in the beginning of that of Jehoahaz, when Hazael, by his cruel treatment of Israel, was verifying the predictions of Elisha, 2 Kings vii. 12, xii. 3, 4, 22.

2. Being desired by God to journey to Nineveh,

the capital of the Assyrian empire, and denounce the divine judgments on the iniquitous city, Jonah, who appears to have been of a naturally timid disposition, endeavoured to evade the mission by fleeing to Tarshish. During his voyage, however, a great storm arose, and he was thrown overboard by the terrified mariners, and swallowed by a large fish, which had been prepared by the Lord. Convinced of the impropriety of his conduct, he cried to the Lord out of the belly of the fish, which threw him forth on the sea-coast. Here the prophet received a second command to go to Nineveh, and proclaim its impending ruin. His message produced the desired effect: the people became penitent, were deeply humbled, and the divine anger was turned away for that time.

3. The book of Jonah is a simple narrative. The beautiful prayer contained in the second chapter has been justly admired; and, indeed, the whole book presents us with a lively and affecting description of the power and mercy of God. Dr. Gray has remarked, that the miracle by which God punished the unbecoming flight of Jonah, was, agreeably to the figurative arrangements of the Old Testament, rendered symbolical of an event that was to occur under the New. The prophet, in this instance a sign of Christ (Matt. xii. 39, 40, xvi. 4; Luke xi. 29, 30, &c.), was swallowed up by a great fish, as our Saviour was admitted into the jaws of death, and for a similar length of time. The fame of Jonah's deliverance appears to have spread among the heathen nations. The fictitious adventures of Hercules, who is said to

have continued alive for three days in the belly of a dog sent against him by Neptune; the fable of Arion and the Dolphin, and of Perseus and Andromeda, as well as the Indian tradition of Deucalion and his wife, have all some connexion with the prophet's story and deliverance.

§ 2.—*The Book of Amos.*

THIS prophet, who began his ministry in the time of Uzziah and Jeroboam II., was contemporary with Hosea, Jonah, and Isaiah, and perhaps also with Joel. He was a herdsman, and a gatherer of sycamore fruit; a native of Tekoa, a small town in the territory of Judah, about six miles south of Bethlehem, according to Jerome. The design of Amos's prophecies appears to have been to awaken the Israelites out of that vain confidence which they appear to have placed in their outward prosperity, while they abandoned themselves to idolatry, avarice, and every kind of impiety. Hence, he denounces the approaching captivity and dispersion of the people in the most terrible forms, mingling therewith predictions of their return from the coming captivity, and of the greater prosperity of the Messiah's kingdom. He also foretels the calamities with which the neighbouring cities of Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon, and Moab should be visited for their cruel oppressions of the people of God. The book contains a denunciation of the judgments of God against the neighbouring nations, as above (chap. i.—ii. 3); the divine judgments denounced against Judah (chap. ii. 4, 5); judgments against Israel (chap. ii. 6—ix. 10); and the restoration of the tabernacle of David, in the future reign of the Messiah (chap. ix. 11 to the end).

§ 3.—*The Book of Hosea.*

1. THIS prophet, whose predictions, from their extent and variety, occupy a considerable space among the minor prophets, was the son of Beeri, of the tribe of Issachar. He dwelt in the kingdom of Samaria, and his prophecies principally regard that kingdom, then fast verging towards its ruin. He is said to have prophesied under the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah; and under Jeroboam II., king of Israel. If this be correct, he must have lived very long; for there was a period of 112 years between the commencement of Uzziah's and the termination of Hezekiah's reign. If to this we add twenty, for his age when he entered on his prophetic office, it will make him above 120 years old. As there is nothing in his writings which indicates his having prophesied so long, Calmet is of opinion that the title of the book is a subsequent addition, and that

the commencement of the prophet's writing is, "The beginning of the word of the Lord by Hosea." In this he has been followed by more recent critics.

2. The design of the prophet is to reprove the people of Israel for their heinous sins and gross idolatry, to denounce the vengeance of God upon that apostate nation, and to warn the people of Judah against the revolting pollution of their sister kingdom. Among other prophecies, Hosea foretels the deliverance of Judah from Sennacherib; the punishment of Judah, and the desolation of its cities; the gathering of the Gentiles; the present state of the Jews, and their future restoration in the general establishment of the Messiah's kingdom; the calling of our Saviour out of Egypt; his resurrection on the third day; and the terrors of the last judgment, figuratively to be represented in temporal destruction impending over Samaria. Thus, amidst the denunciations of wrath, the people were animated and encouraged by some dawns of favour, and taught to cultivate righteousness and mercy, in expectation of the blessings of the Lord, and in the assurances of a final ransom from the power of the grave, and of a redemption from death, to be vanquished and destroyed.* The style of Hosea is rather concise, sententious, and abrupt. His figures and similitudes are rather lively than elegant, and are traced with greater force than exactness.† His book is cited by our Lord (Matt. ix. 12, 13, xii. 7), by the evangelist Matthew (ii. 15; comp. Hos. xi. 1), and by Paul, Rom. ix. 25, 26; 1 Cor. xv. 4, comp. Hos. vi. 2).

3. A singular circumstance connected with the history and ministry of Hosea, is that of his being enjoined to adopt a type which may appear to involve an immoral connexion: "Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord," chap. i. 2. Many commentators, shocked at the notion of such a union, understand the passage to have been a parable, and others, that it was a prophetic vision; but it appears from the whole account to have been a real transaction, though figurative as to the things it symbolized. The editor of Calmet has illustrated the circumstance by a description which the Baron du Tott gives of those temporary marriages common in the East.‡ That the whole transaction was intended to expose and reprove the iniquity of the Israelites, is fully shown by the prophet himself.

* Gray's Key, in *lib.*

† Lowth on the Heb. Poet., Lect. 21.

‡ Fragments, No. 43.

4. The book contains a representation of the infidelity of the Israelites, under the type of the prophet's marriage with a dissolute woman (chap. i. 1—9); promises of the future restoration and prosperity of the people (ver. 10, 11); an expostulation on account of the people's wickedness; God's judgments against them, with promises of reconciliation (chap. ii.); the desolation of Israel before their restoration (chap. iii.); a denunciation of the iniquities of the people (chap. iv. 1—14, 17, 19), and a caution to the people of Judah against being contaminated with their idolatry (ver. 15, 16); God's judgments against the priests, the people, and the princes of Israel (chap. v.); a pathetic exhortation to repentance, with bitter complaints of the obstinacy and iniquity of the people (chap. vi., vii.); terrible denunciations of the captivity, distress, and destruction of Israel for their sins and idolatry (chap. viii. 1—xi. 7); pathetic expostulations with the people, urging them to repentance, intermingled with threatenings of terrible punishment in the case of their impenitence (chap. xi. 8—xiv. 3); and a prophetic declaration of the restoration of all the tribes, their separation from idols, and the glory of the latter day (chap. xiv. 4, to the end).

§ 4.—*The Book of Isaiah.*

1. Of this distinguished prophet our information is scanty and uncertain. He is said to have been of the royal seed; his father being understood to be that Amos who was son of Joash, and brother of Amaziah, kings of Judah. He prophesied during four reigns—in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, ver. 1. It is also supposed that his ministry extended to the reign of Manasseh, by whom it is believed that he was put to a violent death, by "sawing asunder." Isaiah evidently prophesied for a great length of time; probably 60 years. The name of Isaiah, as Vitringa has remarked, is in some measure descriptive of his character, signifying "the salvation of Jehovah;" for no one of the prophets has foretold with such distinctness and particularity the advent and death of Him who was given for "salvation to the ends of the earth." He has always been regarded as a prophet of the highest eminence; and has been looked up to as the brightest luminary of the Jewish church. His style is lofty and elegant; and his metaphors and illustrations noble, and suitable to the dignity of the subjects of which he treats. Collectively viewed, his poetry forms the greatest tablet both of awfully solemn and of joyfully beautiful conceptions, ever exhibited in poetic prediction. He is far from surpassing all the Hebrew poets in

individual passages; but in his fulness, force, majesty, and propriety, he comprehends more excellencies of the poetical character than any one of them.* Bishop Lowth has selected the 34th and 35th chapters, as a specimen of the prophet's style, and has ably illustrated the various beauties which distinguish the simple, regular, and perfect poem contained in the section. But the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah's prophecies affords the grandest specimen of his poetic powers, presenting one of the sublimest odes in the Bible, marked by the boldest personifications to be found in the whole range of poetry.

2. The clear and subsequently fulfilled predictions of Isaiah place his inspiration and authority beyond all doubt. He foretold the captivities of Israel and Judah (xxxix. 6, 7, compare 2 Kings xxiv. 13 and Dan. i. 2), and described the ruin and desolation of Babylon, Tyre, and other nations (xiii. 19—27, xiv. 22—24, xlvii. 7—15). He called Cyrus by his name, and described his conquests and conduct towards the Jews, above 200 years before his birth, chap. xlv. 28, xlv. 1—5.† But his prophecies concerning the Messiah seem almost to anticipate the gospel history. Hence he has obtained the designation of "the evangelical prophet." The divine character of Christ (vii. 14, vi., ix. 6, xxxv. 4, xl. 5, 9, 10, xlii. 6—8, lxi. 1, lxii. 11—lxiii. 4); his miracles (xxxv. 5, 6, &c.); his peculiar qualities and virtues (xi. 2, 3, xl. 11, xliii. 1—3); his rejection (vi. 9—12, xlix. 7, liii. 3), and sufferings for our sins (l. 6, liii. 4—11); his death, burial (liii. 8, 9), and victory over the grave (xxv. 8, liii. 10, 12); and, lastly, his final glory (xlix. 7, 22, 23, lii. 13—15, liii. 4, 5), and the establishment, increase (ii. 2—4, ix. 7, xlii. 4, xlv. 13), and perfection (ix. 2, 7, xi. 4—10, xvi. 5, xxix. 18—24, xxxii. 1, xl. 4, 5, xlix. 9—13, li. 3—6, lii. 6—10, lv. 1—3, lix. 16—21, lx., lxi. 1—5, lxv. 25) of his kingdom, are each specifically pointed out, and portrayed with the most striking and discriminating characters. It is impossible, indeed, to reflect on these, and on the whole chain of his illustrious prophecies, and not be sensible that they present the most incontestable evidence in support of Christianity.‡

3. The predictions of Isaiah may be arranged thus: The first five chapters relate to the reign of Uzziah; the sixth, to the reign of Jotham, his successor; and the remaining chapters must be

* See Lowth's Prelim. Dissert. to his translation of this prophet.

† Jerome has remarked that the history of Xenophon is a good comment on Isaiah's prophecies.

‡ Gray's Key, p. 368, &c.

divided between Ahaz and Hezekiah; though it is not easy to draw the line precisely between those monarchs, as to their share in the several predictions, till we arrive at the 36th chapter, when we find ourselves in the fourteenth year of the reign of Hezekiah. The general opinion seems to be, that the reign of Ahaz embraces from the seventh to the fifteenth chapters, inclusively. According to the chronology of Usher, Isaiah began to prophesy A. M. 3244, B. C. 760, and his last predictions were delivered A. M. 3306, B. C. 698; a period of sixty-two years.*

4. According to Vitringa, this book is two-fold in its matter: 1. *Prophetical*; 2. *Historical*. The former he divides into five parts: Five prophetic discourses directed to the Jews and Ephraimites (chap. i.—xii.); eight prophetic discourses declaring the fate of the Babylonians, Philistines, Moabites, Syrians, Egyptians, Tyrians, and others (chap. xiii.—xxiv.); three discourses denouncing judgments on the disobedient Jews, and consoling the true followers of God (chap. xxv.—xxxv.); four discourses referring to the Messiah, and the deliverance of the Jews from Babylon (chap. xl.—xlviii.); five discourses, pointing out the passion, crucifixion, and glory of the Messiah (chap. xlix. to the end). The *historical* part begins with chap. xxxvi., and ends with chap. xxxix. It relates some of the transactions of the prophet's own time.

§ 5.—*The Book of Joel.*

1. JOEL, the son of Bethuel, prophesied before the subversion of Judah, but when that event was fast approaching; in the reign, as some think, of Manasseh; or, according to others, of Josiah: we cannot determine, from his predictions themselves, precisely the time or reign in which they were delivered. He is said to have been of the city of Betharan, in the tribe of Reuben. He is distinguished for the fervour, elegance, and sublimity of his style; and his short but sublime work exhibits all those characters of energy for which the most illustrious prophets were celebrated, combined with a richness of imagery seldom rivalled, and never surpassed. He even surpasses Isaiah in concinnity, and is much imitated in the Book of Revelation. His description of the army of locusts, in the second chapter, and of the effusion of the Spirit in the third, have no equal.

2. The substance of the prophet Joel's predictions relates to the impending ruin of his

country, and the final restoration of his people by the Messiah; containing an exhortation to repentance, by reason of the famine produced by the palmer-worm, &c., as a punishment of their sins (chap. i.); a denunciation of still greater calamities in the event of their impenitence (chap. ii. 1—12); and a prescribed fast, with a promise of blessings thereon (chap. ii. 13—27). From the fertility and prosperity of the land, the prophet makes an easy transition to the blessings of the gospel dispensation, particularly the effusion of the Holy Spirit (ver. 28—32); the conversion and return of the Jews, the destruction of their enemies, and glory of the church in the latter days (chap. iii.).

§ 6.—*The Book of Micah.*

1. MICAH was a native of Marasha, a village in the south of Judah, in the vicinity of Eleutheropolis, and prophesied in the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, kings of Judah. His predictions regarded both kingdoms; hence, he terms them "a vision concerning Jerusalem and Samaria," the two capitals. The Assyrian and Babylonian captivities were both drawing near, and the prophets Isaiah, Joel, Hosea, Amos, and Micah were raised up by God to foretell these calamitous events, and exhort the people to repentance. Micah's style possesses great energy, copiousness, pathos, and sublimity; not without singular beauty and elegance. There are some of his predictions which will bear a comparison even with Isaiah himself. The iniquities of Israel and Judah are reprov'd with sharpness and fidelity: the ruin of these monarchies, and the nations by which it should be effected, and their future restoration according to the divine promise, all are made to turn on that glorious centre of providence and grace to which all prophecy hastened, and in which it terminated—the reign of the Messiah.†

2. The prophet Micah is distinguished for having so expressly fixed the birth-place of the Messiah, and so sublimely delineated the character of that promised Deliverer, chap. v. 2. His book contains a denunciation of judgments against Israel and Judah for their sins (chap. i.—iii.); a prediction of the future glory of the church under the Messiah (chap. iv., v.); a declaration of the judgments which would befall the people for their sins, in the reign of Manasseh (chap. vi.); the desolation of the church, an expression of her confidence in God, and the return and conversion of the Jews to Christianity (chap. vii.).

* The reader will find an ably written article on the writings and times of Isaiah, in the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, vol. ix. p. 182, &c.

† *Encyclop. Met.*, Vol. IX., p. 181.

§ 7.—*The Book of Nahum.*

1. NAHUM, the Elkoshite, occupies a small but splendid place among the minor prophets. Josephus supposes him to have flourished in the reign of Jotham: and says, that his prophecies were accomplished 115 years after they were delivered. But the most accurate chronologers place him in the reign of Hezekiah, and conclude that his predictions were delivered soon after the destruction of Samaria by Shalmaneser. Accordingly, his book opens with a sublime exhibition of the power and goodness, the justice and compassion, of God. He represents "whirlwind and storm" encompassing him; "clouds" scattered "as the dust of His feet;" the sea shrinking and the rivers failing at His rebuke. Then this storm subsides instantly into a calm; every attribute of terror is laid aside, as He turns to his people; and all His majesty and power are combined for the security of those "that trust in Him." After this sublime expression, he directs his prophecies chiefly against Nineveh, and foretels the destruction of the Assyrian empire, by the Chaldeans.

2. The Book of Nahum will be best understood by being read as a continuation or supplement to the Book of Jonah. The prophecies of both are directed against Nineveh. But that of Jonah was followed by the preservation of the city; that of Nahum, which is more detailed in its circumstances, indicating the actual doom, was followed by its capture and destruction. They form connected parts of one moral history; the remission of God's judgment being illustrated in the one, the execution of it in the other. The attentive reader will perceive them to be contrasted in some of their contents, as well as in their general object: the repentance of the Ninevites and their wickedness; the clemency and just severity of the divine government, being combined together in the mixed delineation of the two books.* But of pure Christian prophecy, either direct or typical, *perhaps* the book of Nahum must be set down as affording no instance.†

3. Nahum's prophecies constitute one poem, comprising a description of the justice, long-suffering, and power of God (chap. i. 1—8); a prediction of the destruction of Sennacherib's army, and the subversion of the Assyrian empire (ver. 9—12); the death of Sennacherib and deliverance of Hezekiah (ver. 13—15); and a bold and minute description of the siege and destruction of Nineveh (chap. ii., iii.).

§ 8.—*The Book of Zephaniah.*

ZEPHANIAH was the son of Cushi, and is supposed to have been of the tribe of Simeon. He fixes the date of his prophecies in the reign of Josiah, and appears to have flourished in the early part of that era. It has been supposed, from the similarity of style, that Zephaniah has only abridged the prophecies of Jeremiah; but, as Dr. Gray remarks, he evidently flourished before that prophet, Jeremiah speaking of those abuses as partially removed, which Zephaniah describes as present in the most flagitious extent. This circumstance shows, also, that Zephaniah prophesied before the eighteenth year of Josiah, when this good king reformed the abuses of the Jewish church and state. His prophecies contain a general denunciation of vengeance against Judah (chap. i.); an exhortation to repentance for the purpose of averting their impending calamities (chap. ii. 1—3); predictions against the Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Ethiopians, and Assyrians (chap. ii. 4—15); a prophecy of the Babylonian captivity, in consequence of the sins of Judah; and the restoration of the Jews, and the future glory of the church (chap. iii.).

SECTION II.

PROPHETS WHO FLOURISHED NEAR TO AND DURING THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY.

§ 1.—*The Book of Jeremiah.*

1. THIS prophet was of the tribe of Benjamin, and was called to the prophetic office at a very early age. He entered upon it about 70 years after the death of Isaiah, and exercised it for about 42 years with great zeal and faithfulness. He was of the sacerdotal race, being one of the priests who dwelt at Anathoth, in the land of Benjamin. It has been supposed by some that his father was that Hilkiah, the high-priest, who found the book of the law in the temple, in the reign of Josiah; but this is improbable.

2. On being called to exercise the prophetic office, Jeremiah modestly endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading his youth and incapacity; but being overruled by the divine authority, he applied himself to the duties of his function with unremitting diligence and fidelity. This was about the 13th year of Josiah's reign. In the course of his ministry, he met with great opposition from his countrymen, whose persecution sometimes drew from him the most bitter complaints. He was a man of distinguished piety

* Compare Nah. i. 2, with Jon. iv. 2. Nah. iii. 1, with Jon. iii. 8.

† Davison's Discourses on Prophecy, p. 287

and conscientious integrity; a warm lover of his country; and so affectionately attached to his countrymen, that their bitterest opposition could not sever him from their fortunes. He refused the favour of the king of Babylon, to share in the afflictions of his country. After the destruction of Jerusalem, he followed the remnant of the Jews into Egypt, whither they went against his remonstrances. Here he continued to warn them of the consequences of their idolatrous practices; and it is said that his fidelity and zeal cost him his life. The wickedness and cruelty of this stiff-necked people, however, did not long go unpunished; for, in a few years after, they were miserably destroyed by the Babylonian armies which invaded Egypt, in conformity with the prophet's prediction, chap. xlv. 27, 28.

3. The idolatrous apostasy and other criminal enormities of the people of Judah, and the severe judgments about to be inflicted on them, intermingled with intimations of future restoration, are the principal subject-matters of the following prophecies; excepting only the 45th chapter, which relates personally to Baruch, and the six succeeding chapters, which respect the fortunes of some particular heathen nations.

4. It is observable, that, although many of these prophecies have their respective dates assigned to them, and others may be tolerably well guessed at from certain internal marks and circumstances, there appears to be a strange disorder in the arrangement, not easily to be accounted for on any principle of regular design. There is, indeed, a variation between the Hebrew copies and those of the LXX. version, in the arrangement of those particular prophecies concerning the heathen nations, which in the Hebrew are disposed all together, and as we think, in their proper order of time with respect to each other, at the end of the book; intentionally, as it should seem, not to interrupt the course of Jewish history, whilst the authors of the LXX. have inserted them, with some difference of order among themselves, though perhaps no very material one, after the 13th verse of the 25th chapter. But the disorder complained of lies not here: it is common to both Hebrew and Greek arrangements, and consists in the preposterous jumbling together of the prophecies of the reigns of Jehoiakim and Zedekiah, in the seventeen chapters which follow the 20th in the Hebrew copies; so that, without any apparent reason, many of the latter reign precede those of the former, and in the same reign the last delivered are put first, and the first last. As such an unnatural disposition could not have been the result of judgment, nor scarcely of inattention in the compiler, it follows that the original order has

most probably, by some accident or other, been disturbed. Dr. Blayney has endeavoured with great judgment to restore the proper order of the chapters, by transposing them wherever it appeared necessary. According to his arrangement, the predictions of Jeremiah are to be placed in the following order:—

(1) The prophecies delivered in the reign of *Josiah*, containing chapters i. to xii. inclusive.

(2) The prophecies delivered in the reign of *Jehoiakim*, comprising chapters xiii.—xx., xxii. xxiii., xxxv., xxxvi., xlv. to xlviii.; and from the 1st to the 33rd verse of chap. xlix.

(3) The prophecies delivered in the reign of *Zedekiah*, including chapters xxi., xxiv., xxvii.—xxxiv., xxxvii.—xxxix., xl.; verses 34—39, and chap. l. and li.

(4) The prophecies delivered under the government of *Gedaliah*, from the taking of Jerusalem to the retreat of the people into Egypt, and the prophecies delivered to the Jews in that country; comprehending chapters xl. to xlv. inclusive.*

This arrangement throws great light upon the prophecies, and has been adopted by most subsequent writers.

5. The following historical sketch of the times in which Jeremiah lived, is given with a view to throw light upon his prophecies in general, and may help to explain sundry circumstances and allusions that are found in them.

(1) In the reign of Manasseh, every species of impiety and moral corruption had been carried to the highest pitch, under the encouragement of royal example. And so thoroughly tainted were the minds of men by this corrupt influence, as to baffle all the endeavours of the good Josiah to bring about a reformation. This well-disposed prince, having in the 18th year of his reign providentially met with the book of the law, was struck with horror at the danger to which he found himself and his kingdom exposed by the violations of it. He therefore set about removing all the abominations that were in the land, and engaged his subjects to be more dutifully observant of the law for the time to come. But though the king's heart was right, and his zeal fervent and sincere, it was all hypocrisy and dissimulation on the part of the people; their hearts were incorrigibly turned the wrong way; and God, who saw clearly the real bent of their dispositions, was not to be diverted from his designs of vengeance. He began with depriving them by a sudden stroke

* Another arrangement of these prophecies, by Professor Dahler, may be seen in Dr. A. Clarke's Introduction to Jeremiah, in Comment.

of their excellent prince, under whose government they had enjoyed much happiness and tranquillity, of which they were altogether unworthy. He was slain in a battle with Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, whom Josiah had gone out to oppose on his march against the king of Babylon, he being at that time in an alliance with the Babylonians. His death, however fatal to his kingdom, was, as to his own particular case, a merciful disposition of Providence, that his eyes might not see all the evil that was coming on his land.

(2) Josiah being dead, his sons who succeeded him were not of a character to impede or delay the execution of God's judgments. It is said in general of them all, that they did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord. The first that mounted the throne was Shallum, or Jehoahaz, the second son, by the designation of the people. But his elevation was not of long continuance. Pharaoh Necho, having defeated the Babylonian forces, and taken Carchemish, on his return deposed Jehoahaz, after a reign of three months, and carried him to Egypt, from whence he never returned. In this short reign, Jeremiah does not appear to have had any revelation. Pharaoh Necho made use of his victory to reduce all Syria under his subjection; and having imposed a fine upon the kingdom of Judah of one hundred talents of silver, and one talent of gold, he received the money from Jehoiakim, son of Josiah, whom he appointed king in his brother's stead. Jehoiakim was one of the worst and most wicked of all the kings of Judah; a man totally destitute of all religion; unjust, rapacious, cruel, and tyrannical in his government. In the beginning of his reign, he put Urijah, a prophet of God, to death, for having prophesied, as it was his duty to do, of the impending calamities of Judah and Jerusalem. And having either built a new palace, or enlarged the old one that belonged to the kings of Judah, he, by a strain of authority not less mean than wicked, withheld from the workmen the wages they had earned in building it. In short, he set no bounds to his evil inclinations and passions; and his people, freed from the wholesome discipline which had restrained them in his father's time, were not behind hand with him in giving way to every sort of licentious extravagance. Three years he reigned without molestation or disturbance from abroad; but towards the latter end of his third year, Nebuchadnezzar, being associated in the government by his father Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, was sent into Syria to recover the dismembered provinces of the Babylonian empire. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, he beat the Egyptian army at the river Euphrates,

retook Carchemish, and having subdued all the intermediate country, appeared before Jerusalem, of which he soon made himself master. Jehoiakim was at first loaded with chains, with an intention of sending him to Babylon. He was, however, released on his submission, and again suffered to reign, on taking an oath to be a true servant of the king of Babylon. But numbers of his people were sent captives to Babylon, together with several children of the blood royal, and of the first families of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar proposed to breed up in his own court, in order to employ them afterwards in the affairs of his empire. At the same time, many of the sacred vessels were taken away, and deposited in the temple of Belus, at Babylon; so that from this date, the desolation of Judah may fairly be reckoned to have had its beginning.

(3) After the king of Babylon's departure, Jehoiakim continued to pay him homage and tribute for three years. In the mean time, both he and his people persisted in their evil courses, undismayed by the mischiefs which had already befallen them, and making light of the threatenings which God, by the ministry of his prophets, repeatedly denounced against them. At length Jehoiakim refused to pay any longer the tribute assigned him, and broke out into open revolt. To chastise him, the king of Babylon, not being at leisure to come in person, directed his vassals of the neighbouring provinces, the Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites, to join with the Chaldean troops that were on the frontiers, and to ravage the land of Judah. They did so for three years together, and carried off abundance of people from the open country, who were sent to Babylon. Jehoiakim, in some attempt, as it should seem, to check these depredations, was himself slain without the gates of Jerusalem; and his dead body, having been dragged along the ground with the greatest ignominy, was suffered to remain without burial in the open fields.

(4) Jeconiah, the son of Jehoiakim, a youth of 18 years old, succeeded his father in the throne, and followed his evil example, as far as the shortness of his reign would admit. From the beginning of it Jerusalem was blocked up by the Babylonian generals. At the end of three months, Nebuchadnezzar joined his army in person, and upon his arrival, Jeconiah surrendered himself and his city at discretion. He was transported directly to Babylon, with his mother, his family, and his friends, and with them all the inhabitants of the land of any note or account. The treasures also of the temple and of the king's house, and all the golden vessels which Solomon had provided for the temple service, were at this time carried away.

We read of no prophecy that Jeremiah actually delivered in this king's reign; but the fate of Jeconiah, his being carried into captivity, and continuing an exile to the time of his death, was early foretold in his father's reign, as may be particularly seen in the 24th chapter.

(5) The last king of Judah was Zedekiah, the youngest son of Josiah, whom Nebuchadnezzar made king, and exacted from him a solemn oath of allegiance and fidelity. He was not, perhaps, quite so bad a man as his brother Jehoiakim, but his reign was a wicked one, and completed the misfortunes of his country. His subjects seem to have but little respected him, whilst they considered him in no other light than as the lieutenant or viceroy of the king of Babylon, whose sovereignty they detested, and were continually urging him to throw off the yoke. Nor had he been long in the possession of his kingdom, before he received ambassadors from the kings of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon, soliciting him to join in a confederacy against the Babylonian power. But he was wise enough at this time to hearken to the prophet Jeremiah's advice, and to reject their propositions; and for some time he consented to send his presents and ambassadors to Babylon yearly, in token of his obedience. But the iniquities of his people were now ripe for punishment; and their idolatries, as the prophet Ezekiel describes them (chap. viii.), were become so enormously profligate, that the stroke of vengeance could no longer be suspended. Zedekiah, therefore, was at last prevailed on by evil counsel, and the promise of assistance from Egypt, to break his oath, and renounce his allegiance, by which he drew upon himself the arms of the king of Babylon, who invaded Judah, took most of its cities, and invested Jerusalem. The Egyptians made a show of coming to his relief, and the Chaldean army, informed of their approach, broke off the siege, and advanced to meet them; having first sent off the captives that were in the camp. This produced a signal instance of the double dealing of the Jews. For in the first moments of terror, they had affected to return to God, and in compliance with his law had proclaimed the year of release to their Hebrew bondservants, and let them go free. But on the retreat of the Chaldeans, when they believed the danger was over, and not likely to return, they repented of their good deeds, and compelled those whom they had discharged to return to their former servitude. The Egyptians, however, durst not abide the encounter of the enemy, but faced about, and returned to their own land, leaving the people of Judah exposed to the implacable resentment of the king of Babylon. The siege was immediately

renewed with vigour, and the city taken, according to the circumstantial account which is given in the 52nd chapter.

(6) The subsequent transactions, of the murder of Gedaliah, of the retreat of the Jews that remained in Egypt, and of their ill behaviour there, are so particularly related, chap. xl.—xliv., that it were needless to repeat them here. But it may be of use to observe, that in the second year after the taking of Jerusalem, Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Tyre; and in the course of that siege, which lasted 13 years, he sent part of his forces against the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Philistines, and other neighbouring nations, to desolate and lay waste the country, as the prophets of God had foretold. At the same time Nebuzaradan, the Babylonian general, again entered the land of Judah, and carried off a few miserable gleanings of inhabitants that were found there. In the next year after the taking of Tyre, the king of Babylon invaded Egypt, which he plundered and ravaged from one end to the other; and on this occasion, all the Jews that had fled into that kingdom for refuge, were almost entirely cut off or made prisoners. Such was the state of affairs in general, till, in the course of time, and precisely at the period which had been foretold, the Babylonian monarchy was itself overturned by the prevailing power of the Medes and Persians, and the Jewish nation once more returned to their proper land.

6. The style of Jeremiah is beautiful and tender to a high degree, especially when he has occasion to excite the softer passions of grief and pity, which is not seldom the case in the first parts of his poetry. It is also, on many occasions, very elegant and sublime, especially towards the end, chap. xli. 6, where he approaches even the majesty of Isaiah. The historical narratives which are occasionally introduced, are written in a plain prosaic style.

7. We must not omit to notice, that the writings of Jeremiah contain two or three striking predictions of the Messiah. On chap. xxiii. 5, 6, Dr. Hales has cited a remarkable passage from the ancient rabbinical book of *Iktanin*, which well expresses the reason of the appellation given to the Redeemer: "The Scripture calls the name of the MESSIAH, JAOH, our RIGHTEOUSNESS, to intimate that he will be A MEDIATORIAL GOD, by whose hand we shall obtain justification from THE NAME: wherefore it calls him by the name of THE NAME, (that is, the ineffable name JAOH, here put for GOD HIMSELF!)"* The miraculous conception

* Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii., p. 481.—But see Dr. A. Clarke, *in loc.*

is clearly predicted in chap. xxxi. 22; and the spirituality and surpassing glory of the gospel dispensation is as clearly marked out in ver. 31—36 of the same chapter.

8. The contents of these prophecies being so multifarious, we shall not attempt an analysis. The divisions we have already given into four parts, will assist in their investigation. It is necessary to remark, however, that Bishop Lowth considers the 52nd chapter as having been added after the return from Babylon, and as forming a proper introduction to the Lamentations.

§ 2.—*The Lamentations of Jeremiah:*

1. SOME authors have supposed that these were the lamentations referred to in 2 Chron. xxxv. 25; but this cannot be, as it is evident, from the subject-matter of those we now possess, that they were not written till after the subversion of the kingdom of Judah. These pathetic compositions deplore the accomplishment of those prophecies which had already been uttered by the prophet.

2. The Lamentations were certainly written in metre, and consist of plaintive effusions, composed upon the plan of the funeral dirges, all upon the same subject, and uttered, as Bishop Lowth thinks, without connexion, as they rose in the mind of the prophet, in a long course of separate stanzas, which have subsequently been put together, and formed into one entire poem. The whole is properly divided in our Bibles into five parts, each of which is a distinct elegy, consisting of twenty-two periods, corresponding with the number of letters in the Hebrew alphabet. In the first four elegies the several periods commence, as an acrostic, with the different letters following each other in alphabetical order. In the first, second, and fourth elegy, the prophet addresses the people in his own person, or else personifies Jerusalem, and introduces that city as a character; the third part is supposed to be uttered by a chorus of Jews, represented by their leader; and in the fifth, the whole nation of the Jews, on being led into captivity, pour forth their united complaints to Almighty God.*

§ 3.—*The Book of Habakkuk.*

1. THIS prophet lived in the reign of Jehoiakim, and was contemporary with Jeremiah. That he prophesied after the taking of Nineveh, is inferred from his silence respecting the Assyrians, while he predicts the terrible judgments which threatened

his country from the Chaldeans, whom he calls a "bitter and hasty nation," and whose ferocious character and unsparing cruelty he describes with all the force and grandeur of oriental imagery. The Chaldeans are threatened in their turn; and the book closes with a magnificent description of the majesty of God. Whoever reads the prophecies of Habakkuk must be struck with the grandeur of his imagery, and the sublimity of his style, especially in the ode in the third chapter, which Bishop Lowth ranks among the most perfect specimens of that class of poetry. Michaëlis pronounces Habakkuk to have been a great imitator of former poets, but with some additions of his own, and with no common degree of sublimity.†

2. This book contains an appeal to God on the rapid growth of impiety and vice among the Jewish people (chap. i. 1—4); God announces the approaching captivity as a punishment for their wickedness (ver. 5—11); upon which the prophet humbly expostulates with him, for punishing his people by the Chaldeans (ver. 12—ii. 1); God promises a future accomplishment of the promises made to his people, by the Messiah (which also refers to the near deliverance of Cyrus), and shows that in the mean time the just will live by faith (ver. 2—4); the destruction of the Babylonian empire is then foretold (ver. 5—20); and the prayer or psalm of the prophet follows, in which he implores God to hasten the redemption of his people (chap. iii.).

§ 4.—*The Book of Daniel.*

1. DURING the captivity of the Jews in Chaldea, this eminent prophet was raised up by God, to exhibit and uphold the true religion. He was descended from the royal family of Judah, and was carried to Babylon after the destruction of Jerusalem, when about 18 or 20 years of age. He was contemporary with Ezekiel, who mentions his extraordinary wisdom and piety, Ezek. xiv. 14, 20. The book which passes under the name of Daniel was certainly of his composition, although some Jewish writers maintain that prophecies were never committed to writing out of the limits of Judea, and that the book in question was composed by men of the great synagogue. In many passages he represents himself as the author, in the most express and unequivocal terms. It was admitted into the Jewish canon as his, and its genuineness is confirmed by the references of the New Testament, Matt. xxiv. 15,

* Lowth on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, Lect. 21.

† In Lowth on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, vol. ii., p. 99, note, Gregory's Translation.

Mark xiii. 14. Josephus also affirms that Daniel himself committed his prophecies to writing.* His prophecies concerning the Messiah, the destruction of Jerusalem, the revolution of states, and other remarkable events, are astonishingly clear, and their very dates precisely marked. All his prophecies are related to each other, like the several parts or members of the same body. The first is the easiest to be understood, and every succeeding prophecy adds something new to what goes before. That part of his book which relates to the Babylonian empire (chap. ii. 4 to the end of chap. vii.), is written in Chaldee; but all the rest in Hebrew. He lived in great favour with the Babylonian monarchs, and his extraordinary merit procured him the like regard from Darius and Cyrus, the two first kings of Persia. He was indeed the only prophet who enjoyed any great share of worldly prosperity. He lived throughout the captivity, but does not seem to have ever returned to his own country. The last of his visions which we have an account of, was in the third year of Cyrus (about 534 B. C.), when he was about 94 years of age; and it is not likely he lived much longer. He was then at Susa, on the Tigris, where he probably remained till he died.†

2. The style of Daniel is not in general so remarkable for its poetical and figurative cast, as that of most of the other prophets; but it possesses more of the ease and simplicity of historical narration, though the visions which he records are in themselves highly figurative and emblematical. The whole book comprises a detail of regular history and remarkable prophecy; and this intermixture gives it a very novel and interesting complexion. The first six chapters are principally historical, with the exception of the second, which contains the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's prophetic dream, respecting the successive establishment and decay of the chief kingdoms of the world, till the introduction of that which was finally to obtain unrivalled power and universality. There is such an air of truth, and such a justness of colouring, in the different accounts of the miraculous deliverance of Shadrach and his companions from the fiery furnace, to which they were consigned by the persecuting intolerance of Nebuchadnezzar; in the unhallowed and sacrilegious festivity of Belshazzar, with the awful consequences that ensued; in the story of Daniel's commitment and deliverance from the lions' den; and in all the minute details of these

transactions; that the reader is transported to the very spot, and has his passions infallibly engaged in every scene. The alternations of terror and of delight agitate the bosom, while sentiments of the sublimest nature are incidentally communicated. It is, indeed, a tale of wonder, divested of all fictitious adornments; but a tale of great political and moral importance, and of most evident practical utility. The events of the sixth chapter belong to the time of Darius the Mede: in the seventh and eighth, the reader is carried back to a previous period, namely, to the first three years of the reign of Belshazzar. The last six chapters consist of prophecies which, though manifestly connected, were delivered at different times.‡

3. The prophecies of Daniel were in many instances so exactly fulfilled, that those persons who would otherwise have been unable to resist the evidence which they furnished in support of our religion, have not scrupled to affirm that they must have been written subsequently to those occurrences which they so faithfully describe. But this groundless and unsupported assertion of Porphyry, who, in the third century, wrote against Christianity, serves but to establish the character of Daniel as a great and enlightened prophet; and Porphyry, by confessing and proving from the best historians, that all which is included in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, relative to the kings of the north and of the south of Syria, and of Egypt, was truly and in every particular acted and done in the order there related, has undesignedly contributed to the reputation of those prophecies of which he attempted to destroy the authority; for it is contrary to all historical testimony, and contrary to all probability, to suppose that the Jews would have admitted into the canon of their sacred writ, a book which contained pretended prophecies of what had already happened. And indeed it is impossible that these prophecies should have been written after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, since they were translated into Greek near 100 years before the period in which he lived; and that translation was in the possession of the Egyptians, who entertained no kindness for the Jews, or their religion. Those prophecies, also, which foretold the victories and dominion of Alexander (chap. viii. 5, xi. 3) were shown to that conqueror himself by Jaddua, the high-priest, as we learn from Josephus (book x. c. 12, book xi. c. 8); and the Jews thereupon obtained an exemption from tribute every sabbatical year, and the free exercise

* Jewish Antiquities, Book X. chap. 22.

† Smith's Summary View of the Prophets, p. 155.

‡ See Encyclopædia Metropolitana, vol. ix. p. 296.

of their laws. Many other prophecies in the book have also been fulfilled since the time of Porphyry.

4. Daniel not only predicted future events with singular precision, but accurately defined the time in which they should be fulfilled, as was remarkably exemplified in that illustrious prophecy of the seventy weeks, in which he prefixed the period for "bringing in everlasting righteousness by the Messiah," as well as in giving the mysterious predictions that probably mark out the time or duration of the power of Antichrist, and, as some suppose, for the commencement of the millennium, or universal reign of saints, which they conceive to be foretold, for the explanation of which we must wait the event.*

5. The *historical* part of the writings of Daniel contains a narrative of the education of Daniel and his associates in Babylon (chap. i.); Nebuchadnezzar's dream, with its interpretation (chap. ii.); the miraculous preservation of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, in the fiery furnace, and their promotion (chap. iii.); a second dream of Nebuchadnezzar interpreted by Daniel, and its accomplishment (chap. iv.); Belshazzar's impious feast, Daniel's interpretation of the mysterious writing, the death of Belshazzar, and the taking of the city by the Medes and Persians (chap. v.); Daniel's promotion under Darius, the conspiracy formed against him, his preservation in the den of lions, and Darius's decree (chap. vi.).

6. The *prophetical* part comprises the vision of the four beasts, concerning the four great monarchies, with its interpretation (chap. vii.); the vision of the ram and he-goat, typifying the destruction of the Medo-Persian empire, by the Greeks and Macedonians, under Alexander, and its interpretation (chap. viii.). Daniel, understanding from the Prophecies of Jeremiah that the termination of the 70 years' captivity was now drawing towards a close, was engaged in fasting and prayer for the restoration of Jerusalem, when the angel Gabriel was sent to him, to inform him that the holy city should be rebuilt and peopled, and should continue for a period of 70 weeks, or 490 years; at the end of which it should be utterly destroyed for putting the Messiah to death (chap. ix. 1—24): the commencement of this period is fixed to the time when the order was issued for rebuilding the temple, in the seventh year of Artaxerxes; see Ezra vii. 11. Seven weeks, or 49 years, the temple was building; 12 weeks, or 84 years more, bring us to the public manifestation of Messiah, at the beginning of John the Baptist's preaching; and one week,

or seven years, added to this, will reach the time of our Lord's death, or the 33rd of the Christian era; in all, 490 years, according to the prophecy,† ver. 25—27; Daniel's last prophetic vision in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, in which the succession of the Persian and Grecian monarchies is described, with the wars that should take place between Syria and Egypt, under the latter monarchy, and the conquest of Macedon by the Romans (chap. x. 1—36); the tyranny of the Antichrist which was to spring up under the Romans, till the church be purified from its pollutions (ver. 36—39); a prediction of the invasion of the Romans by the Saracens from the south, and of the Turks from the north (ver. 40—45, compare Ezek. xxxviii. 2, 15, 4, 5, 16, 8; xxxix. 2, 4; xxxviii. 22, 23; Rev. xx. 8, 9); and the proper conclusion to these great revolutions, in the general resurrection (chap. xii. 1—4). The whole concludes with a notation of the time when these events were to be accomplished; when the Jews were to be restored, Antichrist destroyed, the fulness of the Gentiles brought in, and the reign of the saints to begin (ver. 5—13).‡

§ 5.—*The Book of Obadiah.*

1. It is not quite certain when this prophet lived, but it is highly probable that he was contemporary with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who denounced the same dreadful judgments on the Edomites, as the punishment of their pride, violence, and cruel insultings over the Jews, after the destruction of their city. The prophecy, according to Usher, was fulfilled about five years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

2. Obadiah's prophecy may be divided into two parts—the judgments denounced on the Edomites, ver. 1—16; the restoration and future prosperity of the Jews, ver. 17—21. Though this prophecy was partly fulfilled in the return of the Jews from Babylon, and the conquests of the Maccabees over the Edomites, 1 Mac. v. 3—5, 65, &c., it is thought to have a further aspect to events still future.

§ 6.—*The Book of Ezekiel.*

1. This prophet was the son of Buzi, a descendant of Aaron, of the tribe of Levi, and consequently of the sacerdotal order. He was carried to

† Smith's Summary View, p. 164.

‡ The reader who is desirous of studying these interesting and important prophecies, may consult the works of Mede, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishop Newton, Mr. Faber, Dr. Hales, &c.

* Gray's Key, in loc.

Babylon along with Jehoiakim or Jeconiah, king of Judah. He entered upon his prophetic office in the fifth year of his captivity, and exercised his functions for about twenty-one years, that is, from the year B. C. 595, and thirty-five years after Jeremiah had begun his office, so that the last eight years of that prophet coincide with the first eight of Ezekiel. His design appears to have been, chiefly, to convince the captive Jews that they erred in supposing their brethren who still remained in Judea to be in happier circumstances than themselves. Hence he describes the terrible judgments impending over that country, with the final destruction of the city and temple, and inveighs against the heinous sins which were the cause of such calamities. Josephus affirms that Ezekiel wrote two books on the captivity at Babylon;* but as we have no intimation of the kind in the Sacred Volume, and as the Jewish historian has not given his authority for the statement, it may fairly be rejected.

2. The Jews assert that the Sanhedrin hesitated before they admitted the writings of Ezekiel into the canon of Scripture; probably because they misunderstood some parts of his prophecies, particularly the eighteenth chapter, which they conceived to be contradictory to the law of Moses. The discrepancy, however, completely vanishes when the scope or design of the prophet is regarded; and, in fact, Moses himself has said the very thing objected against Ezekiel. See Deut. xxiv. 16.

3. With regard to the style of Ezekiel, Bishop Lowth pronounces him to be much inferior to Jeremiah in elegance, but not excelled by Isaiah in sublimity, though his sublimity is of a different kind. "He is deep, vehement, tragical; the only sensation he affects to excite is the terrible; his sentiments are elevated, fervid, full of fire, indignant; his imagery is crowded, magnificent, terrific, sometimes almost to disgust; his language is pompous, solemn, austere, rough, and at times unpolished; he employs frequent repetitions, not for the sake of grace or elegance, but from the vehemence of passion or indignation." "In many respects he is, perhaps, excelled by the other prophets; but, in that species of composition to which he seems by nature adapted, the forcible, the impetuous, the great and solemn, not one of the sacred writers is superior to him." "The greater part of Ezekiel, towards the middle of the book especially, is poetical, whether we regard the matter or the diction. His periods, however, are frequently so rude and incompact, that we are often at a loss how to pronounce concerning his perform-

ance in this respect. Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, as far as relates to style, may be said to hold the same rank among the Hebrews, as Homer, Simonides, and Æschylus among the Greeks. There are some elegies in Ezekiel, which are actually distinguished by the title of lamentations, and which may, with the utmost propriety, be referred to the class of elegies. Among these are the two lamentations concerning Tyre, and the king of Tyre."† Michaëlis dissents from Lowth, and is inclined to think that the prophet displays more art and luxuriance in amplifying and decorating his subject than is consistent with poetical fervour, or, indeed, with true sublimity. He pronounces him to be an imitator, but yet to have the art of giving an air of novelty and ingenuity, but not of grandeur and sublimity, to all his compositions; that the imagery which was familiar to the Hebrew poetry he constantly makes use of; and that those figures which were invented by others, but were only glanced at or partially displayed by those who first used them, he dwells upon, and depicts with such accuracy and copiousness, as to leave nothing to add to them, nothing to be supplied by the reader's imagination. Archbishop Newcome, however, has entered into an elaborate investigation of the style of Ezekiel, which he concludes with remarking, that "if the prophet's style is the old age of the Hebrew language and composition, it is a firm and vigorous one, and should induce us to trace its youth and manhood with the most assiduous attention. ‡

4. This book contains Ezekiel's call to the prophetic office (chap. i. 1—28); his commission and encouragements for executing it (chap. i. 28—ii.); his instructions (chap. iii. 1—27); denunciations against the Jewish people, mingled with promises of mercy and restoration (chap. iv—xxiv.); prophecies against the Tyrians (chap. xxv.—xxviii. 19), and Sidonians (ver. 20—23); promises of deliverance to the Jews, and restoration to their own land (ver. 24—26); a prediction of the conquest of Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar (chap. xxix.—xxxii.); a warning, reminding the prophet of the awful responsibility of his office (chap. xxxiii. 1—9); an exhortation to the Jews to repent, with promises of mercy and acceptance on their obedience (ver. 10—20). The prophet receives intelligence of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, whence he takes occasion to check the vain confidence of his countrymen, by foretelling the utter desolation of all Judea (ver. 21—29); and reproves the hypocrisy of those who listen to his instructions without obeying them (ver. 30—33.)

* Antiquities of the Jews, b. x., ch. 6.

† Lowth on the Poetry of the Hebrews, Lecture 21.

‡ Preface to Ezekiel, p. lxi.

A reproof directed against the rulers of the people, and a promise to restore them to their own land under the Messiah, and render them prosperous and permanently secure (chap. xxxiv.); a resumption of the predictions against the Edomites, for their insults to the Jews (chap. xxxv., xxxvi. 15); and a promise of deliverance and restoration to the latter (ver. 16—xxxvii.). A prophecy yet unfulfilled, relating to the victory of Israel over Gog and Magog (chap. xxxviii., xxxix. 1—22; compare Rev. xx. 8, 9), which is concluded with a promise of deliverance from the captivity, and of a future restoration of all Israel (ver. 28, 29); a vision representing a new temple and city, and a new government, typical of an universal church; commonly believed to be the description of a temple of corresponding construction with the celebrated temple of Solomon, but having, probably, a further reference, and really delineating a spiritual edifice, which “shall be filled with the glory of the Lord” (chap. xl.—xlviii.).

SECTION III.

PROPHETS WHO FLOURISHED AFTER THE RETURN FROM BABYLON.

§ 1.—*The Book of Haggai.*

1. THIS prophet lived about 520 years before Christ. He was raised up for the purpose of stimulating Zerubbabel, Joshua, and the people, to resume the building of the temple, which had been interrupted, for fourteen years, by the intrigues of the Samaritans. He commences his work by remonstrating with the people for being so solicitous about the completion and adornment of their own houses, while they suffered the house of God to remain in an unfinished state. He declares that the glory of the latter temple should greatly surpass that of the former—not in external splendour—but in spiritual magnificence, as it should be visited by the King Messiah.

2. Bishop Lowth pronounces Haggai to be the most obscure of the prophetic writers. His work may be considered as, in general, a prose composition, but there are some passages of much sublimity and pathos.

3. This book contains a reproof as above-mentioned, and an encouragement to set about the repletion of the Lord's house (chap. i., ii. 9); a prediction of an abundant harvest, as the reward of the people's obedience (ver. 10—19); and a prophecy of the mighty revolution which should take place by the setting up of the kingdom of Christ, under the type of Zerubbabel (ver. 20—23).

§ 2.—*The Book of Zechariah.*

1. ZECHARIAH was the son of Barachiah, but the place of his birth and the tribe to which he belonged are equally unknown. He was contemporary with Haggai, and was called to the prophetic office for the same purpose as that prophet.

2. The poetry of Zechariah is to be found towards the close of his prophecies, which contain several splendid passages. His style so much resembles Jeremiah, that the Jews were accustomed to say the spirit of that prophet had passed into him.

3. The Book of Zechariah contains an exhortation to repentance and to the completion of the temple (chap. i. 1—6); encouragements to the latter work (ver. 7—ii. 5); an admonition for the Jews to depart from Babylon, with a promise of the divine presence (ver. 6—13); further encouragements to rebuild the temple, with assurances of success, and of a great future deliverance by the Messiah (chap. iii., iv.); a vision, in which the divine judgments against the wicked are represented as great and swift: (the vision also intimates that the Babylonish captivity was occasioned by the wickedness of the people, and that a second would occur, should they continue impenitent, chap. v.); a vision of four chariots drawn by several sorts of horses, denoting the succession of the four great empires (chap. vi. 1—8); another vision, referring, probably, in its primary sense, to the establishment of the kingdom under Zerubbabel and Joshua, but in a fuller sense, to the kingdom of the Messiah (ver. 9—15). A deputation from the Jews in Babylon having been sent to Jerusalem, to inquire of the priests and prophets if they were still to observe the fasts on account of the destruction of Jerusalem, the prophet is commanded to enforce upon them the necessity of true repentance, judgment, and mercy, and the utter worthlessness of those outward observances which do not spring from a principle of obedience and love to God (chap. vii.); a promise of the restoration of Judah, with the returning favour and presence of God (chap. viii. 1—17); a permission to discontinue the fasts of the captivity (ver. 11, 19); a promise of the future enlargement of the church in the conversion of the Gentiles (ver. 20—23). Predictions of the conquest of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, by Alexander the Great (chap. ix. 1—7); a declaration of the number of Philistines who should become proselytes to Judaism, and also of the watchful care of God over his temple in those troublous times (ver. 7, 8); a prophecy of the advent of Christ, the peace and extent of his kingdom, and the complete subjugation of all the enemies of his

people (ver. 9—17, comp. Matt. xxi. 5, and John xii. 15); a denunciation of the evils of idolatry, accompanied with an exhortation to the worship of God, and a promise of great prosperity on the obedience of the people (chap. x., compare Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.); a prediction of the rejection and destruction of the Jews for their rejection of the Messiah (ch. xi.); God declares his care of his people notwithstanding their sins, and his interposition in their favour; their deep sorrow and grief for the rejection of the Messiah, and their conversion to the faith of the gospel (chap. xii., xiii.); the destruction of Jerusalem, probably by the Romans; God's interposition in the destruction of their enemies; and their subsequent prosperity (chap. xiv., compare Ezek. xxxviii. 39, and Rev. xx. 8, 9).

§ 3.—*The Book of Malachi.*

1. MALACHI, the last of the prophets, completed the canon of the Old Testament Scriptures about 409 years before Christ, towards the end of the government of Ezra and Nehemiah. It has been imagined by some writers, that *Malachi* (*angel* or *messenger*) was merely a general name, ex-

pressive of office, and that it was given to Ezra, whom they suppose to be the author of this book. Others conceive Malachi to have been an incarnate angel. For such opinions, however, no good ground can be assigned.

2. This prophet appears to have been raised up for the purpose of reproofing the sins of the people, and of reforming those abuses which had crept into the Jewish church and state during the absence of Nehemiah at the court of Persia. His writings contain a denunciation of the divine displeasure, in consequence of the sins and idolatry of the people (chap. i., ii.); a prediction of the coming of Christ, and of the ministry of his harbinger, John the Baptist (chap. iii. 1); the terrible judgments which were to accompany the advent of the Messiah, in case of the impenitence of the people (ver. 2—6); reproofs for various sins committed, and a declaration that God will ultimately make a signal distinction between the righteous and the wicked (ver. 7—iv. 1); another prediction of the appearance of "the Sun of Righteousness," and his great harbinger, John, with a solemn injunction to regard the law of Moses (ver. 2—6).

CHAPTER V.

OF THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS.

1. It is not our intention to do more than advert to these books, for the purpose of bringing before the reader the connecting link between the Old and the New Testament. Malachi, as we have said, was the last of the prophets under the old dispensation; and Nehemiah, who was contemporary with him, was the last of these civil governors appointed by God, and whose proceedings are recorded in sacred history.

2. The chasm thus left in history, between the events recorded in the Hebrew writings and those chronicled in the gospels, has been filled up by Joseph or Josephus, who has never been placed on a level with the canonical writers; and certain other persons, most of them now unknown, who have, by the church of Rome, been exalted to a rank equal to the inspired penmen, but who are of no authority, either as historians or as teachers of divine things. Their books are denominated *apocryphal*—a word of Greek origin, derived either from *απο της κρυπτης*, because they were removed from the crypt, chest, or other receptacle,

in which the sacred books were deposited; or from *απο, from, and κρυπτω, I hide*, because their original is concealed from their readers as quite destitute of proper testimonials, and of a very doubtful character.* These books consist of *Esdras*, two books (the second being called *Tobit*), *Judith*, *Esther*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Baruch*, the *Epistle of Jeremiah*, the *Song of the three Hebrews*, *Susanna*, *Bel and the Dragon*, and the three books of the *Maccabees*. They are of various character and qualities; some of them are found in Syriac, some in Greek, and some only in Latin, while others of them are extant in all the three languages, and also in Arabic. *Tobit* and the *Wisdom of Solomon* are the most valuable of these books for their moral precepts, and the books of the *Maccabees* for their historical narratives.

3. The history of the Apocrypha, however,

* Rev. J. Whitridge, in *Scripture Manual*, *Crítica Biblica*, vol. iii., p. 11.

comes down only to about the year 135, B. C.; so that the student is compelled to have recourse to other sources to supply the deficiency. Josephus we have already mentioned; but for a connected history of the Jews and neighbouring na-

tions during this period, Prideaux's "Old and New Testament connected" is the best work extant. Dr. A. Clarke has given a succinct summary of this at the close of his Commentary on the Old Testament.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE GOSPELS.*

SECTION I.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

1. THE term GOSPEL, as previously remarked, is the designation given to the writings of the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; which comprise an authentic account of the incarnation, ministry, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ. It must not be supposed, however, that these writers have related all the circumstances of the life of the Redeemer, or that they have recorded all the discourses and instructions he delivered. Their object has been to preserve a record of the most important of these; and of such a character as should disclose the nature and divine origin of the Christian system. This is in fact declared by John: "Many other things there are, which Jesus did, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name." Some things related by one Evangelist are omitted by another, or related with some varying circumstances, as best suited the object for which they were severally writing. Another thing to be observed is, that the writers of the gospels have not confined themselves to chronological order, the arrangement of events being not merely those of time, but of the various associations; such as similarity in the facts themselves, vicinity of place, &c. A want of attention to this circumstance will induce much confusion in reading the evangelical histories.† Finally, it does not appear to have been any part of the design of the evangelists to preserve the *very words* made use of on any occasion, but rather to give the sense and meaning

of what was spoken. A remarkable proof of this we have in Matt. x. 9, compared with Mark vi. 8. In the former passage, Jesus is introduced speaking to his apostles thus: "Provide—neither shoes, nor yet a staff;" but in the latter, which exhibits the repetition of these instructions, he commanded them that they should take nothing for their journey, *save a staff only: words*, in fact, contradictory to the former, though in sense perfectly the same. Such of the apostles as were possessed of staves might take them; but those who were without them were not to provide them. So, also, the words addressed from heaven at the baptism of Christ, Matt. iii. 17: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased," though different in point of fact from the words in Mark i. 11, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased;" yet being the same in sense, they are truly repeated. Many other passages might be cited; but these will suffice for our present purpose, as well as to give a satisfactory solution of the difficulties that present themselves on comparing the quotations in the New Testament with the passages in the Old, whence they are taken; for if the meaning of the passage be truly given, it must be allowed that the quotation is justly made.‡

2. That the gospels were written by the persons whose names they bear, we have the concurring and decisive testimony of the ancient Fathers of the Christian church. (1) A passage from Polycarp (who, as Irenæus informs us, was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles, and conversed with many who had seen the Lord), is cited by Victor Caperanus, in which we find the names of the four gospels, as we at present have them, and the beginning of their several histories. (2) Justin Martyr, who, according to Eusebius, lived

* We have offered some general remarks on the divisions in the New Testament, in Part I., chap. ii., sect. 7.

† For some valuable observations on this subject, the reader is referred to Cook's *Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament* p. 210 &c.

‡ See Macknight's *Prelim. Observations*, Obs. i. The reader may find some judicious remarks on the quotations from the Old Testament in the New, in Cook's *Inquiry*, p. 284, &c.; or in the *Crítica Biblica*, vol. ii., p. 165, &c.

not long after the apostles, shows that these books were then well known by the name of *Gospels*, and were read by Christians in their assemblies every Lord's-day. We also learn from him that they were read by Jews, and might be read by heathens; and that we may not doubt that, by the "memoirs of the Apostles, which" says he, "we call gospels," he meant these four, received then in the church, he cites passages out of each, declaring that they contained the words of Christ. (3) Irenæus, in the same century, not only cites them all by name, but declares that there were neither more nor fewer received by the church, and that they were of such authority, that though the heretics of his time complained of their obscurity, depraved them, and endeavoured to lessen their authority, yet they durst not wholly disown them, nor deny them to be the writings of those apostles whose names they bore. He further cites passages from every chapter of Matthew and Luke, from fourteen chapters of Mark, and from twenty chapters of John. (4) Clemens of Alexandria, having cited a passage from "the gospel according to the Egyptians," informs his readers "that it was not to be found in the four gospels delivered by the church." (5) Tatian, who flourished in the same century, and before Irenæus, wrote "a chain," or "harmony of the Gospels," which he named, "The Gospel gathered out of the Four Gospels." (6) Inasmuch as these gospels were "written," says Irenæus, "by the will of God, to be the pillars and foundation of the Christian faith," the immediate successors of the apostles, who, says Eusebius, did great miracles by the assistance of the Holy Ghost, and performed the work of evangelists in preaching Christ to those who had not yet heard the word, made it their business, when they had laid the foundation of that faith among them, to "deliver to them the writings of the holy gospels."

3. It has been objected, however, that other gospels, bearing the names of apostles, are mentioned as having existed in the early ages of Christianity. But this materially tends to confirm the tradition of the church, concerning those four we now receive. This will be evident from the following considerations. (1) We find no mention of any of these supposititious gospels till the close of the second century, and of but few of them till the third or the fourth; that is, not until long after the general reception of the four gospels by the whole church of Christ. For Justin Martyr and Irenæus, who cite large passages from these four gospels, take not the least notice of any others, mentioned either by the heretics or by the orthodox. (2) Those writers who speak of them, in the close of the second, or in the following centuries,

do it with this remark, that the gospels received by the tradition of the church were *only four*, and that the others belonged not to them, nor to the evangelical canon. Dr. Whitby, to whom we are indebted for these remarks, and in whose general preface the reader may find the authorities for the passages here cited, sums up the argument as follows: Seeing, then, (1) that these four gospels were received without any doubt or contradiction by all Christians from the beginning, as the writings of those apostles and evangelists whose names they bear, and that the first Christians both acknowledged and testified that these writings were delivered to them by the apostles, as the pillars or fundamental articles of their faith: Seeing (2) that the same gospels were delivered by the immediate successors of the apostles to all the churches which they converted or established, as the rule of their faith: Seeing (3) they were read from the beginning, as Justin Martyr testifies, in all assemblies of Christians, on the Lord's day; and so must have been early translated into those languages in which alone they could be understood by some churches, viz., the Syriac and Latin: Seeing (4) they were generally cited in the second century for the confirmation of the faith, and the conviction of heretics; and that the presidents of the assemblies exhorted those who heard them to practise and imitate what they heard: Seeing (5) we never hear of any other gospels till the close of the second century, and then only hear of them with a mark of reprobation, or a declaration that they were *ψευδο-εὐαγγέλια*, falsely imposed upon the apostles, that they belonged not to the evangelical canon, or to the gospels delivered to the churches by a succession of ecclesiastical persons, or to those gospels which they approved, or by which they confirmed their doctrines, but were to be rejected as the inventions of manifest heretics;—all these considerations must afford us a sufficient demonstration that all Christians then had unquestionable evidence that these four gospels were the genuine works of those apostles and evangelists whose names they bore, and so were worthy to be received as the records of their faith. What reason, then, can any persons of succeeding ages have to question what was so universally acknowledged by those who lived so near to that very age in which these gospels were indited, and who received them under the character of the holy and divine Scriptures?

4. In closing these introductory remarks, it may be necessary to advert to a subject which has given rise to a multiplicity of works on the continent of Europe especially, viz., the *origin* of the three first gospels. Since the publication of Bishop

Marsh's translation of Michaelis, in which the learned translator inserted an elaborate dissertation on the subject of this inquiry, it has been discussed to a considerable extent among the divines of Germany. The cause of the inquiry is to be found in the verbal agreement of the three evangelists on *some* of the subjects on which they treat, while in *others* there is found, not only a difference in the words, but a discrepancy in the facts. To account for these phenomena, various hypotheses have been assumed, each of which has been advocated with considerable learning and zeal. The following are the two principal ones:

(1) *The later evangelists borrowed from the writings of the former.* This theory of course admits of a great variety of modifications. Any one of the three might be supposed the original, and either of the other two might be supposed to have drawn from him, and the third from either or both of the two former. The precedence accordingly assigned in a different order by different critics, and almost every possible shape of the hypothesis has found an advocate.*

(2) *All the three evangelists, or at least two of them, drew from some common source or sources.* This hypothesis, also, is susceptible of many forms. For not only might there be several sources or one; but if only one, this one might be either oral tradition, or a written document; and if the latter, that might either be imagined so copious as to occasion different selections, or so scanty as to occasion different enlargements. All these views—that of several documents prior to our gospels; that of a common oral tradition; that of a single, large, and multifarious original, from which our evangelists made extracts; and that of a concise outline, which in its passage through various hands grew to the size of a little book—were successively adopted. It was in the last form, that of a short Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic original document, supposed to have constituted the basis of our three first gospels, that the above hypothesis was introduced into this country by Bishop Marsh, with the modifications which appeared to him necessary to explain all the phenomena of the gospels.†

(3) It is not our design to enter into an investigation of this subject: it would be incompatible with

our limits, and useless to the great bulk of our readers. There are many phenomena in the literary history of the Scriptures which it is infinitely beyond the capacity of mortals to comprehend;—it is foolish and absurd to attempt the explication, in many instances, of their literal difficulties—especially where we are unable to afford even the appearance of accounting for them, except from mere hypothesis and groundless conjecture, unassisted by any positive evidence; and it would be profane to mutilate the Scriptures, or alter them even in a single word or letter, without sufficient authority. We believe that none of the hypotheses proposed, will be found sufficient to account for the verbal phenomena of the Gospels; and we therefore think it the wisest measure to reject the whole of them. If the evangelists copied from each other, their testimony will be reduced to one only; and if they used a common document, the case will be so much the worse, since that one will then be an unknown testimony. We must therefore use extreme caution, lest, by admitting a common document, we should lower the character of the sacred writers, and diminish the independent proofs of their credibility and authenticity. Their remarkable agreement is a convincing proof of their strict fidelity; while their occasional difference affords incontrovertible evidence that they neither copied each other, nor drew from a common source.‡

4. In this view of the case we have four separate and independent witnesses to the same transactions. The three former writing without the knowledge of each other; the latter perusing their several narratives, and, by the publication of a fourth, confirming the truth of the former three.

SECTION II.

THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW.

1. THIS apostle was surnamed Levi, and was the son of Alphæus, a native of Galilee. Our Lord called him from the receipt of custom; and he was therefore a publican or tax-gatherer. He was an attendant on our Saviour during the whole time of his ministry, was constituted an apostle, and after the ascension he continued at Jerusalem with the rest of the apostles till the day of Pentecost. What became of him after this period, we know not.

His gospel, which is placed first in all the col-

* In support of the general hypothesis, the reader may consult Townsend's "Discourses on the four Gospels."

† These persons who are desirous of obtaining a general view of the state of the controversy, may consult the Introduction to Schleiermacher's "Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke," which is drawn up with considerable ability. A less extended view of the subject may be seen in the "Critical Biblica," Vol. II., pp. 345–369.

‡ The reader may consult Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, Vol. III., p. 105, &c.; and Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists, p. 33, &c.

lections of the sacred books, is almost universally allowed to have been the earliest written. Its precise date is difficult of determination. The earliest period assigned to it is 37; the latest, 64. After a careful consideration of the arguments adduced on each side of this much litigated question, we prefer the earlier date as the most probable.*

3. Another thing that has exercised the talents and ingenuity of biblical critics, is the language in which this evangelist wrote his gospel. There have been three hypotheses offered, each of which can boast as its advocates, men of profound learning and talents. The first opinion is, that Matthew originally wrote in Hebrew, or the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, spoken by the Jews in our Saviour's time; the second is, that he wrote his gospel in Greek; and the third is, that there were two originals, one Greek, the other Hebrew. The arguments seem to preponderate in favour of the last mentioned opinion; for, as Mr. Townsend remarks, the authorities which Dr. Lardner and Mr. Horne have collected, to prove that Matthew wrote his gospel in Hebrew, or that there were some documents called the gospel of Matthew compiled in that language, are so numerous and so decisive, that we are hardly warranted in rejecting these testimonies; and there are again, on the other hand, such evident marks of originality in the present Greek gospel of Matthew, that we are not justified in esteeming it, with Michaëlis, a mere translation. It is possible that the real state of the case might be this. When the persecution began, or was beginning, Matthew, who, perhaps might have already committed to writing the memorable events of Christ's history, might have distributed among his own countrymen, the converts of Jerusalem, an account of the transactions and teaching of our Lord; but as the persecution was not confined to Judea, but extended to Gentile cities, the converts who had taken refuge in them would be naturally anxious to have the gospel in that language which was most generally understood, that the glorious works of redemption and salvation might be made known to them, as well as to others. It is probable, therefore, that the Hebrew gospel was first

used, while the converts remained in Judea, or at least during the continuance of the Pauline persecution; and that it might have been given about six years after the ascension, when the persecution was beginning; in the year 34 or 35, the date which is here assigned to it. The Greek gospel might have been given some years later, when the converts returned to Jerusalem, and required inspired histories of our Lord to be sent to their brethren of those cities in which their safety had been secured. This hypothesis will reconcile some of the discrepancies which have embarrassed many inquirers in their research into the early history of the church. It accounts also for the early disuse and non-appearance of the Hebrew gospel, while it agrees with the early date assigned to Matthew's history.

4. That Matthew wrote his Gospel for the use of the Jews, not only accords with the voice of antiquity, but with the contents of the book itself, in which every circumstance is carefully pointed out which might conciliate the faith of that nation; and every unnecessary expression avoided which might serve in any way to obstruct it. Those passages in the prophets, or other sacred books, relative to the Messiah, and which were generally understood in that age to be so, are never passed over in silence. The fulfilment of prophecy was always to the Jews, convinced of the inspiration of their sacred writings, a principal topic of argument. Accordingly, none of the evangelists has been more careful than Matthew, that nothing of this kind should be overlooked.† He has, further, been more particular than either of the other evangelists, in relating those discourses of our Lord which go to recommend internal religion and purity, and to unveil the deformities and denounce the wickedness of deceit and hypocrisy. That this was admirably adapted for the instruction of the Jewish converts, will appear from the following considerations.

5. The Jews were much disposed to consider the letter of the law as the complete rule and measure of moral duty; to place religion in the observance of rites and ceremonies, or in a strict adherence to some favourite precepts, written or traditionary; to ascribe to themselves sufficient power of doing the

* The reader who is desirous of weighing the arguments on either side of this question, may consult Tomline's *Elements of Theology*, Vol. I., p. 301; Owen's *Observations on the Four Gospels*, p. 8, &c., and Townsend's *Works*, Vol. I., p. 107, &c., in favour of the early date; and in favour of the late date, Lardner's *Works*, Vol. II., p. 163, &c. 4to.; Marsh's *Michaëlis*, Vol. III., p. 97, &c.; and Percy's *Key*, p. 39, &c., 7th edition. Mr. Horne has given an abstract of these arguments, *Introduct.*, Vol. IV., p. 229, &c., 4th edit. which has been copied with some additions by Mr. Townsend; *Arrangement of Old Test.*, Vol. II., p. 80, &c.

† *Arrangement of the New Testament*, Vol. II., p. 89. On this much disputed question, the student may consult Lardner's *Works*, Vol. II., p. 157, &c. 4to edit.; Townsend's *Works*, Vol. I., p. 30; Marsh's *Michaëlis*, Vol. III., Part I., p. 112, &c.; Campbell on the *Gospels*, Vol. III., p. 2, &c., 3rd edit. Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*, Vol. II., p. 664, &c. Whitty's *General Preface*, and Horne's *Introduction*, Vol. IV., p. 234, &c.

‡ Campbell on the *Gospels*, vol. iii. p. 36, &c.; and Townsend's *Works*, vol. i. p. 121, &c.

divine will without the divine assistance; and, vain of a civil or legal righteousness, to condemn all others, and esteem themselves so just that they needed no repentance, nor any expiation but what the law provided. They rested in the covenant of circumcision and their descent from Abraham as a sure title to salvation, however their lives were led; and though they looked for a Messiah, yet with so little idea of an atonement for sin to be made by his death, that the cross proved the great stumbling-block to them. They expected him to appear with outward splendour, as the dispenser of temporal felicity; the chief blessings of which were to redound to their own nation in an earthly Canaan, and in conquest and dominion over the rest of mankind.*

6. A tincture of these delusive notions, which they had imbibed by education and the doctrine of their elders, would be apt to remain with too many, even after their admission into the church of Christ. How necessary, then, was it, that just principles concerning the way of life and happiness, and the nature and extent of the gospel, should be infused into the breasts of these sons of Son, that they might be able to work out their own salvation, and promote that of others; since they were to be the *salt of the earth*, and the *light of the world*; the first preachers of righteousness to the nations, and the instruments of calling mankind to the knowledge of the truth.

7. Matthew therefore has chosen, out of the materials before him, such parts of our blessed Saviour's history and discourses, as were best suited to the purpose of awakening them to a sense of their sins, of abating their self-conceit and overweening hopes, of rectifying their errors, correcting their prejudices, and exalting and purifying their minds. After a short account, more particularly requisite in the first writer of a gospel, of the genealogy and miraculous birth of Christ, and a few circumstances relating to his infancy, he proceeds to describe his forerunner, John the Baptist, who preached the necessity of repentance to the race of Abraham and children of the circumcision, and by his testimony prepares us to expect one mightier than he; mightier as a prophet in deed and word, and above the sphere of a prophet, mighty to sanctify by his Spirit, to pardon, reward, and punish by his sovereignty. Then the spiritual nature of his kingdom, the pure and perfect laws by which it is administered, and the necessity of vital and universal obedience to them, are set

before us in various discourses, beginning with the sermon on the mount, to which Matthew hastens, as with a rapid pace, to lead his readers. And that the holy light shining on the mind by the word and life of Christ, and quickening the heart by his Spirit, might be seconded in its operations by the powers of hope and fear, the twenty-fifth chapter of this gospel, which finishes the legislation of Christ, exhibits him enforcing his precepts, and adding a sanction to his laws, by the most noble and awful description of his future appearance in glory, and the gathering of all nations before him to judgment. Matthew then passes to the history of the Passion, and shows them, that the *new covenant*, foretold by their prophets, was a covenant of spiritual, not of temporal blessings; established in the sufferings and death of Christ, *whose blood was shed for many*, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS (Matt. xxvi. 28); which it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away. To purge the conscience from the pollution of dead and sinful works required the blood of him, *who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God*.

8. With the instructions of Christ are intermixed many hints, that the kingdom of God would not be confined to the Jews, but that, while numbers of them were excluded through unbelief, it would be increased by subjects of other nations. And thus the devout Israelite was taught, in submission to the will and ordinance of heaven, to embrace the believing Samaritan as a brother, and to welcome the admission of the Gentiles into the church, which was soon after to commence with the calling of Cornelius. And as they suffered persecution from their own nation, and were to expect it elsewhere in following Christ, all that can fortify the mind with neglect of earthly good, and contempt of worldly danger, when they come in competition with our duty, is strongly inculcated.†

9. This gospel abounds more than any of the others with allusions to Jewish customs, and with terms and phrases of Jewish theology. The style is every where plain and perspicuous—the words are arranged in their natural order—the periods are free from obscurity and intricacy—the narrative is well conducted—the discourses, parables, and actions of Jesus, are described in an artless, unaffected simplicity, and without any encomiums of the historian; the reader being left to draw the proper inference. The genius of his gospel is worthy an apostle—shows the familiar friend and companion of the Saviour—and its whole form and structure evinces its author to have had a perfect

* See Justin Martyr's Dial. with Trypho the Jew, p. 153, 158, 164, &c. Ed. Thirlby. Bell's Harmonia Apostolica: pars posterior, chap. xv., xvi., xvii. Whitby on Matt. iii. 9; Rom. ii. 13; 2 Thess. ii. p. 438.

† Townson's Works, vol. i. p. 5, &c

acquaintance with the public and private life, the principles, temper, and disposition of the Saviour, whose character he delineates.*

10. There is one circumstance relative to this evangelist which demands notice; there is not a truth, or doctrine, in the whole oracles of God which he has not taught. The outlines of the whole spiritual system are here correctly laid down. Even Paul himself has added nothing: he has amplified and illustrated the truths contained in this gospel; but neither he nor any other of the apostles has brought to light one truth, the prototype of which has not been found in the words or acts of our blessed Lord as related by Matthew in his Gospel. This is the grand text-book of Christianity; the other gospels are collateral evidences of its truth; and the apostolic epistles are comments upon this text.†

Instead of giving an analysis of each separate gospel, we have preferred to give Mr. Townsend's harmonized view of the four evangelical narratives, which will be much more useful to the reader. ‡

SECTION III.

THE GOSPEL OF MARK.

1. THERE has been considerable difference of opinion among learned men, as to the identity of the writer of this gospel. The Fathers are unanimous in calling him the companion of Peter, who, in his first epistle, mentions a person of this name, whom he calls his son (chap. v. 13), and who was, in all probability, this evangelist. But whether this were the same person of whom mention is made in several places in the Acts, and some of Paul's epistles, who is called, "*John*, whose surname is *Mark*," whose mother's name was Mary (Acts xii. 12), and of whom we are likewise told that he was sister's son to Barnabas (Col. iv. 10), is not so certain. Calmet, Dr. Campbell, and others, think there is no evidence of this. The generality of writers, however, are of the contrary opinion. Michaëlis, who has collected and compared, in a very perspicuous manner, the different circumstances related of Mark in the New Testament, observes, "It appears from Acts xii. 12, that Mark's original name was John, the surname of Mark having probably been adopted by him when he left Judea to go into foreign countries; a practice not unusual among the Jews of that age, who frequently assumed a name more familiar to the nations which they visited, than that by which they had been distinguished in their own country."

2. That this gospel was written by Mark, and that it was the second in order of time, are points for which the unanimous voice of antiquity can evidently be pleaded. The first authority in support of both these articles, is Papias, to whom, as the oldest witness, and, consequently, in a case of this nature, the most important, we are chiefly indebted for what has been advanced in relation to the evangelist Matthew. What he has said concerning Mark, may be thus rendered, from Eusebius: "This is what is related by the elder (that is, John, not the apostle, but a disciple of Jesus); Mark being Peter's interpreter,|| wrote exactly whatever he remembered, not indeed in the order wherein things were spoken, and done by the Lord; for he was not himself a hearer or follower of our Lord, but he afterwards, as I said, followed Peter, who gave instructions as suited the occasions, but not as a regular history of our Lord's teaching. Mark, however, committed no mistake in writing such things as occurred to his memory: for of this one thing he was careful, to omit nothing which he had heard, and to insert no falsehood into his narrative."§ Such is the testimony of Papias, which is the more to be regarded as he assigns his authority. He spoke not from report, but from the information he had received from a most credible witness, John the elder or presbyter, a disciple of Jesus, and companion of the apostles, by whom he had been intrusted with a ministry in the church. To this might be added the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, and of Origen; to add these, however, would be superfluous. Suffice it to say, that what is above advanced by Papias, on the authority of John, is contradicted by no one. It is, on the contrary, confirmed by all who take occasion to mention the subject. We therefore only subjoin the account given by Irenæus, because it serves to ascertain another circumstance, namely, that the publication of Mark's gospel, the second in the order of time, soon followed that of Matthew. After stating that Matthew published his gospel, while Peter and Paul were preaching at Rome, he adds, "After their departure, Mark also, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, delivered to us, in writing, the things which had been preached

|| Hist. Eccles. l. iii. c. 39.

§ When the Fathers call Mark "the interpreter of Peter," we must not understand an "interpreter," in the common acceptance of the word, of which Peter stood less in need than Mark himself. It is similar to the phrase *Interpres Dicum*, when applied to Mercury, which signifies "messenger of the gods." *Interpres Petri*, or *Ερμηνευτης Περτου*, therefore, when applied to Mark, signifies nothing more than "a person commissioned by Peter to execute his commands."—Michaëlis.

* Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. p. 176.

† Dr. A. Clarke, concluding notes on Matthew.

‡ See page 188, &c., post.

by Peter.* Many things seem to prove that Mark's gospel was written, or dictated, by a spectator of the actions recorded. Thus, chap. i. 20: "They left their father in the ship with the hired servants." Ver. 29: The names of James and John, omitted by Matthew (viii. 14), are mentioned. Ver. 33: The crowd at the door. Compare Matt. viii. 16, and Luke iv. 40, 41. Ver. 35, 36: His disciples seeking Christ when he had risen to pray, see Luke iv. 42. Ver. 45: The conduct of the leper after his cure, see Matt. viii. 4, and Luke v. 14, 15. Chap. ii. 2: The cure of the paralytic, see Matt. ix. 1, and Luke v. 18, 19. Hence it appears, that the opinion which has been held by some writers, that Mark only abridged Matthew's gospel, is destitute of foundation. Indeed, Michaëlis, who formerly adopted this notion, but afterwards abandoned it, has shown, that the insertions and omissions of this evangelist, as well as his deviations from Matthew, in the order of time, render this hypothesis highly improbable.† Dr. Townson, too, has fully proved, from a variety of minute incidents, not noticed by the other evangelists, that Mark's gospel must have been either written or dictated by an eye-witness. Chap. iii. 5: Among these are Christ's looking round on the people, see Matt. xii. 9—13, Luke vi. 6—11. Ver. 17: The mention of the names omitted by the other evangelists (ver. 21), and which is peculiar to Mark. Chap. iv. 26: The parable of the growing corn, so applicable to the call of the Gentiles, is also peculiar to Mark, ver. 34, compared with Matt. xiii. 31—34. Ver. 36: He also relates the cause of our Lord's sleep in the ship; that it was after the fatigue of the day. This is omitted in Matt. viii. 24—26; Mark iv. 37, 38; Luke viii. 23, 24. Ver. 36: "Other little ships were with them." Ver. 38: "He was in the hinder part of the ship, asleep on a pillow"—both omitted by the others. The particulars mentioned in the account of the Gadarene demoniacs. See Matt. viii. 28—34; Mark v. 1—19; Luke viii. 26—39. The number of the swine; the mentioning of the very words which our Lord spake to the daughter of Jairus (chap. v. 41); the blind man casting away his garment (x. 50); the mentioning of the names of those who came to him privately (iii. 3, 4); all which minutiae could have been known only to a spectator and hearer of our Lord's words and discourses.‡

3. So far in proof of this gospel having been written under the direction of an eye-witness of the transactions it records; and that this eye-witness was the apostle Peter, agrees extremely well with the contents of the gospel, as well as with the current of tradition;|| and this circumstance will further serve to explain several particulars, which at first sight appear extraordinary. For instance, where Peter is concerned in the narrative, mention is sometimes made of circumstances which are not related by the other evangelists, as at chap. i. 29—33, ix. 34, xi. 21, xiv. 30. And on the contrary, the high commendations which Christ bestowed on Peter, as appears from Matt. xvi. 17—19, but which the apostle, through modesty, would hardly have repeated, are wanting in Mark's gospel. At chap. xiv. 47, Mark mentions neither the name of the apostle, who cut off the ear of the high-priest's servant, nor the circumstance of Christ's healing it. We know that this apostle was Peter, for his name is expressly mentioned by John; but an evangelist who wrote his gospel at Rome during the life of Peter, would have exposed him to the danger of being accused by his adversaries, if he had openly related the fact. Had Mark written after the death of Peter, there would have been no necessity for this caution.§

4. That Mark wrote for the especial instruction of Gentile converts, is evident from the care with which in several instances he explains oriental circumstances and Jewish customs. Thus he explains (chap. viii. 2) the meaning of *κοινῆς χρησέας*, *defiled or common*, by adding, *that is, unwashen*. And further, the rite there alluded to is, in the following verses, explained in a manner which, to one in Matthew's circumstances, who wrote for the immediate use of the natives of Judea, familiarized to such observances, must have appeared entirely superfluous. The word *mammon*, used by Matthew and Luke, is by Mark altogether avoided, who uses the common word *riches*, because the former, though familiar in Judea, and perhaps through all Syria, might not have been understood even by the Hellenist Jews at Rome, whereas the latter could not be mistaken any where. In chap. vii. 11, he employs the oriental word *Corban*, but immediately subjoins the interpretation, *that is, a gift*; and in like

* Advers. Har. l. iii. c. Marsh's Michaëlis, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 204, &c. Campbell's Preface to St. Mark's Gospel, vol. iii.

† Introd. vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 216, &c.

‡ Discourses on the Gospels, vol. i. p. 179; Townsend's Arrangement, vol. ii. p. 148.

|| Without attempting to dispute this well attested fact, the late ingenious and learned editor of Calmet has attempted to prove that Mark must have been well qualified from his own personal observation and knowledge to narrate many things in the gospel history. See Fragments to Calmet, No. DCCXXV.

§ See many additional instances in Townson's Works, vol. i. p. 151, &c.

manner he explains the meaning of *παράκειν*, in chap. xv. 42.*

5. Concerning the time when Mark published his gospel, writers are not agreed. It is allowed by all the ancient authorities that it was written at Rome; but the precise time is difficult of determination. Mr. Townsend, as we have seen, supposes it to have been published as early as the year 44; that is, 7 years after the publication of Matthew's gospel; but some writers bring it down as low as the year 65. That it was written at the time when the devout Gentiles were first admitted into the church, is pretty clear from internal evidence. In chap. vii. 14—23, the spirituality of the law is compared with Peter's address to Cornelius. In ver. 24—30, the Syrophenician woman is received; a Greek having faith in Christ—so Cornelius was not a Jew, but accepted. Chap. xii. 1—12: The parable of the vineyard, descriptive of the calling of the Gentiles; the event which had now taken place. Chap. xiii. A prediction of the fate of the temple—the result of the rejection of the Jews. In chap. xiv. 24 is the expression, "My blood, which is shed for many," which Dr. Lardner refers to the calling of the Gentiles. From chap. xvi. 15, Dr. Lardner says, Mark evidently understood the extent of the apostolic mission.†

6. The testimony of the Fathers goes to confirm this hypothesis. Eusebius asserts that it was composed at Rome, in the reign of Claudius; and Theophylact and Euthymius state that it was written ten years after Christ's ascension.

7. There are two objections to this early date of Mark's gospel. One, that he is said (Acts xii. 25) to have gone to Antioch with Saul and Barnabas; the other, an allusion to the progress of the apostle in the last verse of his gospel. In reply to the former, it may be said, that it is probable he would leave Rome immediately on hearing of the death of Herod, and arrive there at the time when Saul and Barnabas were about to return to Antioch; which event is placed by Dr. Lardner at this period. It appears from the manner in which ver. 8 of chap. xvi. so abruptly terminates, and the evident commencement of a new summing up of the evidence, that some extraordinary interruption took place while Mark was composing his gospel. The verse terminates with the words, *ἰφοβούμενο γὰρ, for they were afraid*; and many critics have, from the rapid

transition to the subject of the following verse, impugned the authenticity of the remaining verses. Mr. Townsend, however, attributes it with great judgment to the circumstances just related.

8. In all probability Mark returned to Jerusalem after the death of Herod, with his unfinished gospel; afterwards accompanied Saul and Barnabas on their return to Antioch; and, having attended the latter on his journey, he was finally settled at Alexandria, where he founded a church of great celebrity. This agrees with Jerome, Chrysostom, and Eusebius.‡

9. The last verse, which contains an allusion to the progress of the gospel, is supposed to be of a later date than the rest of the history, which has given rise to a doubt as to the authenticity of the last twelve verses;|| but if we suppose the gospel was first published at Rome, and completed at Alexandria, and the last twelve verses added there, we can have no difficulty in accounting for this difference of date.

10. The conclusion at which Dr. Townson has arrived, after considering the evidence in favour of the early date of Mark's gospel, does not materially differ from this. He supposes that † was published in Italy, but that the evangelist came to Rome by himself, studied the state of the church there, returned to Asia in conjunction with Peter, and drew up his gospel for the benefit of the converts in that city. He has adopted this perplexed theory to avoid the opinion that Peter came to Rome in the reign of Claudius. §

11. After considering the whole evidence respecting the gospel of Mark, says Mr. Townsend, I cannot conclude but that it was written at a much earlier date than has been generally assigned to it by protestant writers. The gospel of Matthew was written in the first persecution, when the tidings of salvation were preached to the Jews only. The gospel of Mark was published during the second persecution of the Christian church, when the devout Gentiles, such as Cornelius, were appealed to. Both were mercifully adapted to these two stages of the church's progress. ¶

12. The only thing remaining to be noticed, regards the language in which Mark's gospel was originally written. That the evangelist wrote in the Greek tongue, is conformable to the testimony of antiquity; and we believe it was never disputed till the time of Cardinal Baronius, who, from a

* Michaëlis, *Introd.* vol. iii. p. 213. See further examples in Dr. Campbell's *Preface to Mark's Gospel*, and in Dr. Townson's *Works*, vol. i. p. 163, &c.

† See Townsend's *Arrangement*, vol. ii. p. 149.

‡ Euseb. *Eccles. Hist.*, lib. ii., c. 16, 24, in Lardner's *Supp. to Credibility*, vol. 1, p. 175, &c.

|| See Michaëlis, *Introd.*, vol. iii., part 1, p. 208.

§ Townson's *Works*, vol. i., p. 171, &c.

¶ *Arrangement of the New Test.*, vol. ii., p. 151.

desire, as it should seem, to exalt the language in which the Vulgate was written, affirmed that Mark wrote his history in Latin. The only argument, however, which merits attention, in favour of this hypothesis is, that "this gospel being published at Rome, for the benefit of the Romans, it is not to be supposed that it would be written in any other language than that of the place." To this argument Dr. Campbell has offered a short but satisfactory reply.—*First*. The Greek language, having become a kind of universal language, was more used by strangers at Rome, than the language of the place. *Secondly*, the apostle Paul wrote to the Romans in Greek, and not in Latin. Now, if there was no impropriety in Paul's writing to the Romans a very long epistle in Greek, neither was there any in Mark giving them his gospel in that language. The only thing which appears to support the opinion of Baronius, is the inscription subjoined to the Syriac and some other oriental Versions of this gospel. But it should be remembered, that these postscripts are not the testimonies of the translators, but the mere conjectures of some unknown transcriber, and therefore are of no authority.*

13. The gospel of Mark contains a neat and perspicuous abridgment of the history of our Lord; and is the most proper of all the four gospels to be put into the hands of young persons, in order to bring them to an acquaintance with the great facts of evangelical history. But as a substitute for the gospel by Matthew, it should never be used.

14. The style of Mark is plain, simple, and unadorned, and sometimes appears to approach to a degree of rusticity or inelegance. Whoever reads the original, must be struck with the frequent, and often pleonastic, occurrence of *subito*, *immediatè*, and *etiam*, *again*, and such like; but these detract nothing from the accuracy and fidelity of the work. The *Hebraisms* which abound in it, may be naturally expected from a native of Palestine, writing in Greek. The *Latinisms* which frequently occur, are accounted for on the ground of the work being written for the Gentiles, and particularly for the Roman people. On the whole, the Gospel according to Mark is a very important portion of divine revelation, which God has preserved, by a chain of providences, from the time of its promulgation until now; and for which no truly pious reader will hesitate to render due praise to that God, whose work is ever perfect.†

* Preface to Mark's Gospel.

† Dr. A. Clarke, Notes on Mark, ch. xvi.

SECTION IV.

THE GOSPEL OF LUKE.

1. THIS evangelist bears the same relation to Paul as Mark did to Peter, having been a companion and assistant to that apostle, and writing his gospel under his direction. Our knowledge of the history of Luke is chiefly derived from his own work, the Acts of the Apostles. In the introduction to this work he plainly intimates that he was neither an apostle nor an eye-witness of the transactions he has narrated, but that he derived his information from those who were such. It has been questioned whether Luke were a Jew or a Gentile. The latter opinion has been inferred by Michaelis† from an expression of Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, where, after naming some "who are of the circumcision," he mentions others, and among them Luke, without any such addition (chap. iv. 14), and who are, therefore, supposed to have been Gentiles. But this, though a plausible inference, is not, as Dr. Campbell remarks, a necessary consequence from the apostle's words, who might have added the clause, "who are of the circumcision," not to distinguish the persons from those after-mentioned, as *not of the circumcision*, but to give the Colossians particular information concerning those with whom, perhaps, they had not previously been acquainted. If they knew what Luke, and Epaphras, and Demas, whether Jews or Gentiles, originally were, the information was quite unnecessary with regard to them. Some writers, on the contrary, have maintained that Luke was not only a Jew, but one of the seventy.|| But this does not comport with his own declaration, before referred to. That he was a convert to Christianity from Judaism, however, is upon the whole sufficiently evident, both from his style, and the intimate knowledge which he displays of Jewish doctrines and customs. If he be the same as the person named in the Epistle to the Colossians, he was, by profession, a physician; and, according to Eusebius, a native of Antioch. He is mentioned for the first time in Acts xvi. 10, 11,§ where we find him with Paul at Troas; thence he accompanied him to Jerusalem; remained with

‡ Introduction, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 228, &c.

|| See Whitty's Preface to the Gospel of Luke.

§ The late editor of Calmet contends, with much plausibility, that "Lucius, of Cyrene," in Acts xiii. 1, is the same person as Luke the evangelist, and consequently that the author of this gospel was an Egyptian. See Fragments, No. DCXXXVI—DCXLVIII. In further proof of this opinion, the reader will find in Fragment DCCXXIX, some curious remarks on the style in which Luke has dated his gospel.

him during his afflictions in Judea; and was exiled with him when he was sent as a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome, where he stayed with him during his two years' confinement. None of the ancient Fathers having mentioned his martyrdom, it is probable he died a natural death.*

2. The Gospel of Luke was always received as authentic. It was published during the lives of the apostles John, Peter, and Paul, and was approved and sanctioned by them, and received as such by the churches, in conformity with the Jewish canon, which decided on the genuineness or spuriousness of the books of their own church, by receiving him as a prophet, who was acknowledged as such by the testimony of an established prophet.†

3. Luke has himself stated the occasion of his writing, which was, to supply an ample and authentic account of the life and ministry of Christ (chap. i. 1—4). The only difficulty which meets us here is, the previous publication of the gospels of Matthew and Mark. But this may be set aside by considering, that in all probability Matthew's narrative, which was originally written in Hebrew, had not yet been written in the Greek language; and that, although the Gospel of Mark was extant in that language, it was comparatively but a compendium of the history.

4. In composing his narrative, Luke is supposed to have drawn his information chiefly from the apostle Paul, whose companion he was; and some have even gone so far as to affirm that when Paul uses the expression "my gospel," (Rom. ii. 16, xvi. 25, 2 Tim. ii. 8), he means the gospel according to Luke. This, however, is inconsistent with the evangelist's declaration, that the source of his intelligence, as to the facts related in his gospel, was from those who had been eye and ear witnesses of what Jesus both did and taught—of which number Paul was not. The probability is, that Luke, being a constant companion of this apostle in his various journeys, availed himself of the opportunities which his situation afforded him, of conversing with those apostles and disciples who had heard the discourses and witnessed the miracles of our Lord.

5. The particular time and place at which Luke published his gospel is by no means certain, and it would be useless to lay before the reader the conjectures of the learned on this topic of inquiry. ‡ Various hypotheses have been rendered apparently

probable by the learning and ingenuity of their advocates; but each one is, after all, but a conjecture, destitute of historical testimony. The year 53 is the earliest date which has been assumed, and the year 64 the latest. The latter one we have adopted; and think the place of its publication to have been either Achaia or Syria.

6. That Luke published his gospel for the instruction of the Gentile converts, is affirmed by the unanimous voice of the church, and is clearly to be gathered from the document itself. Hence he inserts many things which Matthew had omitted, but which were necessary for the information of strangers. There is also a striking difference between the genealogy of Christ given by Luke, and that inserted by Matthew; the latter only deducing the promised Messiah from Abraham, according to Jewish custom, whereas the former ascends up to Adam, agreeably to Gentile custom. Further, Luke has inserted several of our Lord's parables and discourses, which were particularly designed to encourage the faith and hope of the Gentiles, but which had been passed over by the former evangelists. Of this description are the parables of the lost sheep and the piece of silver (chap. xv. 1—10); of the prodigal son (chap. xv. 11—32), and of the grain of mustard-seed, &c. (chap. xiii. 18—21).||

7. To conclude, Luke appears to have been, upon the whole, at more pains than any of the other evangelists to ascertain the dates of some of the most memorable events on which, in a great measure, depend the dates of all the rest. In some places, however, without regard to order, he gives a number of detached precepts and instructive lessons, one after another, though probably not spoken on the same occasion, but introduced as they occur to the writer's memory, that nothing of moment might be omitted.*

8. Had not Paul informed us that this evangelist was by profession a physician, and consequently a man of literary attainments, his writings would have afforded ample evidence that he had enjoyed a liberal education. Grotius states that he is eminently distinguished for his fine classic Greek,¶ and that he abounds with expressions of classical purity.** The distinguished sweetness of his style, the smoothness of his periods, and the beautiful and perspicuous arrangement of his words, cannot fail to strike and delight every reader possessed of an ele-

* Lardner's Works, vol. iii, p. 187, &c.

† Whitby's Preface to Mark's Gospel.

‡ The student may consult Michaëlis' Introduction, vol. iii., pt. I, sect. v., vi.

|| See Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i., p. 181—196.

§ Campbell's Preface to Luke's Gospel.

¶ Ad Acta Apostol., c. i., ver. 4.

** Idem, c. v., ver. 31.

gant taste in polite literature. Nothing can be better accommodated to the grand transactions he records, than his elegant simplicity, divested of all studied ornaments, plain, chaste, and perspicuous,—one easy, regular, well-conducted narrative—greatly resembling Xenophon's history of the expedition of Cyrus, or his history of Greece, for the simple, artless, unaffected manner of the narration,* or the *Commentaries* of Julius Cæsar, for its plainness, elegance, and true sublimity. The evangelist begins at the fountain-head, follows with careful footsteps the stream in its heavenly course, till, after the death of Christ, we see it divided into a thousand different channels, in every direction, to refresh and bless the whole world.†

SECTION V.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

1. THE evangelist John was a native of Bethsaida, and the son of Zebedee and Salome; comp. Matt. xxvii. 56 with Mark xv. 40 and xvi. 1. With his father, and his brother James, he followed the occupation of a fisherman, on the sea of Galilee, whence he was called, with the latter, by our Lord (Matt. iv. 21, 22; Mark i. 19, 20; Luke v. 1—10); as is generally supposed, about 25 years of age, and unmarried. Theophylact conceives him to have been a relative of our Lord, and gives his genealogy thus: "Joseph, the husband of the blessed Mary, had seven children by a former wife, four sons and three daughters; Martha (or, as Dr. Lardner thinks, Mary), Esther, and Salome, whose son John was; therefore Salome was reckoned our Lord's sister, and John was his nephew." If this be correct, it will, perhaps, account for some things mentioned in the gospels; as the petition of Salome for the two chief places in the kingdom for her sons; John being the beloved disciple and most intimate friend of Jesus; and our Lord committing to his charge the care of his mother, as long as she should live. Theophylact's conjecture is confirmed by a marginal note in a MS. copy of the Greek Testament, preserved in the imperial library of Vienna, the writer of which professes to have taken his account from the commentaries of St. Sophronius.

2. It is evident that John was present at most of the things related by him in his gospel; and that he was an eye and an ear witness of our Lord's labours

and discourses. After the ascension he returned with the other disciples from Mount Olivet to Jerusalem, and took a share in all the transactions previous to the day of Pentecost; at which time he partook with the rest of the mighty outpouring of the Holy Spirit, by which he was eminently qualified for the place he afterwards filled in the Christian church. In conjunction with Peter, he cured a man who had been lame from his mother's womb, for which he was cast into prison (Acts iii. 1—10). He was afterwards sent to Samaria, to confer the Holy Spirit on those who had been converted there by Philip the deacon (chap. viii. 5—25). Paul states that he was present at the council of Jerusalem, of which an account is given in Acts xv. The Fathers state that John was a long time in Asia, continuing there till the time of Trajan, who succeeded Nerva, A. D. 98. Domitian having declared war against the church in A. D. 95, John, it is said, was banished from Ephesus, and carried to Rome, where he was immersed in a cauldron of boiling oil, out of which he came unhurt. After this he was banished to the isle of Patmos, where he wrote the Book of Revelation. Upon the accession of Nerva to the imperial dignity, he is said to have returned to Ephesus (A. D. 97), being then about 90 years of age. In this city he is supposed to have written his three epistles and gospel; and to have died in the hundredth year of his age. Michaëlis thinks it probable that the evangelist was one of the two disciples of John who followed Christ, a circumstantial account of whom is given in this gospel, chap. i. 37—41.‡

3. It is evident that John had seen the three former gospels before he wrote his own; and hence he carefully omits those transactions and discourses which had been recorded in them; or if he is obliged to notice them for the purposes of connexion, or otherwise, it is done in the most cursory manner. This affords an incontrovertible proof, too, that he had not only seen but approved of the foregoing gospels as faithful and true histories, and that he partly composed his own as supplemental to them.||

4. The evangelist has stated the design of his gospel in chap. xx. 31: "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that, believing, ye might have life through his name." Hence he has especially recorded those *discourses* of our Lord, in which he spoke of *himself*, of his *divine* *legation*, of his

* This has been questioned, however, by a recent writer. See Cook's *Inquiry into the Books of the New Test.*, p. 232.

† Harwood's *Introduction*, vol. ii., p. 181, &c.

‡ Lardner's *Works*, vol. iii., p. 212, &c.; Michaëlis' *Introduction*, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 272, &c.

|| For the proofs, see Townson's *Works*, vol. i., p. 219, &c., and Michaëlis, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 303, &c.

august majesty, and of the work committed to him by the Father; subjects which are rarely discussed by the other evangelists, and nowhere so evidently, clearly, and systematically treated of as in this gospel. It must be observed, too, that in the other evangelists our Lord's phrasology is, for the most part, highly figurative and parabolical; but in this, usually literal and perspicuous. In the Epistles the inspired writers have explained the fundamental doctrines concerning Jesus the Messiah, in expressions mostly *their own*; but John, in the *very words of Jesus himself*. In the other gospels, we hear him speaking like an *inspired person*, indeed, but as *a man*; in this, as *the Son of God, the Messiah himself*. The other evangelists have, indeed, delivered that fundamental doctrine which respects his divinity and Messiahship, but only on occasions supplied by other subjects, and have only *sometimes* touched upon it; John has professedly and systematically explained it: a method most efficacious, and calculated both to instruct and to persuade. Hence it is truly astonishing that theologians should, in explaining the work of salvation by Christ, have had recourse to those *figurative* modes of expression employed by Paul (for the wisest purposes, doubtless, and in reference to the peculiar circumstances of those times), and not rather have followed the authority of our Lord himself, and employed his *very words*, literal and perspicuous as they are, attended with few difficulties, and liable to little ambiguity of interpretation, or perversion of sense.*

5. It appears, however, as well from internal evidence as from the voice of antiquity, that John had some particular classes of men in view in prosecuting this design. Irenæus, who wrote in less than a century after the publication of John's gospel, affirms the occasion of his writing to have been the errors of the Cerinthians and Nicolaitans.† Eusebius, quoting Clement, says: "John, who is the last of the evangelists, having seen that in the three former gospels corporeal things had been explained, and being urged by his acquaintance, and inspired of God, composed a spiritual gospel." Thus it appears to have been a very early tradition in the church, that this gospel was composed, not only to supply what had not been fully communicated in the former gospels, but also for the purpose of refuting the heresies of Cerinthus and the Gnostics.‡ Indeed, had not this been asserted by Irenæus, the con-

tents of the gospel itself, as Michaelis justly observes, would lead to the conclusion.

6. The object proposed by Cerinthus, who was by birth a Jew, was to found a new *system* of doctrine, by a monstrous combination of the religion of Christ with the errors of the Jewish and Gnostic systems. From the latter he borrowed his *pleroma* or fulness, his *æons* or spirits, and his *Demiurgus* or creator of the visible world, which fictions he so modified as to give them an air of Judaism, which must considerably have favoured the progress of his heresy. The most high God he represented as being utterly unknown before the manifestation of Christ, dwelling in a remote heaven called *pleroma*, with the chief spirits or *æons*—That this supreme God first generated an *only-begotten* Son, who again begot the Word, which was inferior to the first-born—That Christ was a still lower *æon*, though far superior to some others—That there were two higher *æons* distinct from Christ; one called Life, and the other Light—That from the *æons* again proceeded inferior orders of spirits, and particularly one *Demiurgus*, who created this visible world out of eternal matter—That this *Demiurgus* was ignorant of the supreme God, and much lower than the *æons*, which were wholly invisible—That he was, however, the peculiar God and protector of the Israelites, and sent Moses to them, whose laws were to be of perpetual obligation—That Jesus was a mere man, of the most illustrious sanctity and justice, the real son of Joseph and Mary—That the *æon* Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove when he was baptized, revealed to him the unknown Father, and empowered him to work miracles—That the *æon* Light entered John the Baptist in the same manner, and therefore that John was in some respects preferable to Christ—That Jesus, after his union with Christ, opposed himself with vigour to the God of the Jews, at whose instigation he was seized and crucified by the Hebrew chiefs; and that when Jesus was taken captive and came to suffer, Christ ascended up on high, so that the man Jesus alone was subjected to the pains of an ignominious death—That Christ will one day return upon earth, and, renewing his former union with the man Jesus, will reign in Palestine a thousand years, during which his disciples will enjoy the most exquisite sensual delights. Some of the Cerinthian sect denied also the resurrection of the dead.||

7. Bearing these dogmas in mind, we shall find that John's gospel is divided into three parts.

* Dr. Tittman, in Bloomfield's *Recensio Synoptica Annot. Sacre*, vol. iii., pp. 6, 7.

† *Advers. Heres.*, pt. 3, chap. 11.

‡ See Lardner's *Suppl.* vol. i., p. 385, &c., and Michaelis, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 274, &c.

|| Mosheim's *Commentaries*, vol. i., p. 337, &c. Lardner's *Works*, vol. iv., p. 567, &c. Owen on the four Gospels, p. 88, &c., and Bishop Percy's *Key*, p. 58, &c.

Part I. contains doctrines laid down in opposition to those of Cerinthus, chap. i. 1—18.

Part II. delivers the proofs of those doctrines in an historical manner, chap. i. 19—xx. 29.

Part III. is a conclusion or appendix, giving an account of the person of the writer, and of his design in writing his gospel, chap. xx. 30—xxi.*

8. Besides refuting the errors of Cerinthus and his followers, Michaëlis is of opinion that John had also in view to confute the erroneous tenets of the Sabæans, a sect which acknowledged John the Baptist for its founder; and has adduced a variety of terms and phrases, which renders his conjecture not improbable. Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we conclude with Rosenmüller, that John had both these classes of heretics in view, and that he wrote to confute their respective tenets.†

9. The Gnostics and Saturnians both taught that the Son of God had descended from above to destroy evil and restore man to his primeval state, but that he had not assumed a material or real body, but merely the shadow or resemblance of one. In opposition to these, John affirmed that the Word *was made flesh*. Carpocrates, on the other hand, taught that the world was created by angels; that Jesus was the real son of Joseph and Mary; and he consequently denied his divinity, though he considered him as superhuman. In opposition to Carpocrates, John taught that the world was created, not by angels, but by the *Logos*, who was revealed to man as the Christ, the divine Personage, promised by the prophets and expected by the world.

10. Omitting much more, relative to the Elcesaites, Valentinians, and other heretics, enumerated by Irenæus and Epiphanius, and discussed by Mosheim and Lardner, we pass on to notice the sentiments of Basilides of Alexandria, who lived about this time. Irenæus observes that Basilides, in order to appear to have a more sublime and probable

scheme than others, outstepped them all; and taught that from the self-existent Father was born *Nous*, or understanding; of *Nous*, *Logos*, or the Word; of *Logos*, *Phronesis* or Prudence; of *Phronesis*, *Sophia* and *Dunamis*, or Wisdom and Power; of *Dunamis* and *Sophia*, powers, principalities, and angels, that is, the superior angels, by whom the first heavens were made; from these proceeded other angels, which made all things. The first of these angels he represents as the God of the Jews, who desiring to bring other nations under the dominion of his people, was so effectually opposed, that the Jewish nation was in danger of being totally ruined, when the self-existent and ineffable Father sent his first-begotten *Nous*, who is also said to be Christ, for the salvation of those who believed in him. He appeared in the world as a man—taught—worked miracles—but did not suffer—for Simon of Cyrene was transformed into his likeness, and was crucified; after which Christ ascended into heaven. Basilides taught also, that men ought not to confess him who in reality was crucified, but him who came in the form of man, and was supposed to be crucified. Any reader of John's Gospel, who acknowledges the authority of that evangelist, must be convinced of the errors of Basilides, as this inspired writer plainly declares that the *Logos* itself was made flesh, had become a teacher of the Jews, had dwelt among them, and as a man among men was crucified.‡ Vitringa concludes his dissertation by summing up the precise objects for which each verse of John's Introduction might have been more especially written, in allusion to the heresies prevalent at the time of the writing of

‡ Vitringa gives the following scheme of the opinions or theory of Basilides.

Τὸ ΑΓΕΝΝΗΤΟΝ, ὁ μόνος ἰστί πάντων πατήρ.

ΝΟΥΣ

MIND.

ΛΟΓΟΣ

REASON.

ΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΣ

PRUDENCE.

ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ καὶ ΣΟΦΙΑ

POWER and WISDOM.

ΑΡΧΑΙ, ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ, ΑΓΓΕΛΟΙ

PRINCIPALITIES, POWERS, ANGELS.

Ὁ Ἀνώτερος καὶ πρῶτος ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ

The Highest and First HEAVEN.

Καὶ ὁ ἐξῆς.

* Some of the early Christians had imbibed the notion that *John* would live till the day of judgment; a notion to which a fine interpretation of a saying of Christ, and the great age which the evangelist actually attained, had given rise. For this *John* has related at full length, in the last chapter, the conversation which took place between Christ, Peter, and himself, after the resurrection; and has shown in what connexion and in what sense Christ said of John, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?"—John xxi. 22. Michaëlis, l. i. iii., pt. 1, p. 318.

† Mosheim's Commentaries, Vol. I., p. 337, &c.; Lardner's Works, Vol. IV., p. 567, &c.; Michaëlis, Vol. III., Part I., p. 285, &c., in Horne's Critical Introduction, Vol. IV. on John. The reader may also consult Calmet's Dictionary, art. "John," and Fragments, Vol. II., p. 269, &c., for an account of the Sabæans or disciples of John.

his gospel. They will be found, he concludes, to overthrow all the subtleties of each of the Gnostic heresies.*

11. In addition to the Jews,† and the heretics of his day, the third class of persons to whom John addressed his gospel were his contemporaries among the primitive Christians. The word *Logos* has been supposed by many to be used in the same sense as in this gospel in several passages of the New Testament: Luke i. 2; Acts xx. 32; Heb. iv. 2; Rev. xix. 13. If from the writers of the New Testament we turn to the apostolic Fathers, we shall find, though their testimony is express in favour of the divinity of Christ, that their evidence is not deduced from the doctrine of the *Logos*. The reason of this might be, that John had in their opinion so completely decided the question, that the necessity of their resuming the argument had been superseded. The Fathers who succeeded the apostolic age, however, lived at a time when the discussions respecting the identity of the Messiah and the *Logos* required further attention; and we accordingly find that, from the time of Justin Martyr to Athanasius, the works of the Fathers abound with arguments in proof of this fundamental doctrine of Christianity. The greater part of these authorities, in support of the doctrine that the *Logos* of John was the angel Jehovah of the Jewish, as certainly as it was the Messiah of the Christian, church, will be found in the works of Bishop Bull.

He then gives the annexed brief outline of the notions of Valentinus:

ΒΥΘΟΣ	ΣΙΓΗ
INFINITE ABYSS,	SILENCE,
or	or
Προαρχή,	Εννοια,
et	et
Ἀρχή	Χάρις
	PURPOSE and GRACE.
ΝΟΥΣ	ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ
MIND.	TRUTH.
Μονογενής	
et	
Πρωτογενής	
Only-begotten and First-begotten.	
ΛΟΓΟΣ	ΖΩΗ
REASON.	LIFE.
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ
MAN	CHURCH.

* De occasione et scopo Prologi Evang. Joannis Apost. The passage may be seen in Townsend's Arrang. New Test., Vol. I. p. 21.

† It is very natural to inquire what sense the Jewish reader would attach to the account given by the evangelist of the

12. The fourth class of persons whom John may be supposed to have addressed, were the unconverted heathen. Of these the more ignorant were familiar with the doctrine of the incarnations; and the evangelist might desire, when any of them should become converts to the Christian religion, that they should have correct ideas of the only available incarnation—that of God manifest in the flesh. The more educated of the heathen were of course well acquainted with the popular philosophy of the day,‡ and would learn also, should they ever be brought to the knowledge of the truth, that the only real doctrine of the *Logos* was that which was maintained by the Christian church, and is so satisfactorily set down by John in the commencement of his invaluable gospel.

13. It thus appears from a careful investigation of the principal authorities that can now be collected, that the preface to John's gospel is the most important passage in the New Testament. It is the passage which is the foundation of the Christian doctrine of the divinity of Christ—the point where the Jewish and Christian churches meet and divide—the record which identifies the faith of the Mosaic church with that of the Christian. And as the preface to a book is generally the last part written, this passage may be considered as the last of the inspired writings, and as a sacred seal placed on the whole of the Old and New Testaments. The government of the Jewish church was consigned by the Supreme Being, the Father, to that manifested Being who assumed the titles, and exerted the powers, and declared himself possessed of the attributes of the Most High God. Without the consent of this Being, the Jewish church could not have been overthrown. He was accustomed repeatedly to appear. He called himself the Captain of the Lord's host (Josh. v. 14.

Logos; or, in other words, what were the sentiments of the Jews in the time of St. John concerning the *Logos*, and in what respects did he design either to confirm or rectify the opinions of his countrymen on that subject? That the Chaldee term *Mimra*, or WORD, is taken personally in a multitude of places in the Jewish Targums, and also the Greek *Logos*, or word, in the writings of Philo, who is reasonably supposed to have represented the faith of the ancient Jewish church, has been ably demonstrated by Dr. Allix, in his valuable, though sometimes inaccurate work on "the testimony of the ancient Jewish church," and by the learned Bryant, in his "Sentiments of Philo Judeus concerning the ΛΟΓΟΣ, or WORD of GOD." Dr. A. Clarke has given some extracts from both these works, and also from the *Zend Avesta* and other writings attributed to Zoroaster, in his notes on the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, to which the reader is referred.

‡ That Pythagoras obtained many of his opinions from the Jews, which opinions gave rise in their different variations to the principal schools of philosophy in Greece, is ably proved in Gale's Court of the Gentiles, and Philosophia Generalis.

15, vi. 2); the Angel in whom the name of God was (Exod. xxiii. 21); and to this Angel, or Jehovah, are attributed all the great actions recorded of God in the Old Testament. We do not read any where in the Old or New Testament, that this Being ceased at any time to protect the Jewish nation and its church. The prophet Malachi, in a passage (iii. 1—6, iv. 2—6) which has been uniformly considered by the Jewish as well as the Christian commentators to refer to the Messiah, declares that this Angel Jehovah, the Jehovah whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple—to the temple which had been rebuilt after the return from the captivity, and which was destroyed by the Roman soldiers. But we have no account whatever, neither have we any allusion in any author whatever, that the ancient manifested God of the Jews appeared in the usual manner in the Jewish temple, between the time of Malachi and the death of Herod the Great. The Christian Fathers, therefore, were unanimous in their opinion that this prophecy was accomplished in the person of Jesus, and in him only. They believed that Christ, even Jesus of Nazareth, was the Angel of the Covenant; that he and he only was Jehovah, the Angel Jehovah, the Logos of St. John, the *Mimra Jah* of the Targumists, the expected and predicted Messiah of the Jewish and Christian churches. This is the doctrine rejected by the Unitarian as irrational, by the Deist as incomprehensible, by the Jew as unscriptural; but it is the doctrine which has ever been received by the Christian church in general with humility and faith, as its only hope, and consolation, and glory.*

14. The extreme importance of these subjects to a right understanding of this gospel must furnish an apology for the length of the discussion. To understand the expressions of any writer, particularly when they are at all dubious, or liable to misrepresentation, we must endeavour to place

ourselves in the situation of those to whom they were originally addressed; and it is the more necessary here, in consequence of the efforts made in these times to explain away the direct and satisfactory testimony of John to the proper divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ.†

15. The style of John is pronounced by Michaëlis to be better and more fluent than that of the other evangelists. It seems, he adds, as if he had acquired a facility and taste in the Greek language from his long residence at Ephesus. His narrative is very perspicuous; and in order to promote perspicuity, the same word is sometimes repeated; though, perhaps, the advanced age in which he wrote had some influence upon his style, since he is always inclined to repetitions.‡ An unaffected simplicity marks his writings. All is plain truth, divested of every adventitious ornament. No pomp of words, no labour of composition, no smooth arrangement of periods, are here studied. Negligently plain and simple, and familiar in his language, but disclosing the grandest ideas, opening the most glorious prospects, and fraught with doctrines of the greatest sublimity. Every page of his divine writings is impressed with hardly any other characters than those of the purest love and obedience. His heart seems to be entirely occupied and possessed with the amiable spirit and genius of the gospel; and both in his gospel and in his epistles, he is continually inculcating upon his reader these most amiable qualities, as the highest perfection of human nature, and the distinguishing glory of the gospel—repeating, inculcating, and enforcing them in the most affectionate terms, by the most pathetic, persuasive, and artless eloquence, in a plain, honest, and affecting manner, that discovers to us the probity and sincerity of the author's heart. ||

† The reader may see an excellent introduction to this gospel, by Tittman, who has taken a somewhat different view of it from that given above, in *Bloomfield's Recensio Synoptica Annot. Sacre*, vol. iii. pp. 1—23.

‡ Michaëlis, vol. iii. pt. 1, p. 316.

|| Harwood's Introduction, vol. i. p. 194.

* See Townsend's Arrangement of the New Test, vol. i., p. 7, &c., from whom the preceding observations have been chiefly taken.

SECTION VI.

ANALYSIS OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS ; DIVIDED INTO PERIODS AND SECTIONS CORRESPONDING TO THE SEVERAL STAGES OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY.*

PERIOD I.

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE TEMPTATION.

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place:	A. D.
I.	General Preface.	Mark i. 1.	Probably written at Jerusalem.	44
		Luke i. 1—4.	Written in Achaia.	64
II.	The Divinity, Humanity, and Office of Christ.	John i. 1—18.	Written at Ephesus.	97 Before Val. Era
III.	Birth of John the Baptist.	Luke i. 5—25.	Temple at Jerusalem.	6
IV.	The Annunciation.	Luke i. 26—38.	Nazareth.	5
V.	Interview between Mary and Elizabeth.	Luke i. 39—56.	Hebron.	..
VI.	The Birth and Naming of John the Baptist.	Luke i. 57, to the end.	Hebron.	..
VII.	An Angel appears to Joseph.	Matt. i. 18—25.	Nazareth.	..
VIII.	Birth of Christ at Bethlehem.	Luke ii. 1—7.	Bethlehem.	..
IX.	The Genealogies of Christ.	Matt. i. 1.		
		Luke iii. 23, to the end.		..
		Matt. i. 2—17.		
X.	The Angels appear to the Shepherds.	Luke ii. 8—20.	Bethlehem.	..
XI.	The Circumcision.	Luke ii. 21.	Temple of Jerusalem.	..
XII.	The Purification—Presentation of Christ in the Temple, where he is acknowledged by Simeon and Anna.	Luke ii. 22—39.	Temple of Jerusalem.	..
XIII.	Offering of the Magi.	Matt. ii. 1—12.	Bethlehem.	..
			Jerusalem.	..
			Bethlehem.	..
XIV.	The Flight into Egypt.	Matt. ii. 13—15.	Egypt.	..
XV.	Slaughter of Children at Bethlehem.	Matt. ii. 16—18.	Bethlehem.	..
XVI.	Joseph returns from Egypt.	Matt. ii. 19—23.	Egypt.	..
		Luke ii. 40.	Nazareth.	3
XVII.	History of Christ at the age of twelve years.	Luke ii. 41—52.	Jerusalem.	7
XVIII.	Commencement of the Ministry of John the Baptist.	Matt. iii. 1—12.	The Wilderness of Judea.	..
		Mark i. 2—8.		
		Luke iii. 1—18.		
XIX.	The Baptism of Christ	Matt. iii. 13, to the end.	Bethabara,	26
		Mark i. 9—11.	where the ark had rested on its [passage from the Wilderness into Canaan.	
		Luke iii. 21, 22, and part of 23.	The Wilderness.	..
XX.	The Temptation of Christ.	Matt. iv. 1—11.		
		Mark i. 12, 13.		
		Luke iv. 1—13.		

* This table is taken from Townsend's Arrangement of the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 741, &c.

PERIOD II.

FROM THE TEMPTATION OF CHRIST, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF HIS MORE PUBLIC MINISTRY, AFTER THE IMPRISONMENT OF JOHN.

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Vul.Era.
I.	Farther testimony of John the Baptist.	John i. 19—34.	Bethabara.	26
II.	Christ obtains his first Disciples from John.	John i. 35—41.	Bethabara, Road to Galilee.	..
III.	Marriage at Cana in Galilee.	John ii. 1—11.	Cana in Galilee.	27
IV.	Christ goes down to Capernaum, and continues there some short time.	John ii. 12.	Capernaum.	..
V.	The Buyers and Sellers driven from the Temple.	John ii. 13, to the end.	Jerusalem.	..
VI.	Conversation of Christ with Nicodemus.	John iii. 1—21.	Jerusalem.	..
VII.	John's last Testimony to Christ.	John iii. 22, to the end.	Judea.	..
VIII.	Imprisonment of John the Baptist.	Matt. xiv. 3—5. Mark vi. 17—20. Luke iii. 19.		

PERIOD III.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MORE PUBLIC MINISTRY OF CHRIST TO THE MISSION OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

I.	General Introduction to the History of Christ's more public Ministry.	Matt. iv. 12—17. Mark i. 14, 15. Luke iv. 14, 15.	Judea.	27
II.	Christ's Conversation with the Woman of Samaria.	John iv. 1—42.	Samaria.	..
III.	Second Miracle at Cana in Galilee.	John iv. 43, to the end.	Cana in Galilee.	..
IV.	First public preaching of Christ in the Synagogue at Nazareth, and his Danger there.	Luke iv. 16—30.	Nazareth.	..
V.	Christ sojourns at Capernaum.	Luke iv. 31, 32.	Capernaum.	..
VI.	The miraculous Draught of Fishes, and the calling of Andrew, Peter, James, and John.	Matt. iv. 18—22. Mark i. 17—20. Luke v. 1—11.	Sea of Galilee.	..
VII.	The Dæmoniæc healed at Capernaum.	Mark i. 21—28. Luke iv. 33—38.	Capernaum.	..
VIII.	Peter's Mother-in-law cured of a Fever.	Matt. viii. 14, 15. Mark i. 29—31. Luke iv. 38, 39.	Capernaum.	..
IX.	Christ teaches, and performs Miracles and cures throughout Galilee.	Matt. iv. 23—25; viii. 16, 17. Mark i. 32—39. Luke iv. 40, to the end.	Galilee.	..
X.	Christ cures a Leper.	Matt. viii. 2—4. Mark i. 40, to the end. Luke v. 12—16.	Galilee.	..
XI.	The Paralytic cured, and the power of Christ to forgive Sins asserted.	Matt. ix. 2—8. Mark ii. 1—12. Luke v. 17—26.	Capernaum.	..
XII.	The calling of Matthew.	Matt. ix. 9. Mark ii. 13, 14. Luke v. 27, 28.	Capernaum.	..
XIII.	The infirm Man healed at the Pool of Bethesda.	John v. 1—15.	Jerusalem.	..
XIV.	Christ vindicates the Miracle, and asserts the Dignity of his Office.	John v. 16, to the end.	Jerusalem.	..
XV.	Christ defends his Disciples for plucking the Ears of Corn on the Sabbath day.	Matt. xii. 1—8. Mark ii. 23—28. Luke vi. 1—5.	In a Progress.	..
XVI.	Christ heals the withered Hand.	Matt. xii. 9—14. Mark iii. 1—6. Luke vi. 6—11.	In a Progress.	..
XVII.	Christ is followed by great Multitudes, whose Diseases he heals.	Matt. xii. 5—21. Mark iii. 7—12.		..

PERIOD V.

FROM THE MISSION OF THE SEVENTY DISCIPLES, TO THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY OF CHRIST INTO JERUSALEM, SIX DAYS BEFORE THE CRUCIFIXION.

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Val Era.
I.	The Mission of the Seventy.	Luke x. 1-16.	Galilee.	28
II.	Christ goes up to the feast of Tabernacles.	Matt. xix. 1. Mark x. 1. John viii. 2-10.	Jerusalem.	..
III.	Agitation of the public mind at Jerusalem, concerning Christ.	John vii. 11, to the end. viii. 1.		..
IV.	Conduct of Christ to the Adulteress and her Accusers.	John viii. 2-11.		..
V.	Christ declares himself to be the Son of God.	John viii. 12-20.		..
VI.	Christ declares the Manner of his Death.	John viii. 21, to the end.	[Iem.	..
VII.	The Seventy return with Joy.	Luke x. 17-24.	Near Jerusa-	..
VIII.	Christ directs the Lawyer how he may attain eternal Life.	Luke x. 25-28.	On a Tour.	..
IX.	The Parable of the good Samaritan.	Luke x. 29-37.		..
X.	Christ in the house of Martha.	Luke x. 38, to the end.		..
XI.	Christ teaches his Disciples to pray.	Luke xi. 1-13.		..
XII.	Christ reproves the Pharisees and Lawyers.	Luke xi. 37, to the end.		..
XIII.	Christ cautions his Disciples against Hypocrisy.	Luke xii. 1-12.		..
XIV.	Christ refuses to act as a Judge.	Luke xii. 13, 14.		..
XV.	Christ cautions the Multitude against Worldly-mindedness.	Luke xii. 15-34.		..
XVI.	Christ exhorts to Watchfulness, Fidelity, and Repentance.	Luke xii. 35, to the end, and xiii. 1-9.		..
XVII.	Christ cures an infirm Woman in the Synagogue.	Luke xiii. 10-17.		..
XVIII.	Christ begins his Journey towards Jerusalem, to be present at the Feast of the Dedication.	Luke iii. 22, and xviii. 21.		..
XIX.	Christ restores to Sight a Blind Man, who is summoned before the Sanhedrin.	John ix. i. 34.	Jerusalem.	..
XX.	Christ declares that he is the true Shepherd.	John ix. 35, to the end, x. 1-21.		..
XXI.	Christ publicly asserts his Divinity.	John x. 22-38.		..
XXII.	In consequence of the opposition of the Jews, Christ retires beyond Jordan.	John x. 39, to the end.		..
XXIII.	Christ, leaving the City, laments over Jerusalem.	Luke xiii. 23, to the end.	Near Jerusalem.	..
XXIV.	Christ dines with a Pharisee—Parable of the great Supper.	Luke xiv. 1-24.		..
XXV.	Christ's Disciples must forsake the World.	Luke xiv. 25, to the end.	On a Tour.	..
XXVI.	Parables of the lost Sheep, and of the lost piece of Silver.	Luke xv. 1-10.		..
XXVII.	Parable of the Prodigal Son.	Luke xv. 11, to the end.		..
XXVIII.	Parable of the unjust Steward.	Luke xvi. 1-13.		..
XXIX.	Christ reproves the Pharisees.	Luke xvi. 14-17.		..
XXX.	Christ answers the Question concerning Marriage and Divorce.	Matt. xix. 3-12. Mark x. 2-12. Luke xvi. 18.		..
XXXI.	Christ receives and blesses little Children.	Matt. xix. 3-15. Mark x. 13-17. Luke xviii. 15-17.		..
XXXII.	Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus.	Luke xvi. 19, to the end.		..
XXXIII.	On Forgiveness of Injuries.	Luke xvii. 1-10.		..
XXXIV.	Christ journeys towards Jerusalem.	Luke ix. 51, to the end. xvii. 11.	On a Tour.	..
XXXV.	Christ heals ten Lepers.	Luke xvii. 12-19.		..
XXXVI.	Christ declares the lowliness of his Kingdom, and the sudden Destruction of Jerusalem.	Luke xvii. 20, to the end.		..
XXXVII.	Christ teacheth the true Nature of Prayer.	Luke xviii. 1-8.		..
XXXVIII.	Parable of the Pharisee and Publican.	Luke xviii. 9-14.		..
XXXIX.	From the Conduct of the young Ruler, Christ cautions his disciples on the Dangers of Wealth.	Matt. xix. 16, to the end. Mark x. 17-31. Luke xviii. 18-30.		..
XL.	Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard.	Matt. xx. 1, 16.		..

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Vul. Era.
XLI.	Christ is informed of the sickness of Lazarus.	John xi. 1-16.		29
XLII.	Christ again predicts his Sufferings and Death.	Matt. xx. 17-19. Mark x. 32-34. Luke xviii. 31-34.		..
XLIII.	Ambition of the Sons of Zebedee.	Matt. xx. 20-28. Mark x. 35-45.	On the way to Bethany, Jericho.	..
XLIV.	Two Blind Men healed at Jericho.	Matt. xx. 29, to the end. Mark x. 46, to the end. Luke xviii. 35, to the end.		..
XLV.	Conversion of Zaccheus, and the Parable of the Pounds.	Luke xix. 1-28.		..
XLVI.	The Resurrection of Lazarus.	John xi. 17-46.	Bethany.	..
XLVII.	The Sanhedrim assemble to deliberate concerning the Resurrection of Lazarus.	John xi. 47, 48.	Jerusalem.	..
XLVIII.	Caiaphas prophesies.	John xi. 49-52.		..
XLIX.	The Sanhedrim resolve to put Christ to death.	John xi. 53.		..
L.	Christ retires to Ephraim, or Ephrata.	John xi. 54.	Ephraim.	..
LI.	State of the public mind at Jerusalem, immediately preceding the last Passover, at which Christ attended.	John xi. 55, to the end.	Jerusalem.	..
LII.	Christ comes to Bethany, where he is anointed by Mary.	Matt. xxvi. 6-13. Mark xiv. 3-9. John xii. 1-11.	Bethany.	..
LIII.	Christ prepares to enter Jerusalem.	Matt. xxi. 1-7. Mark xi. 1-7. Luke xix. 29, and part of ver. 35. John xii. 12-18.		..

PERIOD VI.

FROM CHRIST'S TRIUMPHANT ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, TO HIS APPREHENSION—SUNDAY, THE FIFTH DAY BEFORE THE LAST PASSOVER.

I.	The People meet Christ with Hosannas—Christ approaches Jerusalem.	Matt. xxi. 8-10. Mark xviii. 8-10. Luke xix. 36-40. John xii. 19.	Jerusalem.	29
II.	Christ's Lamentation over Jerusalem, and the Prophecy of its Destruction.	Luke xix. 41-44.		..
III.	Christ, on entering the City, casts the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.	Matt. xxi. 12, 13. Mark xi. part of ver. 11, 45, 46. Luke xix. 45, 46.		..
IV.	Christ heals the Sick in the Temple, and reproves the Chief Priests.	Matt. xxi. 14-16.		..
V.	Some Greeks at Jerusalem desire to see Christ—the Bath Col is heard.	John xii. 20-43.		..
VI.	Christ again declares the object of his Mission.	John xii. 44, to the end.		..
VII.	Christ leaves the City in the Evening, and goes to Bethany.	Matt. xxi. 17. Mark xi. 11.	Bethany.	..
VIII.	Monday—Fourth Day before the Passover—Christ, entering Jerusalem again, curses the Barren Fig-tree.	Matt. xi. 18, 19. Mark xi. 12-14.	Jerusalem.	..
IX.	Christ again casts the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.	Mark xi. 15-17.		..
X.	The Scribes and Chief Priests seek to destroy Christ.	Mark xi. 18. Luke xix. 47, 48.		..
XI.	Christ retires in the Evening from the City.	Mark xi. 19.		..
XII.	Tuesday—Third Day before the Passover—The Fig-tree is now withered.	Matt. xxi. 20-22. Mark xi. 20-26.		..
XIII.	Christ answers the Chief Priests, who inquire concerning the Authority by which he acted—Parables of the Vineyard and Marriage Feast.	Matt. xxi. 23, to the end, and xxii. 1-14. Mark xi. 27, to the end, and xii. 1-12. Luke xix. 1-19.		..
XIV.	Christ replies to the Herodians.	Matt. xxii. 15-22. Mark xii. 13-17. Luke xx. 20-26.		..
XV.	Christ replies to the Sadducees.	Matt. xxii. 23, 33. Mark xii. 18-27. Luke xx. 27-40.		..

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Vol. Era.
XVI.	Christ replies to the Pharisees.	Matt. xxii. 34-40. Mark xii. 28-34.		29
XVII.	Christ inquires of the Pharisees concerning the Messiah.	Matt. xxii. 41, to the end. Mark xii. 35-37. Luke xx. 41-44.		..
XVIII.	Christ severely reproves the Pharisees.	Matt. xxiii. 1, to the end. Mark xii. 38-40. Luke xx. 45, to the end.		..
XIX.	Christ applauds the liberality of the poor Widow.	Mark xii. 41, to the end. Luke xxi. 1-4.	Jerusalem.	..
XX.	Christ foretels the destruction of Jerusalem—the end of the Jewish dispensation—and of the world.	Matt. xxiv. 1-36. Mark xiii. 1-31. Luke xxi. 5-33.		..
XXI.	Christ compares the suddenness of his second Advent to the coming of the Deluge.	Matt. xxiv. 36, to the end. Mark xiii. 32, to the end. Luke xxi. 34-36.		..
XXII.	The Parable of the wise and foolish Virgins.	Matt. xxv. 1-13.		..
XXIII.	The Parable of the Servants and the Talents.	Matt. xxv. 14-30.		..
XXIV.	Christ declares the proceedings at the Day of Judgment.	Matt. xxv. 31, to the end.		..
XXV.	Christ retires from the city to the Mount of Olives.	Luke xxi. 37, 38.		..
XXVI.	Wednesday—Second Day before the Crucifixion—Christ foretels his approaching Death.	Matt. xxvi. 1, 2. Mark xiv. 1.		..
XXVII.	The Rulers consult how they may take Christ.	Matt. xxvi. 3-5. Mark xiv. part of ver. 1, 2. Luke xxii. 1, 2.		..
XXVIII.	Judas agrees with the Chief Priests to betray Christ.	Matt. xvi. 14-16. Mark xiv. 10, 11. Luke xxii. 3-6.		..
XXIX.	Thursday—the day before the Crucifixion. Christ directs two of his Disciples to prepare the Passover.	Matt. xxvii. 17-19. Mark xiv. 12-16. Luke xxii. 7-13.		..
XXX.	Christ partakes of the last Passover.	Matt. xxvi. 20. Mark xiv. 17. Luke xxii. 14-18. John xiii. 1.		..
XXXI.	Christ again reproves the Ambition of his Disciples.	Luke xx. 24-27. John xiii. 2-16.		..
XXXII.	Christ sitting at the Passover, and continuing the Conversation, speaks of his Betrayer.	Matt. xxvi. 21-25. Mark xiv. 17-21. Luke xxii. 21-23. John xiii. 17-30.		..
XXXIII.	Judas goes out to betray Christ, who predicts Peter's denial of him, and the danger of the rest of the Apostles.	Luke xx. 28-38. John xiii. 31, to the end.		..
XXXIV.	Christ institutes the Eucharist.	Matt. xxvi. 26-29. Mark xiv. 22-25. Luke xxix. 19, 20. John xiv.		..
XXXV.	Christ exhorts the Apostles, and consoles them on his approaching Death.			..
XXXVI.	Christ goes with his Disciples to the Mount of Olives.	Matt. xxvi. 3. Mark xiv. 26. Luke xxii. 39.		..
XXXVII.	Christ declares himself to be the true Vine.	John xv. 1-8.		..
XXXVIII.	Christ exhorts the Apostles to mutual love, and to prepare for persecution.	John xv. 9, to the end. John xvi. 1-4.		..
XXXIX.	Christ promises the gifts of the Holy Spirit.	John xvi. 5, to the end.	Jerusalem.	..
XL.	Christ intercedes for all his followers.	John xvii.		..
XLI.	Christ again predicts Peter's denial of him.	Matt. xvi. 31-35. Mark xiv. 27-31.		..
XLII.	Christ goes into the garden of Gethsemane. His agony there.	Matt. xxvi. 36-46. Mark xiv. 32-42. Luke xxii. 40-46. John xviii. 1, 2.		..
XLIII.	Christ is betrayed and apprehended. The resistance of Peter.	Matt. xxvi. 47-56. Mark xiv. 43-50. Luke xxii. 47-53. John xviii. 3-11.		..

PERIOD VII.

FROM THE APPREHENSION OF CHRIST TO THE CRUCIFIXION.

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Vol. Fra.
I.	Christ is taken to Annas, and to the Palace of Caiaphas.	Matt. xxvi. 57. Mark xiv. 51-53. Luke xxii. 54. John xvii. 12-14.	Jerusalem.	29
II.	Peter and John follow their Master.	Matt. xxvi. 58. Mark xiv. 54. Luke xxii. 55. John xviii. 15, 16.		..
III.	Christ is first examined and condemned in the house of the High-priest.	Matt. xxvi. 59-66. Mark xiv. 55-64. John xviii. 19-24.		..
IV.	Twelve at night. Christ is struck, and insulted by the Soldiers.	Matt. xxvi. 67, 68. Mark xiv. 65. Luke xxii. 63-65.		..
V.	Peter's first denial of Christ, in the hall of the High-priest.	Matt. xxvi. 66-70. Mark xiv. 66-68. Luke xxii. 58, 57. John xviii. 17, 18, and xxvii. 27.		..
VI.	After Midnight. Peter's second denial of Christ, at the porch of the palace of the High-priest.	Matt. xxvi. 71, 72. Mark xiv. 69, part of 70. Luke xxii. 58.		..
VII.	Friday—the day of the Crucifixion. Time, about three in the Morning. Peter's third denial of Christ, in the room where Christ was waiting among the Soldiers till the dawn of day.	Matt. xxvi. 73-75. Mark xiv. 70-72. Luke xxii. 59-62.		..
VIII.	Christ is taken before the Sanhedrim, and condemned.	Matt. xxvii. 1. Mark xv. part of ver. 1. Luke xxii. 66, to the end.		..
IX.	Judas declares the Innocence of Christ.	Matt. xxvii. 3-10.		..
X.	Christ is accused before Pilate, and is by him also declared innocent.	Matt. xxvii. 2, and xi. 14. Mark xv. 1-6. Luke xxiii. 1-4. John xviii. 28-38.		..
XI.	Christ is sent by Pilate to Herod.	Luke xxiii. 5-12.		..
XII.	Christ is brought back again to Pilate, who again declares him innocent, and endeavours to persuade the people to ask Barabbas.	Matt. xxvii. 15-20. Mark xv. 6-11. Luke xxii. 13-19. John xviii. 39.		..
XIII.	Pilate three times endeavours again to release Christ.	Matt. xxvii. 21-23. Mark xv. 12-14. Luke xxiii. 20-23. John xviii. 40.		..
XIV.	The Jews imprecate the punishment of Christ's death upon themselves.	Matt. xxvii. 24, 25.		..
XV.	Pilate releases Barabbas, and delivers Christ to be crucified.	Matt. xxvii. 26-30. Mark xv. 15-19. Luke xxiii. 24, 25. John xix. 1-16.		..
XVI.	Christ is led away from the Judgment Hall of Pilate to Mount Calvary.	Matt. xxvii. 31, 32. Mark xv. 20, 21. Luke xxiii. 26-32. John xix. part of ver. 16, and 17.		..
XVII.	Christ arrives at Mount Calvary, and is crucified.	Matt. xxvii. 33, 34-37. Mark xv. 22, 23, 26-28. Luke xxiii. 33-38. John xix. 18-22.		..
XVIII.	Christ prays for his Murderers.	Luke xxiii. pt. of ver. 34.		..
XIX.	The Soldiers divide, and cast lots for the Raiment of Christ.	Matt. xxvii. 35, 36. Mark xv. 24, 25. Luke xxiii. pt. of ver. 34. John xix. 23, 24.		..

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Vol. Era.
XX.	Christ is reviled when on the Cross, by the Rulers, the Soldiers, the Passengers, the Chief Priests, and the Malefactors.	Matt. xxvii. 39-44. Mark xv. 29-32.	Calvary.	29
XXI.	Christ, when dying as a Man, asserts his Divinity, in his answer to the penitent Thief.	Luke xxiii. 39-43.		..
XXII.	Christ commends his Mother to the care of John.	John xix. 25-27.		..
XXIII.	The death of Christ, and its attendant circumstances.	Matt. xxvii. 45-52, 54-56. Mark xv. 33-41. Luke xxiii. 44-49. John xix. 28-37.		..

PERIOD VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHRIST TILL HIS ASCENSION INTO HEAVEN.

I.	Joseph of Arimathea, and Nicodemus, bury the body of Christ.	Matt. xxvii. 57-60. Mark xv. 42-46. Luke xxiii. 50-54. John xix. 38-42.	Jerusalem.	29
II.	Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, and the Women from Galilee, observe where the body of Christ was laid.	Mark xv. 47. Luke xxiii. 55.		..
III.	The Women from Galilee hasten to return home before the Sabbath began, to prepare Spices.	Luke xxiii. 56.		..
IV.	Mary Magdalene, and the other Mary, continue to sit opposite the Sepulchre, till it is too late to prepare their Spices.	Matt. xxii. 61.		..
V.	The Sabbath being ended, the Chief Priests prepare a Guard of Soldiers to watch the Sepulchre.	Matt. xxvii. 62-66.		..
VI.	The Sabbath being over, Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, purchase their Spices to anoint the body of Christ.	Mark xvi. 1.		..
VII.	The Morning of Easter-day. Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, leave their homes very early to go to the Sepulchre.	Matt. xxviii. 1. Mark xvi. part of ver. 2. John xx. part of ver. 1.		..
VIII.	After they had left their homes, and before their arrival at the Sepulchre, Christ rises from the dead.	Matt. xxviii. 2-4.		..
IX.	The Bodies of many come out of their Graves, and go to Jerusalem.	Matt. xvii. part of ver. 52, and ver. 53.		..
X.	Mary Magdalene, the other Mary, and Salome, arrive at the Sepulchre, and find the Stone rolled away.	Mark xvi. part of ver. 2, and ver. 3, 4. John xx. part of ver. 1.		..
XI.	Mary Magdalene leaves the other Mary and Salome to tell Peter.	John xx. 2.		..
XII.	Salome and the other Mary, during the absence of Mary Magdalene, enter the porch of the Sepulchre, and see one Angel, who commands them to inform the Disciples that Jesus was risen.	Matt. xxviii. 5-7. Mark xvi. 5-7.		..
XIII.	Salome and the other Mary leave the Sepulchre.	Matt. xxviii. 8. Mark xvi. 8.		..
XIV.	Peter and John, as soon as they hear the report of Mary Magdalene, hasten to the Sepulchre, which they inspect, and immediately depart.	John xx. 3-10.		..
XV.	Mary Magdalene, having followed Peter and John, remains at the Sepulchre after their departure.	John xx. part of ver. 11.		..
XVI.	Mary Magdalene looks into the tomb, and sees two Angels.	John xx. part of ver. 11, 12, 13, and part of 14.		..
XVII.	Christ first appears to Mary Magdalene, and commands her to inform the disciples that he has risen.	Mark xvi. 19. John xx. part of ver. 14, and 15-17.		..

Section.	Contents.	Scripture.	Place.	Vul. Era.
XVIII.	Mary Magdalene, when going to inform the Disciples that Christ had risen, meets again with Salome and the other Mary. Christ appears to the three Women.	Matt. xxviii. 9. John xx. 18.	Jerusalem.	29
XIX.	The Soldiers who had fled from the Sepulchre, report to the High-priests the Resurrection of Christ.	Matt. xxviii. 11—15		..
XX.	The Second party of Women from Galilee, who had bought their spices on the evening previous to the Sabbath, having had a longer way to come to the Sepulchre, arrive after the departure of the others; and find the Stone rolled away.	Luke xxiv. 1—3.		..
XXI.	Two angels appear to them also, assuring them that Christ was risen, and reminded them of his foretelling this fact.	Luke xxiv. 4—9.		..
XXII.	Mary Magdalene unites her testimony to that of the Galilean Women.	Mark xvi. 10. Luke xxiv. 10.		..
XXIII.	The Apostles are still incredulous.	Mark xvi. 11. Luke xxiv. 11.		..
XXIV.	Peter goes again to the Sepulchre.	Luke xxiv. 12.		..
XXV.	Christ appears to Peter.	Luke xxiv. 12.		..
XXVI.	Christ appears to Cleophas, and another Disciple going to Emmaus.	Mark xvi. 12. Luke xxiv. 13—32.		..
XXVII.	Cleophas and his companion return to Jerusalem, and assure the Disciples that Christ had certainly risen.	Mark xvi. 13. Luke xxiv. 33—35.		..
XXVIII.	Christ appears to the assembled Apostles, Thomas only being absent; convinces them of the identity of his resurrection body; and blesses them.	Luke xxiv. 36—43. John xx. 19—23.		..
XXIX.	Thomas is still incredulous.	Mark xvi. 13. John xx. 24, 25.		..
XXX.	Christ appears to the eleven, Thomas being present.	Mark xvi. 14. John xx. 26—29.		..
XXXI.	Christ appears to a large number of his Disciples on a Mountain in Galilee.	Matt. xviii. 16, 17, and part of ver. 18.		..
XXXII.	Christ appears again at the Sea of Tiberias. His conversation with St. Peter.	John xxi. 1—24.		..
XXXIII.	Christ appears to his Apostles at Jerusalem, and commissions them to convert the world.	Luke xxiv. 44—49. Acts i. 4, 5.		..
XXXIV.	Christ leads out his Apostles to Bethany, within sight of Jerusalem, renews their commission, blesses them, and ascends up visibly into heaven; from whence he shall come to judge the living and the dead.	Matt. xxviii. 18—20. Mark. xvii. 15—20. Luke xxiv. 50—53. Acts i. 6—12.		..
XXXV.	St. John's conclusion to the Gospel History of Jesus Christ.	John xx. 30, 31. John xxi. 25.		..

. At the close of his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, Dr. A. Clarke has given three very elaborate Tables, comprising the Chronology of the New Testament, which the student may refer to with great advantage.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

1. **THIS** book forms the last of the historical books of the New Testament, and is generally placed as a connecting link between the gospels and the epistles; though in several MSS. and Versions, it stands at the end of Paul's epistles.

2. This interesting and important record of the early history of the Christian church has had several titles. Œcumenius aptly termed it, "The Gospel of the Holy Spirit;" and Chrysostom, as happily, "The Book, the Demonstration of the Resurrection." These titles are much more descriptive of its contents, than the one now generally given to it.

3. That the evangelist Luke was the author of this book, is affirmed by the voice of antiquity, and is also demonstrated from its introduction, in which it is dedicated to the same person for whose immediate instruction his gospel had been written, and which is here expressly referred to.

4. The long attendance of Luke on Paul, as well as the circumstance of his having been an eye-witness of many of the occurrences which he records, renders him a most respectable and credible historian. His medical knowledge enabled him to form a proper judgment of the miraculous cures which were performed by Paul, and also to give an accurate and authentic detail of them. But he himself does not appear to have possessed the power of healing by supernatural means; at least, we have no instances of it on record: and when the father of Publius and other sick persons were suddenly cured, they were restored to health, not by Luke, but by the prayers of Paul.* This, as Dr. Clarke remarks, is another proof of the wisdom of God: had the physician been employed to work miracles of healing, the excellence of the power would have been attributed to the *skill* of man, and not to the *power* of his Maker.

5. Although the time at which this book was written is not expressly defined, it may with some certainty be inferred from its contents. The last chapter brings down the history to the second year of Paul's imprisonment, and therefore could not have been written before the year 63; and as it relates no further particulars relative to this apostle, whose history it chiefly regards in its latter part, the inference that it was written at this time is perfectly reasonable.

6. That Luke did not design to write a general history of the Christian church during the first thirty years after Christ's ascension, is sufficiently evident from the omissions in his work. Hence he passes by all the transactions in the church of Jerusalem, after the conversion of Paul, though the apostles continued for some time in Palestine. He also omits to notice the propagation of Christianity in Egypt, or in the countries bordering on the Euphrates and the Tigris, Paul's journey into Arabia, the state of Christianity in Babylon (1 Pet. v. 13); the foundation of the church at Rome, which had already received an epistle from Paul, several of Paul's voyages, and many other matters of which he could not possibly be ignorant, as may be seen in Lardner.† Upon similar grounds we may conclude that this book was not designed to be a full history of the ministry and sufferings of all the apostles, in the propagation of Christianity, nor even to give a minute relation of the laborious exertions of the apostle Paul. To the book of the Acts may be applied the words in which John has spoken of his gospel, "and many other extraordinary occurrences indeed there were, which are not written in this book." Here, therefore, as in the gospels, a selection of facts, not regularly disposed in chronological order, was designed to serve for the evidence or illustration of certain important religious truths.

7. The two great points to which this selection of facts seems subservient are, that the Christian religion is of divine origin, and that it was intended for the benefit, not of the Jewish nation alone, but of every nation on earth. As peculiarly striking examples of this, reference may be made to the passages where are severally related the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles at the day of Pentecost, the vision of Peter, and the conversion of Paul (chap. ii. 1—36, x. 9—44, ix. 1—20), in which, while the miracles are fitted to prove the truths of the religion, in the cause of which they took place, the end or purpose of the miracles proclaims or prepares for its general propagation. On this supposition, there is a sufficient reason why the names of some of the apostles never occur throughout the book, and why so little is said of Peter and John; as it did not matter that the labours of this or of that apostle should be pre-

* Michaëlis, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 327:

† Supplement, vol. i., ch. viii., sect. 9.

served, or that even a distinct history of the first propagation of Christianity should be composed. On any other supposition it would be difficult to explain why the work has not materials from which we might have learnt what befell all the apostles in the execution of the trust committed to them, and have traced more minutely the progressive diffusion of the gospel; both of which objects are deeply interesting to Christians, and one of which we are by the title, early but perhaps injudiciously prefixed to the book, almost led to expect.*

8. In addition to the external evidences of the authenticity of this book, derived from the early and unbroken tradition of the Christian church, the most indubitable evidences of its truth may be deduced from its style and composition. The language and manner of every speaker whose addresses it purports to give, are strikingly characteristic; and the same speaker is found to adapt his manner to the character of the audience he happens to address. The speeches of Stephen, Peter, Cornelius, James, Tertullus, and Paul, are all different, and such as might naturally be expected from the characters in question, and the circumstances by which they were surrounded at the time.† The historical details, also, and especially the incidental circumstances mentioned by Luke, so exactly correspond, and that evidently without any design on the part of the writer, with the accounts furnished in Paul's epistles, and in ancient historians, as to afford the most incontrovertible evidences of its truth, and the strongest demonstration of the Christian religion.‡

9. Although Luke has not annexed any dates to the transactions which he records, nor followed uninterruptedly the thread of the history, we may perceive more regularity and continuity in this work than in any of the gospels. Indeed, in both his works, Luke has shown most apparently the design of defining within what period of the history of the world the gospel history is to be placed; for, by comparing some of his facts with the co-incident facts in Roman history, he has enabled us with great accuracy to ascertain when the history in the New Testament begins and terminates. From these data Michaëlis has attempted to settle the chronology of this book, dividing the history into five epochs.|| It will be evident, however, from an inspection of his scheme, and a careful perusal of the book itself, that the time occupied

by the narrative cannot be so divided into distinct periods, within one or other of which each of the facts may with certainty be placed.

10. The following division, which has been adopted by Bishop Percy, is, perhaps, the most just and useful.

Part I. The account of the first Pentecost after Christ's death, and of the events preceding it, contained in chap. i., ii.

II. The acts at Jerusalem, and throughout Judea and Samaria, among the Christians of the circumcision, chap. iii.—ix., xii.

III. The acts in Cæsarea, and the receiving of the Gentiles, chap. x., xi.

IV. The first circuit of Barnabas and Paul among the Gentiles, chap. xiii., xiv.

V. The embassy from Antioch and the first council at Jerusalem, wherein the Jews and Gentiles were admitted to an equality, chap. xv.

VI. The second circuit of Paul, chap. xvi.—xix.

VII. Paul's first journey to Rome, chap. xix. 21—xxviii. §

11. In the book of the Acts we see how the church of Christ was formed and settled. The apostles simply proclaim the truth of God relative to the passion, death, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, and God accompanies their testimony with the demonstration of his Spirit.¶ What was the consequence? Thousands acknowledge the truth, embrace Christianity, and openly profess it at the imminent risk of their lives. The change is not a change of merely one religious sentiment or mode of worship for another; but a change of tempers, passions, prospects, and moral conduct. All before was earthly, or animal, or devilish, or all these together; but now all is holy, spiritual, and divine; the heavenly influence becomes extended, and nations are born unto God. And how was all this brought about? Not by might nor power, nor by the sword, nor by secular authority, nor through worldly motives and prospects; not by pious frauds and cunning craftiness; not by the force of persuasive eloquence; in a word, by nothing but the sole influence of truth itself, attested to the heart by the power of the Holy Spirit.¶¶

12. The style of Luke, in this book, is pronounced by Michaëlis to be much purer than that of most other books of the New Testament, especially in the speeches delivered by Paul at Athens, and before the Roman governors, which contain passages superior to any thing even in the Epistle to the Hebrews, though the language of this epistle is preferable in other respects to that of any other

* Cook's Inquiry, p. 219. See also Benson's Hist. of the E. planting of Christianity, vol. i., p. 22, &c.

† See Michaëlis, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 333, &c.

‡ See Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, throughout.

|| Introduction, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 336, &c.

§ Key to the New Testament, p. 68.

¶ Dr. A. Clarke Preface to the Acts of the Apostles,

book in the New Testament. But the Acts of the Apostles are by no means free from Hebraisms; and even in the purest parts, which are the speeches of Paul, we still find the language of a native Jew.* There is here the same complete

absence of labour and pomp, of every art to magnify and exalt, as characterizes the gospels; there is a simplicity of design and diction which forcibly bespeaks the sincerity and fidelity of the writer, and makes the most powerful impression on the mind and heart.

* Michaelis' Introduction, vol. iii., pt. 1, p. 332.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.

SECTION I.

THE CONVERSION AND CHARACTER OF PAUL.

1. WHOEVER will be at the trouble of collecting together the scattered materials of the life and character of Paul, now dispersed up and down in the Acts of the Apostles, and in his own divinely inspired epistles, and then of steadily following out the thread of his history and labours, will rise from the task with a conviction that he was the most able, as he was also the most extraordinary, minister of the New Testament, raised up by the great Head of the Church. A most determined and implacable enemy to the cross of Christ, the ebullitions of whose wrath swept away in one common destruction "men and women"—a bigoted and unrelenting persecutor, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord, and making havoc of the church," he was brought over from the ranks of the enemy, and became, not only an able preacher of the faith he had once destroyed, but its most steady and successful defender. The conversion of Paul to the faith of Christ was not the occasion of destroying any of those striking features in his character which distinguished him while engaged in the work of destruction. It only brought them under the influence of principles which rendered them instruments of the most extensive and lasting good. Possessing a determination of purpose which no obstacles could thwart—a burning charity which no opposition could quench—and an ardent zeal which no suffering could subdue, he united these moral qualities to an intellect of no ordinary kind, improved by accessions of almost every species of learning which was then cultivated, and consecrating the whole to the undivided service of his Lord, he became the most able expositor and the most successful defender of the Christian faith, in that or in any other age of the church.

2. To enter fully into the life of the great apostle of the Gentiles, would greatly exceed our limits. A very few remarks on his character and writings must suffice. The conversion of Paul has been justly regarded as affording a most convincing proof of the truth of the Christian religion. Lord Lyttleton considered this circumstance of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a divine revelation; and, indeed, when we consider the character of Saul, the manner in which he was brought to a knowledge of the truth, the impression made on his own mind and heart by the vision he had on his way to Damascus, and the effect produced on all his subsequent life, we cannot reasonably resist this conclusion. Saul of Tarsus was not a man of a light, fickle, and uncultivated mind. His natural powers were vast; his character was most decided; and his education, as we learn from his historian and from his writings, was at once both liberal and profound. He was born and brought up in a city enjoying every privilege of which Rome itself could boast, and which was a successful rival both of Rome and Athens in arts and science. Though a Jew, it is evident that his education was not confined to matters that concerned his own people and country alone. He had read the best Greek writers, as his style, allusions, and quotations, sufficiently prove; and in matters which concern his own religion, he was instructed by Gamaliel, one of the most celebrated doctors the synagogue had ever produced. He was evidently master of the three great languages which were spoken among the only people who deserved the name of *nations*, the *Hebrew*, and its prevailing dialect, the *Chaldeo-Syriac*, the *Greek*, and the *Latin*;—languages, that, notwithstanding all the cultivation through which the earth has passed, maintain their rank over all the languages of the universe. Was it likely that *such a man*, possessing such a *mind*, cultivated to such an *extent*, could have been

imposed upon or deceived? The circumstances of his conversion forbid the supposition; they do more, they render it *impossible*. One consideration alone will prove that imposture was impossible: Saul had no communication with Christians; the men that accompanied him to Damascus were of his own mind, virulent, determined enemies to the very name of Christ; and his conversion took place in the *open day*, on the *open road*, in company only with such men as the persecuting high-priest and Sanhedrin thought proper to be employed in the extermination of Christianity. In such circumstances, and in such company, no cheat could be practised. But was not *he* the *deceiver*? The supposition is absurd and monstrous, for this simple reason, that there was no *motive* that could prompt him to feign what he was not, and no *end* that could be answered by assuming the profession of Christianity. Christianity had in it such principles as must excite the hatred of Greece, Rome, and Judea. It exposed the folly and absurdity of Grecian and Roman superstition and idolatry, and asserted itself to be the *completion, end, and perfection* of the whole Mosaic code. It was therefore hated by all those nations, and its followers despised, detested, and persecuted. From the profession of such a religion, so circumstanced, could any man, who possessed even the most moderate share of common sense, expect secular emolument or advantage? No! Had not this apostle of the Gentiles, therefore, the fullest conviction of the truth of Christianity, the fullest proof of its heavenly influence on his own soul, and the brightest prospect of the reality and blessedness of the heavenly world, he could not have taken one step in the path which the doctrine of Christ pointed out. Add to this, that he lived long after his conversion, saw Christianity and its influence in every point of view, and tried it in all circumstances. What was the result? The deepest conviction of its truth, so that he counted all things dross and dung in comparison of the excellency of its knowledge. Had he continued a Jew, he would have infallibly risen to the first dignities and honours of his nation; but he willingly forfeited all his secular privileges, and well-grounded expectations of secular honour and emolument, and espoused a cause, from which he could not only have no expectation of worldly advantage, but which most evidently and necessarily exposed him to all sorts of privations, sufferings, hardships, dangers, and even death itself. These were not only the unavoidable consequences of the cause he espoused, but he had them fully in his apprehension, and constantly in his eye. He *predicted* them, and knew that every

step he took was a progressive advance in *additional sufferings*, and that the issue of his journey must be a *violent death*! The whole history of Paul proves him to have been one of the *greatest* of men; and his conduct after he became a Christian, had it not sprung from a divine motive, of the truth of which he had the fullest conviction, would have shown him to have been one of the *weakest* of men. The conclusion, therefore, is self-evident, that in Paul's *call* there could be no imposture; that in his own *mind* there could be no deception; that his conversion was from heaven; and that the religion he professed and taught was the infallible and eternal truth of Jehovah. In this full conviction he counted not his life dear unto him, but finished his rugged race with joy, cheerfully giving up his life for the testimony of Jesus; and thus his luminous sun set in *blood*, to rise again in *glory*. The *conversion* of Paul is the *triumph* of Christianity; his *writings*, the fullest exhibition and defence of its *doctrines*; and his *life and death*, a glorious illustration of its *principles*. Armed with the history of Paul's conversion and life, the feeblest believer needs not fear the most powerful infidel. The *ninth chapter* of the Acts of the Apostles will ever remain an impregnable fortress to *defend* Christianity, and *defeat* its enemies.*

3. Dr. Harwood thus characterizes Paul:—"All the writings of St. Paul speak him a man of a most exalted genius, and the strongest abilities. His composition is peculiarly nervous and animated. He possessed a fervid conception, a glowing but chastised fancy, a quick apprehension, and a most immensely ample and liberal heart. Inheriting from nature distinguished powers, he carried the culture and improvement of them to the most exalted height to which human learning could push them: an excellent scholar, an acute reasoner, a great orator, a most instructive and spirited writer. Longinus classes the apostle among the most celebrated orators of Greece.† His speeches in the Acts of the Apostles are

* Dr. A. Clarke's Notes on Acts ix.; Littleton on the Conversion of St. Paul; Paul's life in vol. iv. of Macknight's Translation of the Epistles; and Mrs. More's Essay. Mr. Horne, also, has compiled a good account of the apostle's life and labours, Introduction, vol. iv., p. 308, &c.

† Longinus, p. 260, Pearce, 8vo.

‡ Michaëlis remarks, that it is evident, from the speeches of Paul, preserved in the Acts, that he must have had a purer language at his command than he generally adopted in his writings. And the reason for which the apostle, as he conceives, did not compose in better Greek, was to avoid giving offence to the Jews, by deviating from a language that was already consecrated to the purposes of religion.—Introduction, vol. i., p. 155.

worthy the Roman senate. They breathe a most generous fire and fervour, are animated with a divine spirit of liberty and truth, abound with instances of as fine address as any of the most celebrated orations of Demosthenes or Cicero can boast; and his answers, when at the bar, to the questions proposed to him by the court, have a politeness and a greatness, which nothing in antiquity hardly ever equalled. His writings show him eminently acquainted with Greek learning and Hebrew literature. He greatly excelled in the profound and accurate knowledge of the Old Testament, which he is perpetually citing and explaining with great skill and judgment, and pertinently accommodating to the subject he is discussing. Born at Tarsus, the most illustrious seat of the Muses in those days, initiated in that city into the learning and philosophy of the Greeks, conversing in early life* with their most elegant and celebrated writers, whom we find him quoting, and afterwards finishing his course of education at the feet of Gamaliel, the learned Jewish rabbi, he came forth into public and active life, with a mind stored with the most ample and various treasures of science and knowledge that can adorn and dignify the human soul. A negligent greatness, if I may so express it, appears in his writings. Full of the dignity of his subject, a torrent of sacred eloquence bursts forth, and bears down every thing before it with irresistible rapidity. He stays not to arrange and harmonize his words and his periods, but rushes on as his vast ideas transport him, borne away with the sublimity of his theme, and, like Pindar, when seized with poetic inspiration, with strong pinions soars above the clouds, and far, far below, at an immense distance, leaves all mortal things. Hence his frequent and prolix digressions, though at the same time his comprehensive mind never loses sight of his subject, but he returns from these excursions, resumes and pursues it with an ardour and strength of reasoning that astonishes and convinces. He introduces any subject which he is afraid will prejudice and disgust his countrymen, the Jews, with a humility and modesty that secures your attention, and with an insinuating form of address to which you can deny nothing. Upon occasion, also, we find him employing the most keen and cutting raillery in satirizing the faults and foibles of those to whom he wrote.†

* This is disputed by Dr. Macknight, Transl. of the Epist. vol. iv., p. 432.

† Harwood's Introduction, vol. i., p. 198, &c. See also Macknight's Translation of the Epistles, Prel. Essay, III.

SECTION II.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE EPISTLES OF PAUL.

1. The epistles of Paul form no inconsiderable part of the New Testament, either in bulk or in importance. The number of his apostolic letters amounts to fourteen, and in these every doctrine of the Christian system is discussed, amplified, illustrated, and defended, with the utmost success. The importance of these writings will be immediately manifest when it is considered that they are commentaries on the gospels. The apostle has not, as a recent writer has disingenuously insinuated, introduced and taught doctrines not previously revealed by our Saviour, and preserved in the gospels; but, watching over the infant churches which had been established, and observing the rise and spread of error and abuse, he was induced, under the influence of divine inspiration, to exhibit in a variety of lights, and to illustrate by a number of methods, the several parts of that important system of doctrines which had already been laid down by his Lord and Master, for the purpose of preserving in the purity of the faith those who had made a profession of it, and of checking and putting down those mistaken or malignant men who exerted themselves in sullyng the purity of the Christian scheme. "The post, then, which the epistles occupy in the sacred depository of revelation, is not that of communications of new doctrine. They fill their station as additional records, as inspired corroborations, as argumentative concentrations, as instructive expositions, of truths already revealed, of commandments already promulgated. In some few instances a new circumstance, collateral to an established doctrine, is added; as when Paul, in applying to the consolation of the Thessalonians the future resurrection of their departed friends, subjoins the intelligence that the dead in Christ shall rise first, to meet the Lord in the air, before the generation alive at the coming of our Saviour shall exchange mortal life for immortality. In the explication of moral precepts, the epistles frequently enter into large and highly beneficial details. And as one of their principal objects at the time of their publication was to settle controversial dissensions, to refute heresies, and to expose perversions of scriptural truth, they in consequence abound in discussions illustrating the nature and the scope of sound doctrine; and guarding it against the false and mischievous interpretations of the ignorant, of the subtle, and of the unholy."‡

‡ Townsend's Arrang. New Test. vol. ii. p. 214.

2. Hence the epistles of Paul will generally be found to be controversial; first discussing and settling the questions of difference between the members of the churches to whom he wrote, or refuting the erroneous sentiments which they had imbibed; and then applying the truths which had passed under review to the purposes of personal edification and holiness. There is not one of his inspired letters of a merely *speculative* character. The doctrines which are discussed, however sublime and important, are never left without being exhibited in their practical influence on the heart and conduct of the Christian believer.

3. The purpose of the epistles, then, is to be learnt by reading them with care; for an epistle may be made the vehicle of every species of information, and in all various ways. Every thing, whether of doctrine or precept, contained in them, has, more or less, the complexion of familiar letters, and is therefore more easy or difficult to be understood, according to the knowledge which may still be acquired of those contingencies, by which the train of thought in the mind of the writer must have been so much regulated. Sometimes from the contingencies being preserved by collateral testimony, or incorporated with the allusions, we can read the epistles with all, or more than all, the advantages of those to whom they were addressed. Sometimes it is easy to see that the train of thought has allusions to such contingencies as are now irrecoverably lost. But sometimes it is impossible to determine whether the train of thought has, or has not, any such allusions. This is particularly observable in the moral precepts with which the apostle Paul generally concludes his epistles. Here it is perhaps impossible to determine in how far the train of thought proceeds upon circumstances, in the situation and character of those to whom he writes, or according to such connexions as might have been furnished to his subject from the great principles of moral and religious truth. Yet even should the attempt to explain the passages upon the supposition of such abstract connexions be conducted where it has not sufficient ground, no harm to the cause of religion can ensue, provided the connexions, as still might happen, be consistent with the principles whence they are derived. *

4. It is admitted on all hands that the epistles of Paul are the most difficult part of the New Testament to be understood. This results in a great measure, as we have just shown, from the character of the writings themselves. But there are diffi-

culties in the interpretation of these writings, resulting almost entirely from the peculiar manner and style in which the apostle has composed them. His numerous parentheses and frequent change of person, without affording the least intimation of the circumstance, render a diligent and close attention requisite on our part, lest we mistake his meaning and object. But, as Macknight justly observes, the apostle always treats of some important article of faith, which, though not formally proposed, is constantly in his view, and is handled according to a preconceived plan, in which his arguments, illustrations, and conclusions are all properly arranged. This the intelligent reader will easily perceive, if, in studying any particular epistle, he keep the subject of it in his eye throughout. For thus he will be sensible that the things written are all connected with the subject in hand, either as proofs of what immediately goes before, or as illustrations of some proposition more remote; or as inferences from premises, sometimes expressed, and sometimes implied; or as answers to objections which, in certain cases, are not stated, perhaps because the persons addressed had often heard them proposed. Nay, he will find that, on some occasions, the apostle adapts his reasoning to the thoughts which he knew would, at that instant, arise in the mind of his readers, and to the answers which he foresaw they would make to his questions, though these answers are not expressed. In short, on a just view of Paul's epistles, it will be found that all his arguments are in point; that whatever incidental matter is introduced, contributes to the illustration of the principal subject; that his conclusions are all well founded; and that the whole is properly arranged. †

5. We have the most convincing evidence of the genuineness and authenticity of the epistles here attributed to Paul. The Acts of the Apostles and these writings, as we have before remarked, reciprocally elucidate and confirm each other; the Christian church from the beginning has attributed them to Paul, without dispute, except the Epistle to the Hebrews; and even those heretics, as the Cerinthians, Ebionites, and Marcionites, who have rejected their divine authority, have never ventured to deny that they were his genuine writings. The Fathers have spoken of some other books which were attributed to the pen of this apostle; as the "Acts of St. Paul," the "Travels of St. Paul and Thecla," an "Epistle to the Laodiceans," and a third epistle to the Corinthians. These, however, have always been deemed spurious by

* See Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, p. 222, &c.

† Macknight's Translation of the Epistles, vol. i. p. 65.

the church generally, and destitute of all marks of veracity. Eusebius does not notice them, while he affirms of those which we now possess (excepting that to the Hebrews), that they were universally acknowledged to be the work of St. Paul.*

6. It is almost superfluous to remark, that these epistles are not placed in our Bibles in chronological order, but according to the supposed rank and importance of the communities or churches to whom they were addressed. Hence those which were sent to collective bodies of Christians are placed before those which were sent to private individuals. But we have already assigned the dates and places at which they were severally supposed to have been written.†

7. With regard to Paul's quotations from the Old Testament, it is necessary to observe that they are generally taken from the Septuagint, which was at that time commonly used by the Jews. He sometimes unites many passages together, without distinguishing what is taken from one prophet, and what from another. At other times he gives the sense of a passage without regarding the exact language in which it was originally written.‡ We must discriminate, in the passages which he quotes from the Old Testament, between those that are only allusions and applications, and those mentioned as oracles, and which serve as proofs. Thus, when the apostle applies to justification by faith, what Moses has said respecting the law, "Say not in your hearts, who shall ascend to heaven," &c., it cannot be imagined that this is a prophecy, of which he discovers the profound and concealed sense. It is a mere application of what has been said of the law to the gospel; but a very beautiful and just application. The same may be said of a citation from the nineteenth psalm: "Their words have gone out to the ends of the earth;" which was said of the stars, and is here applied to the ministers of the gospel.||

8. In noticing the epistles separately, we shall take them in chronological order.

SECTION III.

EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

1. This epistle is not addressed to a single church, as most of the epistles of Paul are, but to the

Christians of a whole country in Asia Minor. Its date is doubtful; some place it as early as the year 48, and others as low as the year 58. The internal evidence afforded by the epistle itself, as well as the general voice of antiquity, decide, we think, in favour of the early date; or, at least, for a date not later than the year 50 or 51; that is, very shortly after the council of Jerusalem, Acts xv. §

2. To understand the design of this epistle, we must notice the state of the church to which it was addressed.

3. It appears, then, from the work itself, that not long after the Galatians had embraced the gospel, to which they had been converted by the personal preaching of Paul, certain Jewish Christians, zealous of the law of Moses, appeared among them, and taught that unless they were circumcised and kept the law, they could not be saved (chap. v. 2); and so successful were they in propagating this error, that some of the Galatians actually submitted to be circumcised. The principal arguments used by the seducers of the Galatians were the following.

(1) That the apostles at Jerusalem, especially Peter, and the whole church at Jerusalem, considered circumcision as necessary; and that Paul was only a deputy from that church, his teaching and precepts being authoritative only so far as they agreed with its doctrine. That the former part of this assertion is false, appears both from Acts xv. 24, and from the first two chapters of the epistle; and that the latter part is equally false, appears also from the epistle, where Paul shows at large that he was neither a missionary from the church at Jerusalem, nor a disciple of the apostles, but an immediate apostle of Christ himself; that the gospel which he preached was delivered to him by a divine revelation, and that its truth, therefore, by no means depended on its agreement with what the other apostles taught. It was absolutely necessary that Paul should be explicit on this subject, because Galatia being at some distance from Palestine, the inhabitants of that country could be more easily deceived in respect to the doctrines which were taught by the apostles and elders at Jerusalem.

(2) But these false teachers farther asserted "that Paul had altered his opinion, and now preached the Levitical law," chap. i. 8—10, v. 11. Perhaps they pleaded in support of this argument, that he had ordered Timothy to be circumcised

* Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 25.

† See page 46, ante.

‡ On this subject the reader may consult Michaëlis' Introduction, vol. i., chap. v.; Horne's Introduction, vol. ii., pt. 1, chap. ix., with the authors there referred to; Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament, chap. v., sect. 12; and Critica Biblica, vol. ii., p. 155, &c.

|| See Townsend's Arrangement of the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 220, and Harwood's Introduction, vol. i., p. 279, &c.

§ See Michaëlis' Introd. vol. i., p. 8, &c.; Macknight's Preface to this Epistle; and Townsend's Arrangement of New Test. vol. ii., p. 221.

shortly before his first visit to the Galatians, Acts xvi. 3, comp. with Gal. ii. 3. To these averments they added, "that all the promises of God were made to the posterity of Abraham; and that whoever would partake of Abraham's blessing, must, like Abraham, be circumcised." This objection Paul answers, chap. iii. 7—iv. 18.

(3) Lastly, they urged, "that Isaiah had foretold an approaching conversion of the Gentiles, and had promised children to Sion, or Jerusalem, from among the heathen; and that, if the Gentiles desired to be children of Jerusalem, they ought to conform to the worship and ceremonies of that church." In answer to this argument, Paul shows (iv. 19—31) that these children were promised, not to the Jewish, but to the ancient Jerusalem, where the true God was worshipped in the time of Melchisedek, without either temple or Levitical law.*

4. This epistle, therefore, is divisible into three parts.

Part I.—*A vindication of Paul and his doctrine*, showing that he derived his authority from Christ himself, and was in no way inferior to the other apostles (ch. i.); that he preached the same gospel as the other apostles (ch. ii. 1—10); that his practice was consistent with his doctrine (ver. 11—21).

Part II.—*A series of proofs drawn from the Old Testament, that the law had been abolished by Christ*. Justification is only to be obtained by faith (ch. iii. 1—5); the nature of the covenant made with Abraham proves this (ver. 6—18); the design of the Mosaic law was not to disannul the promise, but to prepare men for its reception (ver. 19—iv. 8); the Galatians reprov'd for their defection from the gospel (ver. 9—v. 12).

Part III.—*Practical inferences deduced from the foregoing discussion*. Cautions against abusing the doctrines of grace (ver. 13—15); the works of the flesh and the fruits of the Spirit contrasted (ver. 16—24); directions for the regulation of the Galatians' conduct towards each other (ver. 25—vi. 10); the conclusion of the epistle, with Paul's usual benediction (ver. 11—18).

SECTION IV.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

1. THESSALONICA was a large sea-port town, situ-

ated on the Thermaic Gulf, and was the metropolis of all the countries comprehended in the province of Macedonia. It was distinguished for the number, the wealth, and the learning of its inhabitants. Paul visited this city immediately after leaving Philippi, and for three successive sabbath days entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews out of the Scriptures. His labours were not very successful in the conversion of his own countrymen; but of the religious proselytes a great multitude believed, among whom were many women of great distinction, Acts xvii. 4. Among his converts, too, were many idolatrous Gentiles; which so excited the envy of the Jews, that, "moved with indignation," they employed "certain lewd fellows of the baser sort," who set the city in an uproar, assaulted the house of Jason, where the apostle lodged, dragged him and certain brethren before the rulers, and charged them with sedition and treason against the Roman emperor. The apostle's life being thus placed in danger, Paul and Silas were sent away by night, who, going to Berea, a neighbouring city of distinction, there preached the gospel with great success. The persecuting Jews, however, following Paul to Berea, he was obliged to fly to Athens. Silas and Timothy remained behind at Berea, but with directions to follow Paul, who waited for them at Athens, as early as possible (Acts xvii. 14, 15, 16). Their actual arrival there is not mentioned by Luke; but that they came there appears from 1 Thess. iii. 1, 2. Timothy, however, remained but a short time, being sent back to Thessalonica by Paul, who, before his return, had left Athens, and arrived at Corinth. The apostle had not been long at Corinth before Timothy returned from Thessalonica, and no doubt gave him such an account of the state of the church as convinced him that his presence was much needed in that city. The success with which he was then preaching the gospel in Corinth, however, rendered it improper for him to leave it at that time; he therefore wrote this epistle to supply his place, about the end of A. D. 51.

2. With regard to the state of the church at Thessalonica, a knowledge of which is requisite to understand this epistle, we may remark—

(1) It consisted chiefly of Gentiles, the teachers mentioned in the fifth chapter (ver. 12) being, probably, converts from Judaism; or at least such Greeks as had before been proselytes to the Jewish religion.

(2) The church, being still in its infancy, and oppressed by the powerful Jews, required to be established in the faith. Paul, therefore, in the first three chapters endeavours to convince the Thessalonians of the truth and divinity of his

* Michaelis' *Introduct* vol. iv. p. 19, &c. For the purpose of obtaining a clear view of the scope and several parts of the epistles, the reader will do well to consult Macknight's "View and Illustration," &c., prefixed to each chapter, in his *Translation of the Epistles*; or Doddridge's *Introduction to the Epistle*, in his *Family Expositor*.

gospel, both by the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit which had been imparted, and by his own conduct when among them.

(3) An error prevailed with respect to the doctrine of the last judgment. The Thessalonians, like most of the primitive Christians, thought the day of judgment would happen in their time, and that those who lived to see it take place would have great advantage over the deceased faithful, which was probably to consist in their entering immediately on the millennium. This error is combated in the fourth chapter.

(4) Some of the church, who refused to subject themselves to their teachers, had at the same time given themselves up to disorder; which they indulged under the pretence of teaching or edifying others; on this account the apostle gives the admonitions in the fifth chapter, ver. 11—14.*

3. The epistle is divided into five chapters; viz., the introduction (chap. i. 1); a thanksgiving for the grace received by the Thessalonians (ver. 2—10); a declaration of the sincerity and love of the apostle and his fellow-labourers (chap. ii. 1—12); the effect produced at Thessalonica by their preaching (ver. 13—16), and their desire, care, and joy, on account of the converts (ver. 17—23, iii. 1—13); an exhortation to grow in holiness (chap. iv. 1—8); in brotherly love and industry (ver. 9—12); declarations concerning those that sleep, and those who shall be alive, at the coming of Christ (ver. 13—18); concerning the times (chap. v. 1—11); sundry exhortations (ver. 19—26); an adjuration for this epistle to be read to *all the brethren*, and the usual benediction (ver. 27, 28).

4. The importance of the following remarks, from Dr. Macknight's preface to this epistle, will justify their insertion here.

(1) In the opinion of the best critics and chronologers, this being one of the first inspired writings which the apostle Paul addressed to the Greeks, whose philosophical genius led them to examine matters of science and opinion with the greatest accuracy, he very properly chose for the subject of it the proofs by which the gospel is shown to be a revelation from God. The reason is, by furnishing a clear and concise view of the evidences of the gospel, he not only confirmed the Thessalonians themselves in the faith thereof, as a revelation from God, but enabled them to persuade others also of its divine original; or, at least, he taught them how to confute their adversaries, who, by misrepresentations and false reasonings, endeavoured to overthrow the gospel.

(2) The arguments proposed in this epistle, for proving the divine original of the Christian revelation, are the four following:—(1) That many and great miracles were wrought by the preachers of the gospel, professedly for the purpose of demonstrating that they were commissioned by God to preach it to the world.—(2) That the apostles and their assistants, by preaching the gospel brought upon themselves, everywhere, all manner of present evils, without obtaining the least worldly advantage, either in possession or in prospect: that in preaching this new doctrine, they did not, in any respect, accommodate it to the prevailing inclinations of their hearers, nor encourage them in their vicious practices: that they used none of the base arts peculiar to impostors for gaining belief; but that their manner of preaching and acting was, in all respects, suitable to the character of missionaries from God; so that, on account of their personal character, they were entitled to the highest credit as teachers.—(3) That the first preachers of the gospel delivered to their disciples, from the very beginning, precepts of the greatest strictness and holiness; so that by the sanctity of its precepts, the gospel is shown to be a scheme of religion every way worthy of the true God, and highly beneficial to mankind.—(4) That Jesus, the author of our religion, was declared to be the Son of God, and the Judge of the world, by his resurrection from the dead; and that by the same miracle, his own promise, and the predictions of his apostles concerning his return from heaven, to reward the righteous and punish the wicked, especially them who obey not his gospel, are rendered absolutely certain.

(3) In setting forth the proofs of the divine original of the gospel, the apostle with great propriety insisted, in a particular manner, on the character, behaviour, and views of the Christian preachers; because an argument of that kind could not fail to have great weight with the Greeks, as it made them sensible that the ministers of the gospel were the very reverse of their philosophers, the only teachers to whom that intelligent and inquisitive people had hitherto listened. Wherefore we shall not be mistaken, if we suppose that in describing the character, manners, and views of the Christian teachers, the writer of this epistle tacitly contrasted himself, not only with impostors in general, but with the Greek philosophers in particular, who, though in high estimation with the people, were many of them unprincipled impostors, and excessively debauched in their morals.

5. To the arguments offered in this epistle, in proof of the gospel revelation, little can be added, except what arises from the fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament; and therefore

* Michaelis' Introdact. vol. iv. p. 23, &c.; Macknight's Preface to this Epistle; and Bishop Percy's Key, p. 94.

the very same arguments have often, since the apostle's days, been urged by those who have undertaken the defence of the Christian religion. But it is proper to remark, that in the mouth of Paul and his assistants these arguments have double weight; for it is not the miracles, the character, and the precepts of other persons which they have appealed to, but their own. And as in this epistle they have affirmed, in the most direct terms, that the Thessalonians were eye-witnesses of the miracles which were wrought for the confirmation of the gospel, and that they knew the sanctity both of the apostles' manners and of their precepts, no doubt can be entertained of these things. For it is not to be supposed, that three men of common understanding would have joined in writing after this manner, to such numerous societies as the Thessalonian church, and the other churches in which they ordered this epistle to be read, unless the things which they affirm to have been done in their presence had really been true. And if they are true, there can be no doubt that Paul and his assistants were commissioned of God; and that the gospel which they preached is of divine original, and of universal obligation.

SECTION V.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

1. THE contents of this epistle plainly show it to have been written very soon after the former one. It was written from the same place; and the same brethren—Silvanus and Titus—are both mentioned in the introduction. From chap. iii. 2, it seems it was written a little before or a little after the insurrection of the Jews at Corinth, when Paul was dragged before Gallio (Acts xviii. 12), as he there seems either to apprehend or anticipate this violence, or else prays to be delivered from these unbelieving and unreasonable persecutors. We may, therefore, assign it to the year 52.

2. The writing of this epistle appears to have been occasioned by the misrepresentation which some among the Thessalonians had made of certain expressions of the apostle in his former letter. The language which he had adopted in the fourth chapter of that epistle, taken literally, would imply that he included himself in the number of those who should remain alive at the last day. This turn of the expression naturally arose from the strong hold that the expectation of the thing, in its due season, had taken of the writer's imagination, and from his full persuasion of the truth of the doctrine he was asserting—namely, that those who should die before the Lord's coming, and

those who should then be alive, would find themselves quite upon an even footing. In the confident expectation of his own reward, his intermediate dissolution was a matter of so much indifference to him, that he overlooks it. His expression, however, was so strong, that his meaning was mistaken, or, as we have before said, misrepresented. There appears to have been a sect in the apostolic age which looked for the resurrection in their own time. Some of these persons seem to have taken advantage of the apostle's expressions, to represent him as favouring their opinion. To correct this error was his present object; and he therefore peremptorily decides against the doctrine, and desires that no expression of his may be understood as giving it countenance.*

3. To convince them that such an expectation was unfounded, he assures them, in the most express terms, that before the day of the Lord there will be a great apostasy in the church; that the man of sin will be revealed;† that he will oppose and exalt himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; and that he will sit, or continue a long time in the church, as God.‡

4. The epistle consists of three chapters, and contains the inscription (chap. i. 1, 2); thanksgiving and prayer for the Thessalonians (ver. 3—12); the doctrine concerning the man of sin (chap. ii. 1—12); the Thessalonians comforted against this trial (ver. 13, 14); exhortation and prayer (ver. 15—iii. 5); directions to correct the disorderly (ver. 6—16); and the conclusion (ver. 17, 18).

SECTION VI.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

1. THIS epistle, as Michaëlis observes, might not improperly be called an epistle to the Cretans; for the design of it was not so much to instruct Titus in matters which he must have known without it, as to put into his hands an order, which he might lay before the Cretans, and to which he might appeal whenever unworthy and unqualified persons attempted to intrude into the pastoral office. Its contents are nearly of the same kind as those of the First Epistle to Timothy. The churches of Crete were hitherto without

* Horsley's Sermons, p. 11.

† For the fulfilment of this prophecy, see Benson's Dissertation on the Man of Sin; Macknight's Notes on 2 Thess. ii., and the commentators generally.

‡ In disproof of the opinion, that the apostles believed the coming of Christ and the day of judgment to be at hand, see Macknight's Preface to this Epistle, sect. iii. iv.; and Nisbett's Notes on Difficult Passages of Scripture, 12mo., *passim*.

bishops; Titus, therefore, was ordered to appoint them, and at the same time was cautioned against some who were of the circumcision, and who endeavoured to procure for themselves the ecclesiastical offices.

2. From Gal. ii. 3 we learn that Titus was a Greek, and was probably converted to Christianity by Paul, though the time of his conversion is not known. It has been thought remarkable, that Luke has not once mentioned his name throughout the Acts of the Apostles, though Paul makes frequent mention of him in his epistles. But Luke's silence will cease to be extraordinary, when we consider the period in which Titus attended Paul. He was present with the apostle at three different times. First, on the journey to Jerusalem, described Acts xv., as Paul states in express terms, Gal. ii. 1—3. But in this instance, though Luke has not mentioned him by name, he has included him under the general expression, "several other of them" (Acts xv. 2); that is, of the Gentile converts. From this period, judging from Paul's epistles, some time must have elapsed before Titus was again with him; but in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians he is frequently mentioned, where it appears that he had been with the apostle at Ephesus, and was sent from that city to Corinth. Paul, on his own departure from Ephesus, expected to meet Titus again at Troas, but was disappointed (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13); for he did not meet with him till his arrival in Macedonia (chap. vii. 6—13), whence he was sent again with a new commission to Corinth. Now these engagements of Titus occurred during the period in which Luke was absent from Paul;* and this accounts for his silence with regard to the transactions of Titus, as also of many transactions of Paul, which took place in the interval. When Luke again joined company with Paul, Titus does not appear to have been with him, so that these two Gentile converts attended the apostle, perhaps, alternately. The third and last time that we find Titus with Paul, was shortly before the Second Epistle to Timothy was written, in which the apostle says (chap. iv. 10), that Titus had departed for Dalmatia.†

3. Michaëlis and Dr. Hales refer the publication of this epistle to the year 53; and their hypothesis appears to be much strengthened by the consideration, that there is no allusion to Paul's sufferings or approaching death, to his age or imprisonment; all of which things are frequently mentioned in those epistles which we have more

decided reason for referring to a late period of the apostle's life. It has been said, that the verbal harmony subsisting between this epistle and the First Epistle to Timothy cannot be naturally accounted for, but by supposing that they were both written about the same time, and while the same ideas and phrases were present to the author's mind. But is it not natural to expect such coincidences, when they were both written on similar occasions, and for similar purposes?

4. This epistle has three chapters, containing the inscription (chap. i. 1—4); instructions for Titus to ordain good presbyters (ver. 5—9); to reprove and admonish the Cretans, taking care to be himself an example of good works (ver. 10—16); to teach aged men and women their respective duties (chap. ii. 1—8), and urge obedience upon servants and magistrates (ver. 9—iii. 7); directions to maintain good works, avoid foolish questions, and shun heretics (ver. 8—11); an invitation of Titus to Nicopolis, with some admonitions (ver. 12—14); and the conclusion (ver. 15).

5. Upon a review of this and the two epistles to Timothy, it is natural to reflect how much they tend to illustrate and confirm the internal evidence of Christianity. It has often been observed, and very justly, that nothing sets the character of great men in so true a light as their letters to their particular friends. While they are acting in the eye of the world they frequently appear in disguise, and the real motives of their conduct lie out of sight; but in their familiar correspondence they open their minds with freedom, and throw off all reserve. If, therefore, any should object to the argument drawn from Paul's epistles to the churches, that, as they were designed for the public view, he would be, upon his guard, not to let any expressions escape him that might give the world an unfavourable idea of himself, or the cause in which he was engaged; yet certainly, when he is writing, as in this and the other epistles referred to, to his most intimate friends, who were embarked with him in the same design, and with whom, therefore, he could use the utmost confidence, we may reasonably expect to find him disclosing his real sentiments, stripped of all artifice and disguise. And now, upon the most accurate and impartial examination of these epistles, what do we discover? Can we trace any marks of insincerity or imposture? Does the apostle wear any other character than that in which he had appeared to the whole world? Does he drop the least hint that can lead one so much as to suspect that he had been only acting a part, and imposing upon mankind? Can we perceive the least shadow of inconsistency between the views he gives of religion in these and in his

* Michaëlis' Introduction, vol. iii., chap. vi., sect. 3.

† Ibid., vol. iv., p. 29, &c.

other writings? Is there any thing like that double doctrine which some have charged upon the ancient philosophers? On the contrary, is it not most evident that he founded his own hopes and formed his own character upon the very same principles which he recommended to others; that he had no views of secular interest or ambition to gratify, and was influenced by no other motives than those which he openly avowed in the face of the world: in a word, that his character, as well as his doctrine, was consistent and uniform, and his inward sentiments the same as his outward profession? The instructions he gives his friends for the exercise of their office had nothing of art or subtlety, but were all plain and simple, and centred in that grand design of advancing the interests of religion and the happiness of mankind, which ever lay near his heart: and so far is he from flattering them with the prospect of any worldly advantage, that he exhorts them to be ready, after his example, to sacrifice every temporal interest, and even life itself, in the cause they had undertaken to support.

6. If this be allowed to be a just representation of the case, it will certainly follow, that the apostle was himself thoroughly persuaded of the truth and importance of those doctrines he had taught: and since it may be easily proved, that the evidence on which he built his faith was of such a nature as to exclude all possibility of mistake, we may safely conclude, upon the credit of his testimony *alone* (had we no other arguments to produce), that the Christian religion is not a *cunningly devised fable*, formed to answer the ambitious or interested views of its authors, but that it is, indeed, *the power of God, and the wisdom of God.**

SECTION VII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

1. THE date of this epistle is ascertained from internal evidence. Paul, on leaving Corinth, where he was engaged in establishing a Christian church, and where he wrote his two epistles to the Thessalonians, proceeded to Asia, and visited Ephesus, Jerusalem, and Antioch; and then, passing through Galatia and Phrygia, returned to Ephesus, where he remained three years. Towards the close of this residence at Ephesus, he wrote this epistle to the Corinthians, as appears from chap. xvi. 8, where he says, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost." Hence, it appears

that the subscription, which states it to have been written at Philippi, is erroneous. And that it was written at the preceding passover appears from chap. v. 7, "Ye are unleavened," that is, "ye are now celebrating the feast of unleavened bread." Paul's departure from Ephesus being in the year 57, this epistle must consequently have been written at that time.

2. The city of Corinth was one of the most celebrated cities of Greece; exceeding all the cities of the world for the splendour and magnificence of its public buildings. But riches produced luxury, and this a total corruption of manners; so that the Corinthians became proverbial for their profligacy and vices. Corinth was the residence of many Jews, as we find from Acts xviii. 4, and to them Paul, on his visiting this place, first addressed himself; but finding their opposition to the gospel unremitting, he turned to the Gentiles (ver. 7), of whom the church was principally composed. On Paul's departure from Corinth, he was succeeded by Apollos, who preached the gospel with great success (ver. 24—28); to whom may be added Aquila and Sosthenes, ver. 3, 1 Cor. i. 1. False teachers, however, soon arising, the peace of the church was disturbed, and great disorders ensued. Some Gentile converts set themselves up for teachers, confounding the Christian doctrine with their own philosophical speculations, and, out of respect to the oratory of Apollos, called themselves his disciples. On the other hand, some of the Jewish converts contended strenuously for the observance of the Mosaic ceremonies, and styled themselves the followers of Cephas, that is, Peter, the apostle of the circumcision; while many of the native Corinthian converts still continued addicted to that uncleanness and lasciviousness, which had been common to them in their heathen state. Two factions were raised in the church; and the apostle was called upon to fight against Jewish superstition, heathen licentiousness, and all the sophistry of human learning, which were alike-leagued against him, derogating from his authority. On hearing of the lamentable state of his newly-established church, it appears that the apostle sent Erastus and Timothy to the Corinthians, as his messengers and fellow-labourers in the gospel, intending shortly to visit them himself (Acts xix. 22); but before he could accomplish this, he received messengers from Corinth, with a letter from the church, requesting his advice and directions on various subjects, which had been the occasion of so many animosities and divisions among them (chap. vii. 1, 16, 17), and on which those who remained steadfast to him were anxious to obtain his opinion. In

* Doddridge, Introduction to the Epistle to Titus.

answer to these applications, this epistle seems to have been written.*

3. This epistle has been variously divided: the following particulars comprise the whole subject-matter: The introduction (chap. i. 1—9); exhortations relative to the dissensions of the Corinthians (ver. 10—iv. 40); concerning the person who had married his step-mother, commonly called the incestuous person (chap. v.); concerning the unlawfulness of going to law before unbelievers, and the duty of being entirely separate from them (chap. vi.); concerning marriage and virginity (chap. vii.); the question concerning the lawfulness of eating things that had been offered to idols (chap. viii.); the apostle shows his liberty, affirms his right to a maintenance, which he generously foregoes, and then points out the motives by which he was animated in his course (chap. ix.). From this he takes occasion to advert to some of the typical events in the Jewish history, which are proposed for our instruction, and concludes with some directions for our conduct in things of an indifferent nature (chap. x.); various ecclesiastical regulations concerning public worship, the Lord's supper, and the exercise of spiritual gifts, which give occasion to an animated discourse on charity (chap. xi.—xiv.); the important question concerning the resurrection of the dead (chap. xv.); miscellaneous matters, containing exhortations, salutations, commendations, &c. (chap. xvi.).

4. In the ninth chapter of this epistle, there are evident allusions to the Isthmian games, which were celebrated every fifth year on the isthmus, or narrow neck of land, which joins the Peloponnesus, or Morea, to the main land, and with which, therefore, the Corinthians were well acquainted. As a knowledge of the exercises adopted in these games will materially illustrate the apostle's expressions, we have drawn up an account of them in a subsequent part of this work.†

SECTION VIII.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

1. The person to whom Paul addressed this letter was a native of Lystra, a city of Lycaonia, in Asia Minor. His father was a Gentile, but his mother was a pious Jewess, who carefully and diligently instructed his infant mind in the truths of the Old Testament Scriptures, Acts xvi. 1—3, 2 Tim. i. 5. On visiting Lystra a second time, the apostle found Timothy, then a youth, an

exemplary and zealous member of the Christian church. His piety and talents induced the apostle to take him as his companion in his travels, and as a joint labourer in publishing the gospel of Jesus Christ. To conciliate the prejudices of the Jews, and indeed, to obtain from them, both for Timothy and himself, a hearing, in the work of their ministry, the young evangelist was circumcised under the direction of the apostle (Acts xvi. 1—3), and after the imposition of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14), he accompanied him and Silas in their apostolic mission, and never afterwards left Paul, except when sent by him on some special errand.

2. The date of this epistle has been a subject of much controversy; some assigning it to the years 56, 57, or 58, which is the common opinion; and others to 64 or 65. We have adopted, with Dr. Doddridge, the hypothesis that it was written about the year 57 or 58, when Paul had lately quitted Ephesus on account of the tumult raised there by Demetrius, and was gone into Macedonia, Acts xx. 1. This is the opinion of many learned critics, ancient and modern, particularly of Athanasius, Theodoret, Baronius, Ludovic, Capellus, Blondel, Hammond, Grotius, Salmasius, Lightfoot, Benson, Lord Barrington, Michaëlis, and others. On the other hand, Bishop Pearson, and after him, Rosenmüller, Macknight, Paley, Bishop Tomline, &c., endeavour to prove, that it could not be written till the year 64 or 65, between the first and second imprisonment of Paul at Rome; and l'Enfant, without any hesitation, goes into this hypothesis. To this late date, however, there are three objections:

(1) If it was written after the apostle's release, he could not with any propriety have said to Timothy, chap. iv. 12, "Let no man despise thy youth."

(2) When the apostle touched at Miletus, in his voyage to Jerusalem with the collections, the church at Ephesus had a number of elders, that is, of bishops and deacons, who came to him at Miletus (Acts xx. 17); what occasion, then, was there, in an epistle written after the apostle's release, to give Timothy directions concerning the ordination of bishops and deacons, in a church where there were so many elders already?

3. Dr. Paley defends the later date, from the superscription of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, which is spurious, from the apparently short interval between Paul's leaving Ephesus, to go into Macedonia, and the writing of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, in the beginning of which Timothy is joined with Paul. But to this it may be answered, that Timothy might have left Ephesus for a short time only. Besides, arguments of this

* Michaëlis' Introduction, vol. iv. p. 42, &c.; Townsend's Arrangement, vol. ii. p. 284; and Macknight's Preface to 1 Corinthians.

† See Part VI. chap. 4, sect. 2.

theoretical nature ought to weigh but little against a proposition which seems opposed to the plain and literal meaning of Scripture.

4. Michaëlis has endeavoured to prove that this epistle was principally written against the Essenes, or Theraputæ; but his references do not appear to support his hypothesis. These people, even if they sometimes came into towns, could not have been there in sufficient numbers to endanger the faith of the Christian communities. They were no doubt included among the various false teachers whom Paul condemned; but they were not the exclusive objects of his censure.*

5. Though the errors of the judaizing teachers in Ephesus, which gave rise to the apostle's epistles to Timothy, have long ago disappeared, the epistles themselves are still of great use, as they serve to show the impiety of the principles from which these errors proceeded. The same principles are apt in every age, also, to produce errors and vices, which, though different in name from those that prevailed in Ephesus in the apostle's days, are precisely of the same kind, and equally pernicious. These epistles are also of great use in the church, as they exhibit to Christian bishops and deacons, in every age, the most perfect idea of the duties of their function; teach the manner in which these duties should be performed; describe the qualifications necessary in those who aspire to such holy and honourable offices; and explain the ends for which the offices were originally instituted, and are still continued in the church.

6. The very same things, indeed, the apostle had before written to Titus in Crete; but more briefly, because Titus was an older and more experienced minister than Timothy. Nevertheless, the repetition of these precepts and charges is not without its use to the church still, as it makes us more deeply sensible of their great importance; not to mention, that in the Epistle to Titus there are things peculiar to itself, which enhance its value. In short, the epistles to Timothy and Titus taken together, containing a full account of the qualifications of the duties of the ministers of the gospel, may be considered as a complete body of divinely inspired *ecclesiastical canons*, to be observed by Christian ministers of all communions, to the end of the world.

7. These epistles, therefore, ought to be read frequently, and with the greatest attention, by those in every age and country who hold sacred offices, or who have it in view to obtain them; not only that they may regulate their conduct according to the directions contained in them, but that by medi-

tating seriously on the solemn charges delivered to all the ministers of the gospel, in the persons of Timothy and Titus, their minds may be strongly impressed with a sense of the importance of their function, and of the obligation which lies on them to be faithful, in discharging every duty belonging to it.

8. This epistle contains six chapters, comprising the introduction (chap. i. 1, 2); instructions to Timothy how to behave at Ephesus, with reference both to his own ministry and to the legalizing teachers (ver. 3—11); a confirmation of the sum of the gospel as exemplified in the person of the apostle (ver. 12—20). Particular directions relative to prayer (ch. ii. 1—8),—good works (9—15),—the qualifications of a bishop (chap. iii. 1—7); the duties of deacons (ver. 8—13); further instructions to Timothy, relative to his teaching (ver. 14—iv. 6),—his personal conduct (ver. 7—16),—and pastoral duties (chap. v.). Concerning servants, false teachers, and riches (chap. vi. 1—10). The concluding charge to Timothy (ver. 11—21).

SECTION IX.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

1. THIS epistle is supposed to have been written about a year after the former one to the same church; and the hypothesis appears to be supported by the words, "Achaia was ready a year ago" (ch. ix. 2); for the apostle having given instructions for that collection to which he refers in these words, at the close of the preceding epistle, they would not have had the "forwardness" there mentioned, till a year had elapsed. As he had purposed to stay at Ephesus till Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8), but staid some time in Asia after his purpose to leave this city, and go to Macedonia (Acts ix. 21, 22), and yet here makes his apology for not *wintering* in Corinth, as he thought to do (1 Cor. xvi. 6), the epistle must have been written *after* the winter; and consequently when a new year was begun, It therefore seems to have been written after his second coming into Macedonia, mentioned in Acts xx. 3. For (1) it was written after he had been at Troas, and had left that place to return to Macedonia, a *second* time (chap. ii. 12). (2) It was written when Timothy was with him; not sent *before* him (Acts xix. 22); and this was at his *second* going through Macedonia (Acts xx. 4). (3) He speaks of some Macedonians, who were likely to accompany him (chap. ix. 4); and at his *second* leaving Macedonia, there accompanied him Aristarchus, Secundus, and Gaius of Thessalonica, the metropolis of Macedonia (Acts xx. 4). (4) The postscript says, that it was written from Phi-

* Michaëlis, Introduction, vol. iv., chap. xv., sect. 1, 2, 3, p. 75; and Townsend, New Test. vol. ii. p. 327.

lippi, where Paul was till the days of unleavened bread (Acts xx. 6); it therefore seems to have been sent from thence to them, by Titus and some other person, not long before Paul's coming to them; which he speaks of as *instant* (chap. xiii. 1); and that which he was now ready to do (chap. xii. 14). This he did, according to Lightfoot, in his journey from Philippi to Troas; he sailing about from Philippi to Corinth, to make good his promise; while the rest who were with him (Acts xx. 4) went direct to Troas, and there waited for him.*

2. From the contents of this epistle it is evident that it was occasioned by the accounts the apostle had received of the reception and effects of the former one. Many of the Corinthians, in conformity with the directions given to them in that epistle, had examined themselves; they had excommunicated the incestuous person; earnestly solicited the apostle's return, and zealously vindicated him and his office against the false teacher and his adherents. The faction, however, led on by their false teacher, still continued their corrupt practices, and vilified the character of the apostle, for the purpose of undermining his influence. Paul had formerly promised to take a journey from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to visit the Macedonians, and to return from them to Corinth (chap. i. 15, 16). But the unhappy state of the Christian church induced him to alter his purpose, since he found he must have treated them with severity (ver. 23). His adversaries, therefore, seized hold of this circumstance, for the purpose of representing Paul as irresolute and unsteady, and persuading the Corinthians of the improbability of his ever returning to them. To understand this epistle rightly, then, the different characters to whom it was addressed must be borne in mind. Titus, who carried the first letter to Corinth, having made himself acquainted both with the sincere part of the church and with the state of the disaffected party, gave the apostle a particular account of their whole proceedings. Paul, therefore, in this second letter, skilfully introduces the arguments, objections, and scoffing speeches, by which the faction were endeavouring to bring him into contempt; and not only confutes them by the most solid reasoning, but even turns them against the false teacher himself, and against the faction, in such a manner as to render them ridiculous. But while he thus pointedly derided the faction and its leaders, Paul bestowed just commendations on the sincere part of the church, for their perseverance in the doctrines he had taught them, and for their ready

obedience to his orders concerning the incestuous person. And to encourage them, he states that, having boasted of them to Titus, he was glad to find his boasting well founded in every particular.

3. The Corinthian church being composed of persons of such opposite characters, the apostle, in writing to them, was under the necessity of suiting his discourse to their different characters. And hence, if we apply to the whole church of Corinth the things in the two epistles, which apparently were directed to the whole church, but which were intended specially for a part of it, we shall conceive these epistles to be full of inconsistency, if not of contradiction. But if we understand these things as the apostle really meant them, every appearance of inconsistency and contradiction will be removed. For he himself has directed us to distinguish the sincere part of the Corinthians from the faction (chap. i. 14), "Ye have acknowledged us in part," that is, a part of you have acknowledged that we are your boasting (chap. ii. 5); "Now if a certain person hath grieved me, he hath not grieved me, except by a part of you, that I may not lay a load on you all." It is therefore plain that the matters in the two epistles to the Corinthians, which appear inconsistent, are not really so, as they belong to different persons. Thus the many commendations bestowed on the Corinthians belong only to the sincere part of them; while the sharp reproofs, the pointed ironies, and the severe threatenings of punishment, are to be understood as addressed to the faction, and more especially to the teacher at their head. By thus discriminating the members of the Corinthian church according to their true characters, and by applying to each the passages belonging to them, every appearance of contradiction vanishes.†

4. This epistle contains the preface (chap. i. 1—7); an account of the persecution which the apostle had suffered in Asia, and from which he had been miraculously rescued (ver. 8—14); his purpose to visit Corinth (ver. 15—24); concerning the sorrow the Corinthians had suffered, on account of the excommunication of the incestuous person (chap. ii. and vii.); his own vindication against the false apostle; in which he gives an account of his doctrine (chap. iii. 6—18); his conduct (chap. iv. 1—6), and his bodily infirmities (chap. iv. 7—v.); exhortations to a holy life (chap. vi. vii.); of the alms that had been collected, and were yet to be collected (chap. viii., ix.); his defence against the false apostle and his calumniators

* Dr. A. Clarke, and Whitby, Preface to 2 Corinthians.

† Michaëlis' Introd. vol. iv., chap. xiv., sect. 5; and Mac-knight's Preface, sect. 1.

in general (chap. x.—xii.); miscellaneous matters (chap. xiii.).*

SECTION X.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

1. It is now impossible to ascertain at what time or by whose ministry the gospel was introduced into Rome. In support of the opinion that Christianity was planted there by the apostle Peter, no argument can be adduced; but the probability is decidedly against it, both from the silence of the Acts of the Apostles, and also of Paul, in this epistle. The same may be said of the opinion that the church of Rome was founded by the joint labours of Peter and Paul; for it is evident from chap. i. 8, &c., that the latter had not at this time visited that city.

2. The reader will recollect, that on the day of Pentecost, there were present at Jerusalem "strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes," and it is quite natural to suppose that they, on their return, would relate the extraordinary transactions they had witnessed, as connected with the miraculous effusion of the Holy Spirit; and, by a testimony similar to that borne by the apostles in other parts of the world, lay the foundation of a Christian society. Against this reasoning there is nothing to oppose, and it is every way more reasonable than either of the two opinions above referred to.

3. Although this epistle has been placed at the head of the epistolary writings, it is evident it was not the earliest written. It has perhaps obtained the precedence either from the important and comprehensive nature of its contents, or from the pre-eminence of the city, to the inhabitants of which it was addressed. From chap. xv. 25—27 we learn that it was written at Corinth, at the time the apostle was preparing to take the contributions of the churches to Jerusalem. He mentions the name of the person with whom he lodged (chap. xvi. 23), and also the chamberlain of the city (2 Tim. iv. 20). It was dictated by Paul to Tertius, and was forwarded to Rome by Phœbe, a deaconess of Cenchrea, a port of Corinth (chap. xvi. 1). It was written, therefore, toward the end of the year 58.

4. Dr. Paley, with his usual ability, has demonstrated the genuineness and authenticity of this epistle, and its existence in the ancient *Antilectionary* Versions, and the Syriac, as well as its being referred to by the apostolic Fathers,

Barnabas, Clemens Romanus, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

5. There have been some doubts concerning the language in which this epistle was written. Bolten and Bertholdt endeavour to prove that Paul wrote it in Aramaic, and that it was translated into Greek by Tertius, who acted as the apostle's amanuensis (chap. xvi. 22); but this supposition has been amply refuted by Griesbach. Others think that it must have been written originally in Latin, the language of the people to whom it was addressed. But this opinion appears, from the following considerations, to be as destitute of foundation as the former. *First*, the voice of antiquity refers it to a Greek original: *Secondly*, the universal cultivation of the Greek language at the time of its publication: and *Thirdly*, the familiarity of the Jews, for whose use it was primarily designed, with the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament, which afforded them many facilities for understanding the apostle writing in the same language, and which they would not have possessed had he written in Latin.

6. Concerning the design of the epistle, there has been much controversy; a remarkable circumstance, as the apostle's object appears to be clearly pointed out in the epistle itself. It seems that he had been apprised of all the circumstances of the Christians at Rome, by Aquila and Priscilla, and by other Jews, who had been expelled from the city by the decree of Claudius (Acts xviii. 2); and finding that it was composed partly of heathens converted to Christianity, and partly of Jews who had, with much remaining prejudice, embraced the gospel, and that many contentions arose from the claims of the Gentile converts to equal privileges with the Jews, and from the absolute refusal of the Jews to concede these rights unless the Gentiles submitted to circumcision, he wrote to adjust and settle their differences.†

7. To understand the apostle's reasoning properly, we must briefly notice the erroneous notions that were entertained by the Jewish people concerning justification, and the election of their own nation.

(1) *Of Justification.* Of this the Jews assigned three grounds; *First*, "The extraordinary piety and merits of their ancestors, and the covenant made by God with those holy men." They conceived that God could not hate the children of such pious parents; and that as he had made a covenant with them, in which he promised to bless

† This agrees with Hug, who supposes that the apostle seeks to reconcile the differences between the Jewish and Gentile Christians; and animadvert upon the arrogant pretensions which they respectively made.

* Dr. A. Clarke, Preface to 2 Corinthians.

their posterity, he was by this covenant obliged to pardon their sins. *Secondly*, "The knowledge which they had of God through the law of Moses, and their diligent study of that law." This advantage they estimated so highly as to make it a plea for the remission of their sins. *Thirdly*, "The works of the Levitical law," which were to expiate sin. Among these works they reckoned sacrifices, to which God had promised remission of sins, and circumcision. The inference which they deduced from the preceding doctrines is obvious; namely, that they had much easier access to justification than the Gentiles; and that these, if they wished to be justified and saved, must receive the law of Moses.

(2) Of *Election*. Concerning this the Jewish doctrine was, that "in the promise which God made to Abraham to bless his seed; to give it, not only the spiritual blessing, but also the land of Canaan, and to consider it as his church upon earth," the whole nation was included, and that God was therefore bound to fulfil these promises to every Jew, as being a descendant of Abraham, whatever his principles or whatever his conduct might be. They even believed that a prophet ought not to pronounce against their nation the prophecies with which he was inspired; but was rather to beg of God to blot his name out of the book of the living.

8. These preliminary remarks will prepare us to understand much of the reasoning of the apostle in this important, though in some respects difficult, epistle; * the object of which seems to be, to place the Gentile converts upon a parity of situation with the Jewish in respect of their religious condition, and their rank in the divine favour; † to fix upon the mind of both Jew and Gentile a deep sense of the excellency of the gospel, and to engage them to act in a manner agreeable to their profession of it. For this purpose, after a general salutation (chap. i. 1—7), and a profession of his ardent affection for them (ver. 8—15), he declares that he shall not be ashamed openly to maintain the gospel at Rome; for this general reason, that it is the great and powerful instrument of salvation, both to Jews and Gentiles, by means of faith, ver. 16, 17. And then to demonstrate and vindicate its excellency in this view of it, the apostle shows,

(1) That the world greatly needed such a dispensation; the Gentiles being fallen into a most abandoned state (ver. 18 to end), and the Jews, though

condemning others, being themselves no better (chap. ii.); as, notwithstanding some cavils, which he obviates (chap. iii. 1—8), their own Scriptures testify (ver. 9—19); so that there was a universal necessity of seeking for justification and salvation in this method, ver. 20 to end.

(2) That Abraham and David themselves sought justification in such a way as the gospel recommends, that is, by faith (chap. iv. 1—12); and that a very illustrious act of it entailed everlasting honour on that great patriarch from whom the Jews boasted their descent, ver. 13 to end.

(3) That hereby believers are brought into so happy a state as turns the greatest afflictions of life into an occasion of joy, chap. v. 1—11.

(4) That the calamities brought on the seed of the *first Adam*, by his ever-to-be-lamented fall, are with glorious advantage repaired to all who by faith become interested in the *second Adam*, ver. 12 to end.

(5) That far from dissolving our obligations to *practical holiness*, the gospel greatly increases them by peculiar obligations (chap. vi. 1—14), which he strongly urges upon them, ver. 15 to end.

9. By these general considerations, Paul illustrates the *excellency of the gospel*, in the first six chapters of his epistle.

10. To make the Jews more sensible how glorious a dispensation this was, and to weaken their attachment to the *Mosaic law*, now they were married to Christ by a solemn profession of his religion (chap. vii. 1—6), the apostle largely represents how comparatively ineffectual the motives of *the law* were to produce those degrees of obedience and holiness, which by a lively faith in the gospel we obtain, chap. vii. 7—viii. 2. And in the remaining part of the chapter, he gives a more particular view of those things which rendered *the gospel* so much more efficacious for this great purpose—that of forming *the soul to holiness*—than the *legal economy* had been (chap. viii. 3); the discovery it makes of the incarnation and death of Christ (ver. 3, 4); the spirituality of temper to which it calls us (ver. 5—8); the communication of the sanctifying and comforting influences of the Spirit of God, by which true believers are formed to a filial temper (ver. 9—17); the views which it exhibits of a state of glory, so great and illustrious that the whole creation seemed to wait for the manifestation of it (ver. 18—25); while in the mean time believers are supported under all their trials by the aids of the Spirit (ver. 26, 27); and an assurance that all events should co-operate for their advantage (ver. 28), since God has, in consequence of his eternally glorious plan, already done so much for us (ver. 29, 30); which emboldens us to conclude that

* See Michaëlis' *Introduct.*, vol. iv., p. 93, &c. and Macknight's *Preface to the Romans*.

† Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, p. 49.

no accusation shall prevail against us, and no temptations or extremities separate us from his love, ver. 31 to *end*.

11. As the blessings so affectionately displayed above had been spoken of as the peculiar privileges of those who believed the gospel, this evidently implied, that as all believing Gentiles had a full share in them, so all unbelieving Jews must necessarily be excluded from them. But as the calling of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews was a topic of great importance, the apostle employs the *ninth*, *tenth*, and *eleventh* chapters in the discussion of it, and so concludes the argumentative part of his epistle. He introduces what he had to say on this interesting subject, by declaring that he thought most honourably and affectionately of the Jewish nation (chap. ix. 1-5); and then shows,

(1) That the rejection of a considerable part of the seed of Abraham, and even of the posterity of Isaac, was an incontestable fact, which the Jews themselves could not deny, with respect to the descendants of Ishmael and Esau, ver. 6-13.

(2) That the sovereign choice of some individuals to peculiar privileges, to which none had any claim, and the sovereign appointment of some, from among many criminals, to peculiar and exemplary punishment, was perfectly consistent both with reason and Scripture, ver. 14-24.

(3) That the taking of the Gentiles to be God's peculiar people when Israel should be rejected, had been actually foretold, by both Hosea and Isaiah, ver. 25 to *end*.

(4) That God has graciously offered the gospel salvation to Jews and Gentiles on the same equitable and easy terms; though Israel, by a bigotted attachment to their own law, had rejected it, chap. x.

(5) That, nevertheless, the rejection of Israel, though according to our own prophecies it be general, and attended with astonishing blindness and obstinacy, yet is not total, there still being a number of happy believers among them, chap. xi. 1-10.

(6) That the rejection of the rest is not final; but that the time shall come when, to the unbreakable joy of the whole Christian world, the Jews shall in a body be brought into the Church of Christ, ver. 11-31.

(7) and *lastly*, that in the mean time their obstinacy and rejection are overruled to such happy purposes, as serve, through the whole various scene, to display, in a glorious manner, the unsearchable wisdom of God, ver. 32 to *end*.*

12. The remainder of the epistle is taken up in a variety of practical instructions and exhortations, which hardly admit of, and indeed do not need, such a particular analysis. The grand design of the whole is, "to engage Christians to act in a manner worthy of that gospel, the excellency of which he had been illustrating." The apostle

epistle, gives the following logical view of its argumentative part.

After the salutation and introduction, the apostle insensibly introduces the principal point which he intended to prove, namely, the subject of the gospel, chap. i. 16, 17. This reveals a righteousness unknown before, which is derived solely from faith, and to which the Jews and Gentiles have an equal claim.

In order to prove this point, he shows, chap. i. 18-iii. 20, that both Jews and Gentiles are under sin, that is, that God will impute their sins to Jews as well as to Gentiles. Here it must not be imagined that Paul meant by a chain of conclusions to prove, what every man's experience will suggest to him, that Jews and Gentiles have sinned: his intention was to prove that God will call the Jews to an account for their sins, and consequently, that they stand in need of justification by faith.

His proof of this position may be reduced to the following syllogisms. 'The wrath of God is revealed against those who hold the truth in unrighteousness, that is, who acknowledge the truth and yet sin against it, chap. i. 18.

'The Gentiles acknowledged truths; but, partly by their idolatry, and partly by their other detestable vices, they sinned against the truths which they acknowledged, chap. i. 19-31.

'Therefore the wrath of God is revealed against the Gentiles, and punishes them.

'The Jews have acknowledged more truths than the Gentiles, and yet they sin, chap. ii. 1, 17-24.

'Therefore the Jewish sinners are still more exposed to the wrath of God,' chap. ii. 1-12.

Having thus proved his point, he answers the following objections which might be made to it.

Obj. 1. 'The Jews were well-grounded in their knowledge, and studied the law.' St. Paul answers: If a knowledge of the law, without the performance of it, could justify, God would not have condemned the Gentiles, who knew the law by nature, chap. ii. 13-16.

Obj. 2. 'The Jews were circumcised.' Answer: That is, they were admitted by an outward sign to a covenant with God; but this sign will not avail those who violate the covenant, chap. ii. 25-29.

Obj. 3. 'According to this doctrine of St. Paul, the Jews have no advantages above the Gentiles, which is manifestly false.' Answer: They still have advantages, for to them were committed the oracles of God; but their privileges do not extend so far that God should overlook their sins, which the Scripture earnestly condemns even in Jews, chap. iii. 1-19.

Obj. 4. 'They had the Levitical law, and sacrifices.' Answer: Hence is no remission, but only the knowledge of sin, chap. iii. 20.

From the preceding arguments, St. Paul infers that Jews and Gentiles must be justified by the same means, namely, without the Levitical law, through faith in Christ: and in opposition to the imaginary advantages of the Jews, he states the declaration of Zachariah, that God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles, chap. iii. 21-31.

As the whole blessing was promised to those who were the faithful descendants of Abraham, whom both Scripture and the Jews call his children, he proves his former assertion from the example of Abraham, who was an idolater before his call, but was declared just by God, on account of his faith, long before his circumcision. Hence St. Paul takes occasion to explain the

* Michaelis, who takes a more contracted view of this

more particularly urges an entire consecration to God, and a care to glorify him in their respective stations, by a faithful improvement of

nature and the fruits of faith, chap. iv. 1—v. 11. He then proceeds to prove, from the equity of God, that the Jews had no advantages above the Gentiles, in respect to justification. Both Jews and Gentiles had forfeited life and immortality, through the common father of the human race, whom they themselves had not chosen as their representative. If, therefore, it was the will of God to restore immortality by a new spiritual head of a covenant, which was Christ, it was equitable that Jews and Gentiles should have an equal share in the advantages to be derived from this new representative of the human race, chap. v. 12—21.

He shows that the doctrine of justification, as he had stated it, lays us under the strictest obligations to holiness (chap. vi. 1—23); and that since the death of Christ we are no longer concerned with the law of Moses. For our justification arises from our appearing in the sight of God as if we were actually dead with Christ on account of our sin; but the law of Moses was not given to the dead. On this occasion he evinces at large, that the preceding consideration does not affect the eternal power of God over us; and that, while we are under the law of Moses, we become perpetually subject to death, even for sins of inadvertency, chap. vii. 1—25. The conclusion is, that all those, and those only, who are united with Christ, and for the sake of this union live not according to the flesh, are free from the condemnation of the law, and have an undoubted right to eternal life, chap. viii. 1—17.

Having described the happiness of all such persons, he is aware that the Jews, who expected temporal blessings, would object to him, that the Christians, notwithstanding what he had said, still endured many sufferings in this world. This objection he obviates, chap. viii. 18—39; and then shows that God is not the less true and faithful, because he does not justify, but rather rejects and punishes the Jews, who would not believe in the Messiah, chap. ix., x., xi. His discourse on this subject is arranged as follows:

A. The introduction, in which he displays the utmost caution, chap. ix. 1—5.

B. The dissertation itself, which consists of three principal parts:—

a) St. Paul shows that the promises of God were never made to all the posterity of Abraham; that God always reserved to himself the power of choosing those sons of Abraham, whom for Abraham's sake he intended to bless, and of punishing the wicked sons of Abraham; and that in respect to temporal happiness or misery, even their good or ill conduct did not determine his choice. Thus Ishmael, Esau, the Israelites in the desert in the time of Moses, and the greater part of that nation in the time of Isaiah, were rejected, and made a sacrifice of his justice, chap. ix. 6—29.

b) He shows, that God had reason to reject most of the Jews then living, because they would not believe in the Messiah, though the gospel had been plainly preached to them, chap. ix. 30—x. 21.

c) Yet God rejected not all his people, but was still fulfilling his promises on many thousand natural descendants of Abraham, who believed in the Messiah, and at a future period would fulfil them upon more, since all Israel would be converted, chap. xi. 11—32.

C. The conclusion, in which the apostle expresses his admiration of the wise counsels of God, chap. xi. 33—36.

From the doctrines hitherto laid down, and particularly from this, that God has in his mercy accepted the Gentiles, he argues that the Romans should consecrate and offer themselves wholly to God. This leads him to mention in particular some Christian duties, chap. xii. to the end.

their several talents (chap. xii. 1—11); devotion, patience, hospitality, mutual sympathy, humility, peace, and meekness (ver. 12 to end); and in the *thirteenth* chapter, obedience to magistrates,* justice in all its branches, love as the fulfilling of the law, and a universal sanctity of manners, correspondent to the purity of those religious principles which they professed. In the *fourteenth* and part of the *fifteenth* chapters, he dilates more largely on mutual candour, especially between those Christians who did, and those who did not, think themselves obliged in conscience to observe the ceremonies enjoined by Moses; and pleads a variety of most pertinent and affecting considerations in this view (chap. xiv. 1—xv. 17), in prosecuting some of which, he is led to mention the extent of his own labours, and his purpose of visiting the Romans; in the mean time, recommending himself to their prayers, ver. 18 to end. After many salutations (chap. xvi. 1—16), and a necessary caution against those who would divide the church, he concludes with a benediction and a doxology suited to the general purport of what he had been writing, ver. 17 to end.†

13. Mr. Townsend has judiciously observed, that we must be careful not to confine our views of

* Because God had chosen the Jews for his subjects, and as their King had dictated to them a system of laws, they considered it impious to submit to heathen laws and rulers. In the same light they regarded the payments of taxes for the support of the heathen governments, Matt. xxii. 17. In short, the zealots of that nation laid it down as a principle, that they would obey God alone, as their king and governor, in opposition to Cæsar, and all kings whatever, who were not of their religion, and who did not govern them by the laws of Moses. This turbulent disposition some of the Jews who embraced the gospel did not immediately lay aside; and even of the believing Gentiles there were a few, who, on pretence that they had a sufficient rule of conduct in the spiritual gifts with which they were endowed, affirmed that they were under no obligation to obey ordinances imposed by idolaters, nor to pay taxes for the support of idolatrous governments. Hence they refused to the magistrates that honour and obedience to which, by their office, they were entitled. These principles and practices the apostle here opposes, and inculcates the duties which subjects owe to magistrates; and testifies to them, that the disciples of Christ were not exempted from obedience to the wholesome laws even of the heathen countries where they lived, nor from contributing to the support of the government by which they were protected, although it was administered by idolaters. The argument which the apostle uses is this: 'That God having formed mankind for society, and some government being necessary for maintaining order and peace among the associated, whatever form of government happens to be established in any country is authorized of God, and is subordinate to his general government of the world. Civil government, therefore, being authorized of God, he who resists its established exercise, on any pretence, really resists the ordinance of God, and brings on himself just condemnation, both from God and man.' See Michaelis, Macknight, and other commentators.

† Doddridge's Preface to the Romans, whose analysis has been adopted by the Rev. John Wesley.

this epistle to the narrow limits within which Dr. Taylor, of Norwich, the Socinian writers in general, and the presumptuous reasoners of this school, have endeavoured to do. These men have rejected the very foundations of the apostle's argument, the doctrines upon which Christianity rests, and without which the Scriptures are devoid of meaning,—the doctrines of the atonement of Christ and the fall of man. Semler, indeed, still further degrades the apostle's argument, by the supposition that Paul wished to substitute Christianity, merely as a purer and more intelligible system of morals than the law of Moses, but less burdensome, tedious, and unattractive.

14. Dr. Taylor's system is well described by the late Dr. Magee, to be a mere adaptation of Christian phrases. The general principle of the theory is, that God, having rejected the Jews, has admitted all who believe in Christ into the same relation to himself which the Israelites once held; and that the peculiar terms which he used to describe the condition and privileges of the Jews, were used in the New Testament to describe the state and privileges of the Christian converts: whereas the terms which are used in the Old Testament to describe the privileges of the Jews, are to be interpreted with reference to their peculiar situation, as the subjects of the visible theocracy. The same terms, when used in the gospel, refer to the spiritual advantages conferred on Christians by the new covenant. The law was the shadow or emblem—the gospel is the accomplishment of the designs of God; and the same terms, when applied to the two covenants, will consequently have a different meaning. Dr. Taylor degrades the Christian, and elevates the Jewish scheme, by making, as an excellent critic has observed, the law the enduring dispensation, and the gospel a mere dependency upon it. In an excellent work, by Mr. Needham, entitled *Clavis Apostolica*, the argument of Dr. Taylor is well analyzed and refuted.*

15. To conclude: the commentators, and the various writers on this epistle, have exhausted the language of eulogy on its structure, arguments, and language. Nothing need be added to their well-deserved praises. The epistle is, indeed, a masterpiece of beautiful reasoning, surpassing all human wisdom. It evidently bears the stamp of divine inspiration; it enforces, in an irresistible manner, all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, gradually unfolding, from the fall of our

first parents, the great mysteries of redemption, and fully displaying the wisdom and goodness of God in his dispensations towards man. Every argument that the ingenuity of man could devise against the gospel system, the apostle himself advances in the person of the unbelieving Jew, and answers in the most satisfactory and convincing manner. Guided by divine inspiration, he has happily anticipated and removed every doubt and difficulty that can be raised to the truths of revelation; he has communicated to man the hidden counsels of God; and, by a long and convincing train of argument, has fully demonstrated that the gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that there is no other means under heaven by which men can be saved. For sublimity and truth of sentiment, for brevity and strength of expression, for regularity in its structure, but, above all, for the unspeakable importance of the discoveries which it contains, it stands unrivalled by any mere human composition; and as far exceeds the most celebrated productions of the learned Greeks and Romans, as the shining of the sun exceeds the twinkling of the stars.†

SECTION XI.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

1. **EPHESUS** was the chief city of the proconsular Asia, which was a part of what was called the Lesser Asia. It was the very throne of idolatry; the worship of idols being performed in no part of the heathen world with greater splendour, on account of the famous temple of Diana, which was built between the city and the harbour, at the expense of all Asia; and in which was an image of that goddess, said to have fallen down from Jupiter, Acts xix. 35. The inhabitants were not only noted for their idolatry, but also for their skill in magic, sorcery, and judicial astrology. Hence the phrase, *Ephesia grammata*—Ephesian letters—became a proverbial expression for magic characters.‡ A very considerable number of books relating to these "curious arts," are mentioned as having been burned, in Acts xix. 19.

2. The Christian religion was introduced into Ephesus by Paul, in the year 54. Touching at

* Townsend's Arrangement of the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 369. Dr. A. Clarke, in his Preface to the Romans, has given an abridgment of Dr. Taylor's scheme, with some expurgatorial and explanatory notes.

† Townsend's Arrangement, vol. ii. p. 369, &c.; and MacKnight's concluding remarks on this epistle. Tholuck's Exposition of the Romans, which has been translated by the Rev. R. Menzies, and the first volume of which forms vol. v. of the Biblical Cabinet, is an able and evangelical work, which will amply repay the study that may be given to it.

‡ Calnet's Bib. Ency. art. "Ephesians."

this place in his voyage from Corinth to Judea (Acts xviii. 18, 19), he, according to his usual custom, visited the synagogue, and "reasoned with the Jews." But as he was then hastening to celebrate the passover at Jerusalem, he only remained there one sabbath-day, and left them with a promise to return again, ver. 21. He accordingly returned the next year (ch. xix. 1), and preached the gospel with such success, that a numerous church was formed, chiefly of the Gentile converts. The apostle remained for three years among them; after which he went into Macedonia and Achaia, and on his return to Jerusalem, he sent for the elders of the church of Ephesus to Miletus, and most affectionately took his leave of them, as one that should see them no more; appealing to them for the faithfulness and affection with which he had discharged his ministry among them, and solemnly exhorting them to look well to the flock over which the Holy Ghost had placed them. Acts xx.

3. It is evident, from some expressions in this epistle, that it was written by Paul while he was a prisoner at Rome (ch. iii. 1; iv. 1; vi. 20), and probably soon after his arrival there, in the year 61 or 62. Its genuineness has never been doubted. It is referred to as the work of Paul by Ignatius, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Origen,* and has ever been received as such by the Christian church.

4. The design of Paul in this epistle appears to have been to give the Ephesians more exalted views of the love of God in the scheme of redemption, and to guard them against the false philosophy of their countrymen, and the erroneous notions of the Judaizing teachers, who were everywhere indefatigable in spreading their opinions. The doctrinal part of the letter extends to the end of the third chapter, and the practical part thence to the conclusion. In these we have the inscription (ch. i. 1, 2); praise to God for the gospel blessing (ver. 3—14); thanksgiving and prayer for the saints (ver. 15—ii. 10); the former and present state of the Ephesians represented (ver. 11—22); a prayer for their establishment, and a doxology, ch. iii. A general exhortation to walk worthy of their calling, and to keep the unity of the Spirit (ch. iv. 1, 2); the diversity of spiritual gifts, and its design (ver. 3—16); an exhortation to the avoidance of several sins (ver. 17—v. 21), and a commendation of the opposite virtues (ver. 22—vi. 9); the requi-

site preparation for withstanding spiritual enemies (ver. 10—20); and the conclusion, ver. 20—24.

5. From the frequent use of the word *mystery*, Macknight and other commentators have supposed that the apostle intended to illustrate the truths he enforced, by referring to the mysteries of Diana, then celebrated at Ephesus. This is probable; but that is all we can say. The reader may see the arguments of Macknight in his preface to the epistle, sects. 3, 7.

6. It has been a question of extended discussion among learned men, whether this epistle was addressed to the Ephesians, or to the Laodiceans. The circumstance which has suggested the latter opinion, is the direction given by the apostle to the Colossians—"When this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans; and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea" (Col. iv. 16); and because there are no references in the Epistle to the Ephesians to Paul's former residence in that city, or to his intimate acquaintance with the persons to whom he wrote, it has been considered that the proper inscription to this epistle, which will pretty well answer in date to the supposed epistle, should be "To the saints which are in Laodicea," instead of to those of Ephesus, as in our present copies.† To discuss the subject here would greatly exceed our limits; we must therefore refer the reader to Paley, in support of the new theory, and to Lardner‡ and Macknight|| in favour of the older one. As it will be expected, however, that we should give some opinion upon the litigated question, we state our belief that the epistle was addressed to the church whose name it now bears; and for the following among other reasons. That notwithstanding the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ*—*at Ephesus*—are not read in all the MSS. now extant, the external evidence preponderates with manifest excess on the side of the received reading, as even Paley confesses. *Secondly*, Lardner has shown that among the early Christian Fathers there was no doubt as to this epistle being addressed to the Ephesians. It is mentioned as being so, by Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, in the end of the first century. *Thirdly*, It is not true, as supposed by

* See the passages in Lardner and Whitby. Paley has successfully established its genuineness by internal evidence. His principal proofs are given by Dr. A. Clarke, *Introductio* to the Ephesians.

† Usher, Bengel, Michaëlis, and others, have supposed that this epistle was an evangelical or circular letter, addressed to the Ephesians, Laodiceans, and other churches in Asia Minor, and that the different copies transmitted had "at Ephesus," "at Laodicea," &c., as occasion required. The reason why all our MSS. read "at Ephesus," is supposed to be, that when the books of the New Testament were first collected, the copy used was obtained from Ephesus. This, however, is rather an improbable conjecture. See Michaëlis, vol. iv., p. 124, &c., and Middleton on the Greek article, p. 508, &c.

‡ Works, vol. iii., p. 342, &c.

|| Preface to the Ephesians, and note on Col. iv. 16.

Paley, that there is no proof furnished in the epistle, of the apostle's personal acquaintance with those to whom he wrote. See, particularly, chap. i. 13; iv. 20, 21; vi. 21, 22. *Fourthly*, The salutation sent to the brethren in Laodicea (Col. iv. 15), is a strong presumption that no epistle was sent to them. For the Epistle to the Colossians being written at the same time as the supposed Epistle to the Laodiceans, and sent by the same messenger (Eph. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7, 8), is it probable, that in the Epistle to the Colossians, the apostle would think it needful to salute the brethren in Laodicea, to whom he had written a particular letter, in which he had given them his apostolical benediction? With respect to the "letter from Laodicea," it is probable, as remarked by Rosenmüller, that Paul referred to a letter addressed to him by the church of Laodicea, in answer to which he wrote his epistle to the Colossians, as being the larger church, desiring that they would send it to the Laodiceans, and get a copy of the letter which the latter had sent to Paul, in order that they might better understand his reply. We may close these observations with a remark of Dr. Chandler, that it is not material to whom the epistle was inscribed, whether to the Ephesians or to the Laodiceans, since its authority does not depend on the persons to whom it was written, but on the person who indited it; which was Paul, as the letter itself testifies, and as all antiquity confirms.

7. Concerning the style of this epistle, the critics have observed, says Macknight, that it is exceedingly elevated; and that it corresponds to the state of the apostle's mind at the time of writing. Overjoyed with the account which their messenger brought him of their faith and holiness (ch. i. 15), and transported with the consideration of the unvarnished wisdom of God, displayed towards the Gentiles, in making them partakers, through faith, of all the benefits of Christ's death, equally with the Jews, he soars high in his sentiments on these grand subjects, and gives his thoughts utterance in sublime and copious expressions. In short, this epistle is written, as it were, in a rapture. Grotius also entertained a high opinion of the composition; for, he says, it expresses the sublime matters contained in it in words more sublime than are to be found in any human language; and this character is so just, that no Christian can read the doctrinal part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, without being impressed and roused by it, as by the sound of a trumpet.*

SECTION XII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

1. PHILIPPI was a city of Macedonia, and a Roman colony, of moderate extent, and not far from the borders of Thrace. The Christian religion was first planted here by Paul, about the year 50 or 51, who, having passed through Galatia and Phrygia, and intending to pursue his course through Bithynia, was directed in a vision to go over into Macedonia, Acts xvi. 9—40. Arriving at Philippi, with his companions, Timothy, Luke, and Silas, he spent some days in preaching the gospel. During his stay here he converted Lydia, and cast out a spirit of divination from a damsel, which so enraged her masters, that they stirred up the inhabitants, and threw Paul and Silas into prison; from whence, however, they were miraculously delivered, and the jailer, with all his house, converted to the Christian faith. This ill treatment seems to have been recollected by the apostle, with a resentment not common to him. He says to the Thessalonians, "We had suffered before, and were *shamefully entreated* at Philippi." It should seem that the military officers of the colony had assumed a power that did not belong to them; and Paul resented their proceedings with the feelings of a soldier, as well as of a Roman citizen; he therefore humbled them in a public manner; but he did not forget their *shameful* usage of him and his companion Silas.† Soon after this occurrence, the apostle left the city; but Luke and Timothy continued there some time longer, to carry on the work he had so successfully begun. It appears from Acts xx. 6, that Paul visited the Philippians again, though no particulars are recorded concerning the second visit.

2. The Philippians seem to have conceived a very strong affection towards Paul, which they showed by their generous contributions for his support, while he was preaching the gospel in Macedonia and Corinth (chap. iv. 15, 16; 2 Cor. xi. 9). Having heard of his imprisonment at Rome, they sent Epaphroditus, one of their most esteemed pastors, thither, to comfort him, by making known their love, and by a supply of money, to render his confinement tolerable, as it appears that he was in want of the common necessities of life. The epistle, therefore, was written by Paul, as a grateful acknowledgment of the kindness which the Philippians had thus shown for him.

3. As to the time when this epistle was written, it is generally supposed to have been towards the

* Macknight, Preface to the Ephesians, sect. vi., near the end.

† Calmet's Dictionary, art. "Philippi."

end of the apostle's first confinement at Rome, and after a residence of considerable duration in that city. These circumstances are made out by different intimations, and the intimations upon the subject preserve among themselves a just consistency, and a consistency certainly unmeditated. *First*, the apostle had already been a prisoner at Rome so long, as that the reputation of his bonds, and of his constancy under them, had contributed to advance the success of the gospel: "But I would ye should understand, brethren, that the things which happened unto me have fallen out rather unto the furtherance of the gospel; so that my bonds in Christ are manifest in all the palace, and in all other places; and many of the brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to speak the word without fear" (chap. i. 12—14). *Secondly*, The account given of Epaphroditus imports that Paul, when he wrote the epistle, had been in Rome a considerable time: "He longed after you all, and was full of heaviness, because that ye had heard that he had been sick," ch. ii. 26. Epaphroditus was with Paul at Rome; he had been sick; the Philippians had heard of his sickness, and he again had received an account how much they had been affected by the intelligence. The passing and repassing of these advices must necessarily have occupied a large portion of time, and must have all taken place during Paul's residence at Rome. *Thirdly*, After a residence at Rome, thus proved to have been of long duration, he now regards the decision of his fate as nigh at hand. He contemplates either alternative; that of his deliverance—ch. ii. 23: ("Him, therefore [Timothy], I hope to send *presently*, so soon as I shall see how it will go with me; but I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly:") that of his condemnation, ver. 17: ("Yea, and if I be offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.") This consistency is material, if the consideration of it be confined to the epistle. It is further material, as it agrees, with respect to the duration of Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, with the account delivered in the Acts, which, having brought the apostle to Rome, closes the history by telling us, "that he dwelt there *two whole years* in his own hired house," chap. xxviii. 30.* This fixes the date of the Epistle to the Philippians to the year 62.

4. The design of Paul in this epistle, which is altogether practical, seems to be, "to comfort the Philippians under the concern they had expressed

at the intelligence of his imprisonment; to check a party-spirit that appears to have broken out among them, and to promote, on the contrary, an entire union and harmony of affection; to guard them against being seduced from the purity of the Christian faith by *judaizing teachers*; to support them under the trials with which they struggled; and, above all, to inspire them with a concern to adorn their profession by the most eminent attainments in the divine life.† It contains four chapters, consisting of the inscription (chap. i. 1, 2); thanksgiving and prayer (ver. 3—11); an account of the present state and prospects of the apostle (ver. 12—24); an exhortation to walk worthy of the gospel while he remained with them (ver. 25—ii. 16); the apostle's confidence and rejoicing (ver. 17, 18); promises to make known his state to the Philippians by Timothy (ver. 19—24), and to send Epaphroditus (ver. 25—30); an exhortation to aspire after higher Christian attainments, and to beware of judaizing teachers (chap. iii. 1—3); the apostle's character and conduct (ver. 4—14); admonitions to a holy and blameless temper, founded upon the glorious hope of the resurrection (ver. 15—21); an exhortation to peace and unity (ch. iv. 1—4); general exhortations to Christian cheerfulness, moderation, prayer, and whatsoever things are excellent (ver. 5—9); acknowledgments of the seasonable and liberal supply sent by the Philippians, with thanksgiving to God (ver. 10—20); and the conclusion (ver. 21—23).

SECTION XIII.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

1. *Colossæ*, *Laodicea*, and *Hierapolis*, mentioned Col. iv. 13, as cities in which there were Christian churches at the time this epistle was written, were situated not far from each other, in the Greater Phrygia, an inland country in the Lesser Asia. We have no account by whom the Christian church was planted here; nor is it certain whether Paul had ever visited *Colossæ*, though it seems highly probable that he had, as we learn that he passed through Phrygia twice, Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23; and several passages in the epistle have been adduced to show that there was an intimacy subsisting between the apostle and the *Colossian* converts.‡ See chap. i. 25, ii. 5, iv. 7.

2. That this epistle was written about the same

* Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. vi. number 5. See also *Michaëlis*, vol. iv. p. 157, &c.; and *Macknight's Preface*, sects. 2 and 3.

† Doddridge, Whitty, Macknight, &c.

‡ Lardner has entered very fully into this question, *Supplement*, vol. ii. chap. xiv.; so has Macknight also, *Preface to Colossians*, sect. 1; to whom the reader may refer.

time as that to the Philippians, i. e., in the year 62, is rendered probable by the following circumstances. In the former epistle (Phil. ii. 19), Paul purposes to send Timothy to Philippi, who was then with him at Rome, that he might know their state. As Timothy joins in the salutation at the beginning of this epistle, it is evident that he still continued at Rome, and had not yet been sent to Philippi; and as Paul wrote the former epistle nearly at the close of his first imprisonment at Rome, the two epistles must have been written at a short interval from each other.

2. Epaphras, who was sent by the Colossians to comfort the apostle by the assurances of their affectionate regard under his imprisonment, and to inform them of the circumstances in which he was placed, became so obnoxious to the Roman magistrates, that he was imprisoned by them (Philem. 23), on account of his exertions in the spread of the gospel; and on this account Tychicus, who was the apostle's messenger to Ephesus (Eph. vi. 21), and Onesimus, whom the apostle had converted and sent back to Colossæ, charged with the epistle to his master Philemon, were made the bearers of this letter, chap. iv. 7—9.

3. Having ascertained from Epaphras the state of the church at Colossæ—that they were persevering in the faith, and remarkable for their love and concord (chap. i. 4), but that certain false teachers had crept in among them, who were endeavouring to beguile them with enticing words and false philosophy (chap. ii. 4, 8), the apostle directed this epistle to them for the purpose of guarding them against the errors of these designing men. Michaëlis is of opinion that these false teachers were Essenes,* but Macknight thinks it more probable that they were superstitious judaizing teachers, who blended the doctrines of Moses and Christ with those of Pythagoras and Plato. Be this as it may, it cannot be denied that the Pythagorean precepts, both concerning abstinence from animal food, and the mortification of the body by fasting and other severities, together with the doctrines of Plato, concerning the agency of angels in human affairs, and the honour which is due to them from men on that account, are all expressly condemned by the apostle in this epistle. With respect to such of the Colossians as were infected with the Platonic philosophy, we know, that to persuade them to worship angels, or at least to make use of their mediation, they affirmed that it was arrogance in sinners to worship God without some mediation, and therefore they exhorted them, as an act of humility befitting them,

to send up their prayers to God by the mediation of angels; which, they said, was more acceptable to him, and more effectual than the mediation of Christ, who could not be supposed to have power with God like the angels, his ministers, in the government of the world. Lastly, as the heathen in general, trusting to propitiatory sacrifices for the pardon of their sins, were extremely attached to that kind of sacrifice, we may suppose, although it is not mentioned by the apostle, that the judaizers told the Colossians, since there were no propitiatory sacrifices prescribed in the gospel, it was undoubtedly the will of God to continue the sacrifices and purifications of the law of Moses, which he himself had appointed as the means of procuring the pardon of sin. And by this argument also they endeavoured to allure the Colossians to embrace the law. Upon the whole, the judaizers recommended the law, as an institution admirably calculated for procuring the pardon of sin, and for perfecting men in virtue; consequently, as absolutely necessary to salvation. But as this form of doctrine drew men away from Christ the head, and made them forget all the benefit which they may derive from his mediation, it was necessary that an effectual remedy should be provided for putting a stop to so pernicious a scheme of error. And such a remedy the Spirit of God actually provided, by inspiring the apostle to write this excellent epistle,† the leading design of which is to prove that the hope of man's salvation is founded on the atonement of Christ alone; and by the establishment of opposite truths, to eradicate the errors of the judaizers, who not only preached the Mosaic law, but also the opinions of the heathen, oriental, and Essenian philosophers, concerning the worship of angels, on account of their supposed agency in human affairs.‡ In pursuance of this design, the apostle, after the inscription, begins by expressing his thankfulness to God for calling the Colossians into his church; at the same time stating the satisfaction with which he had heard of their faith and love, and assuring them of his constant prayers, that they might receive larger supplies of the divine wisdom and grace, to enable them to walk worthy of their high character and hopes as Christians (chap. i. 1—14); and to make them more sensible of the excellence of this new dispensation into which they were admitted, he represents to them, in the most sublime terms, the dignity of our Saviour's person, as the image of God, the Creator of all

† See Macknight's Preface to the Colossians, sect. 1, from which the preceding observations have been compiled.

‡ Townsend.

* Introduction, vol. iv. p. 120, &c.

things, and the Head of the church; whose death God had appointed as the means of abolishing the Mosaic law, which separated between the Jew and the Gentile, and of reconciling sinners to himself, ver. 15—23. From this view of the excellency of Christ's person, and the riches of his redeeming grace, the apostle takes occasion to express the cheerfulness with which he suffered in the cause of the gospel, and his earnest solicitude to fulfil his ministry among them in the most successful manner; assuring them that he felt the most tender concern both for them and the other Christians in the neighbourhood, that they might be established in their adherence to the Christian faith (ver. 24—ii. 7). He then proceeds to caution the Colossians against suffering their minds to be corrupted from the simplicity of the gospel, either by pagan philosophy or Jewish tradition, reminding them of the obligation their baptism laid them under, of submitting to Christ as the only Lawgiver and Head of the church, who had totally abolished the ceremonial law, and discharged them from any further regard to it (ver. 8—19). And since, upon embracing Christianity, they were to consider themselves as dead with respect to any other religious profession, he shows the absurdity of being still subject to the Mosaic law; and cautions them against those corrupt additions to Christianity which some were attempting to introduce. And as the most effectual means for their security, he exhorts them, as they were risen with Christ, to keep their thoughts fixed on him as their Lord and life, and on that better world whither he had ascended, and to which they had the prospect of being admitted (ver. 20—iii. 4). From this glorious hope he presses them to guard against every degree of uncleanness, malice, covetousness, falsehood,* and whatever was inconsistent with the purity of the new dispensation into which they were entered; and exhorts them to abound in the practice of meekness, forbearance, humility, and love; and to accustom themselves to the devout exercises and evangelical views which would have the most direct tendency to improve the Christian temper (ver. 5—17). After these general precepts, the apostle proceeds to recommend to the Colossians such a care in discharging the duties correspondent

to the several relations of life, as would be most honourable to their Christian profession. And to assist them in the performance of those duties, he exhorts them to be instant in prayer; and, for the credit of their religion, advises them to maintain a prudent, obliging behaviour to their Gentile brethren (ver. 18—iv. 6). The apostle closes his epistle with recommending to them Tychicus and Onesimus, of whom he speaks in honourable terms, and to whom he refers for a more particular account of the state of the church at Rome: and having inserted salutations from Aristarchus, Epaphras their minister, and others, he gives directions for reading his epistle at Laodicea, addresses a solemn admonition to Archippus, and concludes with his salutation, written with his own hand.†

4. The contents of this epistle have a remarkable affinity to those of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Whoever would understand the two must read them together; for the one is, in most places, a commentary upon the other; the meaning of single passages in one epistle, which alone might be variously interpreted, being determined by the parallel passage in the other epistle.‡

SECTION XIV.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

1. PHILEMON was an inhabitant of Colossæ, of some wealth and influence, and appears, from ver. 19, to have been a convert of Paul. He is generally supposed to have been a pastor or deacon of the church at Colossæ.

2. This epistle was evidently written while Paul was a prisoner at Rome (ver. 1, 10, 13, 23), and at a time when he had a good prospect of soon regaining his liberty (ver. 22). From the same persons joining in the inscription and salutations in this epistle, as in those in the Epistle to the Colossians (Philem. 1, 23, 24; Col. i. 1, iv. 10, 14), it has been reasonably inferred that they were written about the same time; and the conjecture is further confirmed, by the same messenger bearing the two epistles to Colossæ, Col. iv. 7, 9; Philem. 12, 17.¶

3. The occasion of writing this letter was as follows: Onesimus, a slave belonging to Philemon, whom he had probably robbed, fled from his master's service to the city of Rome, where he

* Michaëlis observes, "It is remarkable that in the two epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, and in these only, Paul warns his readers against lying. Hence we may conclude that this vice prevailed more at Ephesus and Colossæ than in other places to which he sent his epistles: and as both of them lay in Asia Minor, it is not improbable that it was the vice of the country; for this vice is often national, as the love of truth is often a national virtue."—*Introd.* vol. iv., p. 123, *note*.

† Doddridge, *Preface to Colossians*.

‡ Michaëlis, vol. iv., p. 123. See, also, Dr. Clarke's *Introduction to Ephesians*.

¶ See Macknight, *Preface to Philemon*, sect. 4; and Paley *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. xiv., No. 2, § 4.

met with Paul, and was by him converted to the Christian faith. The apostle appears to have kept him about his person for some time, and when fully convinced that his profession was sincere, determined to send him back to his master, to repair the fault he had committed. Naturally supposing that Philemon would be strongly prejudiced against one who had left his service in so disgraceful a manner, he addressed to him this letter, in which he employed all his influence to procure Onesimus a favourable reception, and to induce Philemon to regard him "no longer as a servant, but as a brother in the Lord."

4. The tenderness and delicacy of this epistle have been long admired. There are some passages in it most touching and persuasive, especially ver. 8, 9. Yet, as Paley observes, the character of Paul prevails in it throughout. The warm, affectionate, authoritative teacher is interceding with an absent friend for a beloved convert. Here, also, as every where, he shows himself conscious of the weight and dignity of his mission; nor does he suffer Philemon for a moment to forget it: "*I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient.*" He is careful also to recall, though obliquely, to Philemon's memory the sacred obligation under which he had laid him, by bringing him to the knowledge of Jesus Christ: "*I do not say to thee how thou owest to me even thine own self besides.*" Without laying aside, therefore, the apostolic character, the author softens the imperative style of his address, by mixing with it every sentiment and consideration that could move the heart of his correspondent. Aged, and in prison, he is content to supplicate and entreat. Onesimus was rendered dear to him by his conversion and his services—the child of his affliction, and "*ministering unto him in the bonds of the gospel.*" This ought to recommend him, whatever had been his fault, to Philemon's forgiveness: "*Receive him as myself, as my own bowels.*" Every thing, however, should be voluntary. Paul was determined that Philemon's compliance should flow from his own bounty: "*Without thy mind would I do nothing, that thy benefit should not be as it were of necessity, but willingly;*" trusting, nevertheless, to his gratitude and attachment for the performance of all he requested, and for more: "*Having confidence in thy obedience, I wrote unto thee, knowing that thou wilt also do more than I say.*"*

5. Whether Philemon pardoned Onesimus is not known; but it is difficult to suppose that he could refuse to listen to so pathetic an appeal as

is this of Paul: the tradition of the ancient church, too, is express, that Onesimus obtained his freedom.

6. The genuineness of this epistle has never been questioned; and it has always been inserted in the catalogues of canonical books. But it has by some been thought singular that a private letter should be admitted into the sacred canon, and be published for the edification of the church. That it was designed by the apostle, however, as a private letter, is a gratuitous assumption, and the contrary is far more probable. Chrysostom has pointed out two uses to which it may be applied, and to these Macknight has added several others. As (1) That it sets an excellent example of charity, in endeavouring to mitigate the resentment of one in a superior station towards his inferior who had injured him. (2) That it sets before churchmen of the highest dignity a proper example of attention to the people under their care, and of affectionate concern for their welfare. (3) That all Christians are on a level. Onesimus the slave, on becoming a Christian, is the apostle's son, and Philemon's brother. (4) That Christianity makes no alteration in men's political state. Onesimus the slave did not become a freeman on embracing Christianity, but was still obliged to be Philemon's slave for ever, unless his master gave him his freedom. (5) That slaves should not be taken nor detained from their masters, without their masters' consent. (6) That we should not contemn persons of low estate, nor disdain to help the meanest, when it is in our power to assist them; but should love and do good to all men. (7) That where an injury has been done, restitution is due, unless the injured person gives up his claim. (8) That we should forgive sinners who are penitent, and be heartily reconciled to them. (9) That we should never despair of reclaiming the wicked, but do all in our power to convert them.†

SECTION XV.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

1. THERE is, perhaps, no part of the sacred writings which has been so much contested as this epistle. Its author—the language in which it was written—its date—canonical authority—the persons to whom it was addressed—and the design of the writer, have each been the subject of lengthened and able dispute. To enter here into a discussion of these several topics, is impossible.

* Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. xiv., No. 4.

† Macknight, Preface to Philemon, sect. 3.

To do justice to their claims, and their importance with reference to the canon of Scripture, would require much more room than we can devote to them. Referring the reader, therefore, to those writers who have discussed the matter,* we must be satisfied with giving that opinion which appears to be the best sustained by the labours of these learned men.

2. With regard to the *author*, the weight of evidence preponderates greatly in favour of Paul. (1) The current of antiquity, though not the authority of every individual Father, runs strongly this way. It is cited as his by Clemens Romanus, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen; and Jerome expressly asserts, that it was received as Paul's by all the Greek writers.† (2) The writer speaks of himself and "our brother Timothy" (chap. xiii. 23), in the usual style of Paul (see 2 Cor. i. 1; Col. i. 1; 1 Thess. iii. 2; Philem. 1), and further solicits the prayers of those to whom he wrote, that he might be "restored to them" (chap. xiii. 18, 19), which is quite agreeable to the apostle's practice (see Rom. xv. 30; Eph. vi. 19; Phil. i. 19; Col. iv. 3; 2 Thess. iii. 1); and exactly agreed with his condition, when a prisoner at Rome. (3) Many of the peculiarities of Paul's style are to be found in the epistle. Abrupt transitions, returning frequently to his subject, which he illustrates by forcible arguments, by short expressions, or sometimes by a single word. Elliptical expressions, to be supplied either by the preceding or the subsequent clause, with reasonings addressed to the thoughts, and answers to specious objections, which would naturally occur, and therefore required removing. The numerous resemblances and agreements between this epistle and Paul's acknowledged productions have been collected at great length by Braunius, Carpzov, Lardner, and Macknight, whose united labours have been methodized and abridged with much ability by Mr. Horne,‡ who has arranged them under nine heads; and although it should be granted that some of the analogies are questionable, yet the inference from the whole in favour of Paul is irresistible. (4) It is acknowledged as Paul's production by Peter (2 Pet. iii. 15, 16), "as our dear brother Paul, according to the wis-

dom given to him, *hath written unto you*, as also in all his epistles," &c. From this, it is evident that Paul had written to those persons to whom Peter was then writing, i. e., *to the believing Jews*: and it is further evident, that he had written to them a particular letter distinct from all his other epistles; as appears from these words, "As also in all his epistles," i. e., his other epistles. Since, then, we have no intimation that this epistle was ever lost, it must be that of which we are now writing.||

3. With regard to the *language* in which it was written, we have the strongest internal evidence of Greek being its original. It is destitute of those harsh Hebraisms which occur in the Septuagint. The quotations from the Old Testament are not from the Hebrew, but from the Greek—the numerous paronomasias, or concurrences of words of like sound which exist in the Greek, show it to be no translation—and lastly, the Hebrew words are interpreted. From these combined circumstances, it is evident that Greek was the original language of the epistle. §

4. That the *persons* to whom this epistle was directed were the believing Jews of Palestine, is the opinion entertained by several of the early Fathers, and also by the majority of modern critics and commentators; and it is confirmed by the contents of the epistle itself. That they were inhabitants of one country appears from two passages, which we have already cited for another purpose: "I beseech you the rather to do this, that I may be restored to you the sooner" (xiii. 19); and ver. 23: "Know ye that our brother Timothy is set at liberty, with whom, if he come shortly, I will see you." And that this country was Judea, appears from the circumstance, that there was much danger of the converts addressed abjuring Christianity and relapsing into Judaism, in consequence of the persecutions to which they were exposed. This danger was apparent in no part of the church but in that at Palestine, for in every part of the Roman empire Christianity was tolerated. But in Judea, the converts from Judaism were almost incessantly persecuted by their unbelieving brethren, who tenaciously adhered to the constitution and ceremonies of the Mosaic law, which Christianity superseded. In further corroboration of this opinion, it has been remarked that the two passages of the epistle (chap. vi. 6, x. 29), which relate to blasphemy against Christ, as a person justly condemned and crucified, are

* See Michaëlis, vol. iv., p. 186, &c.; Whitty and Macknight's Prefaces to the Hebrews; Horne's Crit. Introd., vol. iv. p. 389, &c.; Townsend's Arrangement, vol. ii., p. 536, &c.; Stuart on the Hebrews, vol. i., and the authorities referred to by them.

† See the original passages in Whitty's Preface; or Stuart on the epistle, vol. i., pp. 109–144.

‡ Introduction, vol. iv., p. 401, &c.; see also Stuart, vol. i., pp. 173–204.

|| See Whitty's Preface to the Hebrews.

§ See Owen on the Hebrews, Exercitation v.; Macknight's Preface, sect. 2 § 3; and Stuart, vol. i., pp. 336–344.

peculiarly adapted to the communities in Palestine; and it is difficult to read them without inferring that several Christians had really apostatized, and openly blasphemed Christ: for it appears, from Acts xxvi. 11, that violent measures were taken in Palestine for this very purpose, of which we meet with no traces in any other country at that early age. The circumstance, that several who still continued Christians forsook the places of public worship (chap. x. 25), does not occur in any other epistle, and implies a general and continued persecution, which deterred the Christians from an open profession of their faith. Under these sufferings the Hebrews are comforted by the promised coming of Christ, which they are to await with patience, as being not far distant, chap. x. 25—38. This can be no other than the promised destruction of Jerusalem (Matt. xxiv.), of which Christ himself said, "When these things begin to come to pass, then look up, and lift up your heads, for your redemption draweth nigh," Luke xxi. 28. Now this coming of Christ was, to the Christians in Palestine, a deliverance from the yoke with which they were oppressed: but it had no such influence on the Christians of other countries. On the contrary, the first persecution under Nero happened in the year 65, about two years before the commencement of the Jewish war; and the second under Domitian, about five-and-twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Lastly, the exhortation (chap. xiii. 12—14) is very difficult to be explained, on the supposition that the epistle was written to the Hebrews out of Palestine; for neither in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in the other epistles, do we meet with an instance of expulsion from the synagogue merely for a belief in Christ; on the contrary, the apostles themselves were allowed to teach publicly in the Jewish synagogues. But if we suppose the epistle to have been written to Jewish converts in Judea, the passage becomes perfectly clear, especially if it were written only a short time before the commencement of the Jewish war. The Christians, on this supposition, are exhorted to endure their fate with patience, if they should be obliged to retire, or even be ignominiously expelled from Jerusalem, since Christ himself had been forced out of this very city, and had suffered without its walls: "Let us then go forth to him without the camp, bearing his reproach."*

5. If, then, Paul was the author of this epistle, the time when it was written may easily be fixed. For the salutation from the saints of Italy (chap.

iv. 24), with the apostle's promise to see the Hebrews (ver. 23), show plainly that he had then either obtained his liberty, or was on the eve of so doing. It was therefore written soon after the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and Philemon, and not long before Paul left Italy; that is, in the year 62 or 63. In the epistle itself there are passages which show that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem: particularly chap. viii. 4, ix. 25; x. 11; xiii. 10, which speak of the temple as then standing, and of the Levitical sacrifices as still continuing to be offered. To this may be added the remarks offered above, on the persecution the Christians were then enduring, and the promise of a speedy deliverance, by the destruction of the Jewish state.†

6. The *object* of the epistle is sufficiently obvious from its contents, *viz.*, to prove to the Jews, from their own Scriptures, the divinity, humanity, atonement, and intercession of Christ, particularly his pre-eminence over Moses and the angels of God—to demonstrate the superiority of the gospel to the law, and the real object and design of the Mosaic institution—to fortify the minds of the Hebrew converts against apostasy under persecution—and to engage them to a deportment becoming their Christian profession. In this view the Epistle to the Hebrews furnishes a Key to the Old Testament Scriptures, and may be divided into three parts. I. A demonstration of the superiority of the gospel dispensation, ch. i.—x. 25. II. An argument derived herefrom to support the Hebrew Christians under their trials, ch. x. 26—xii. 2. III. Practical exhortations to peace and holiness, ch. xii. 3, *to end*.

7. The Epistle to the Hebrews is among the most important of the new covenant Scriptures. It exhibits, in an extraordinary degree, the writer's "knowledge in the mystery of Christ," and unfolds some of the sublimest discoveries of infinite wisdom. Whether it be considered in reference to Christian doctrine or to Christian practice,—whether it be applied to for instruction, or comfort, or reproof,—it will be found eminently calculated to enlarge our minds, to strengthen our faith, to encourage our confidence, and to animate our hopes. It carries on the believer from the first elements of the doctrine of Christ to perfection. It exhibits the divine character of the Redeemer in all its glory, establishes his infinite superiority to Moses as an apostle, and to the Aaronic family as a priest. It contrasts the grandeur, the efficacy, and the perpetuity of the new covenant privileges, worship, and promises, with the earthliness, the feebleness, and the tem-

* Michælis, vol. iv., p. 195, &c. See additional instances in proof of this opinion, in Macknight, Preface to Hebrews, sect. 2, § 1.

† See Macknight's Preface, sect. 4.

porary nature of the figurative economy; and it enforces the awful responsibility which attaches to the profession of Christianity, by considerations derived from all that is fitted to elevate hope, and to give energy to godly fear. It is the key to the ritual of Moses, which unlocks its most intricate and mysterious, and apparently trivial, arrangements. It brings to view the soul that animated the whole body of its ceremonies, and gave them all their importance; and by the light it affords, we are enabled to enter into the darkest places of that extraordinary edifice, and to see the wisdom of its proportions, and their admirable adaptation to the design of all its parts. It was calculated to reconcile the Jew to the destruction of his temple, the loss of his priesthood, the abolition of his sacrifices, the devastation of his country, and the extinction of his name; because it exhibits a nobler temple, a better priesthood, a more perfect sacrifice, a heavenly inheritance, and a more durable memorial. And as the distinguished honours and privileges which it makes known, are equally the portion of the Gentile believer, they are no less fitted to wean *his* mind from the beggarly elements of this world, and to reconcile him to the lot of a stranger and a sufferer on the earth. But it is necessary to remark, that as this epistle treats not of first principles, but of the highest and noblest themes of heavenly wisdom, those only "who have their senses exercised to discern between good and evil," and who are amply conversant with "the powers of the world to come," can relish and understand it. While the apostle conveys his "thoughts that breathe, in words that burn," the operation of the Spirit of Christ on the understanding and heart is absolutely necessary to our seeing their beauty, and enjoying their consolation.*

SECTION XVI.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

1. It has been a subject of some controversy, whether this epistle were written by Paul during his imprisonment at Rome, mentioned by Luke in Acts xxviii., or during some subsequent imprisonment. It appears somewhat strange that there should have been any dispute concerning a fact that is clearly deducible from the writings of the apostle himself. During Paul's imprisonment at Rome, mentioned by Luke, it is evident that he was in comparatively comfortable circumstances, dwelling in his own hired house, preach-

ing the gospel with much success, and accompanied by several of his fellow-labourers (comp. Acts xxviii. 30, 31; Phil. i. 12—20; Col. iv. 10—14; Philem. 23, 24); whereas his condition at this time was directly the reverse; comp. ch. i. 15, 17; ii. 9; iv. 10, 16. When he wrote his epistles to the Philippians and Philemon, he was just upon the eve of obtaining his liberty (Phil. ii. 24; Philem. 22); but in this epistle his prospects were very different, and he entertained no hope of deliverance, ch. iv. 6. From these and other circumstances, which it is not necessary to enumerate, it is evident that this epistle was written by Paul during a confinement at Rome subsequent to that mentioned in the Acts, at which time he wrote some of the former epistles.†

2. It is uncertain at what place Timothy was when he received this epistle, containing a summons to Rome, ch. iv. 9, 13. Some have supposed that he remained still at Ephesus, though it is not easy to reconcile this with the apostle's charge, to bring the books and parchments left at Troas, that city lying so far out of the way from Ephesus to Rome. It is to be remembered, however, that this was precisely the same route as Paul himself took when he left Ephesus for Rome (Acts xxi. 1—5; 2 Cor. ii. 12); and it is therefore difficult to decide whether Timothy were at this time in the city just mentioned, or in Asia Minor.‡

3. The apostle seems to have designed in this epistle to prepare Timothy for those sufferings to which he foresaw he would be exposed; to forewarn him of the fatal apostasy and declension that was beginning to appear in the church; and at the same time to animate him, from his own example and the great motives of Christianity, to the most vigorous and resolute discharge of every part of the ministerial office. The epistle consists of four chapters, containing the inscription (ch. i. 1, 2); a commendation of Timothy's faith (ver. 2—5); an exhortation to becoming fortitude in the cause of Christianity, urged by motives derived from the excellency of the gospel (ver. 6—14); the apostle's forlorn situation, with a commendation of the fidelity and generosity of Onesiphorus (ver. 15—18); further arguments to fortify Timothy against the difficulties which he would have to encounter, derived from the apostle's own suffering and the glory which awaits those who suffer for Christ (ver. 19—ii. 13):

† See Michaëlis's *Introduct.* vol. iv., p. 167, &c.; Mac-knight's *Preface* to 1 Tim. sect. 1; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, ch. xii., No. 1.

‡ In support of the latter opinion, see Michaëlis, vol. iv., p. 161, &c.

* *Christian Instructor*, vol. ii., p. 423.

directions relative to the ministry, and to the avoiding of those things which had led to the apostasy of some (ver. 14—26); a prediction of the declension and apostasy which would take place, reminding Timothy at the same time of his duty in the midst of those distresses (ch. iii. 1—iv. 5); Paul's prospect of immediate death, and his rejoicing in anticipation of his reward (ver. 6—8); an invitation to Timothy to come to Rome, Paul being left alone (ver. 9—12); a declaration of the inconstancy of men and the constancy of God (ver. 13—18); various saluta-

tions (ver. 19—21); and the concluding blessing, ver. 22.

4. The Second Epistle to Timothy is particularly valuable in confirmation of the truth of the gospel history. It affords the most indubitable evidence of the sincerity of Paul in what he professed to believe and teach; and from the impossibility of his being deceived in the matters of which he testified, their truth results as a necessary consequence.*

* See Macknight, and Doddridge's Prefaces to this epistle.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES.

1. THE writings known under this appellation are, the epistle of James, the two epistles of Peter, the first epistle of John, and the epistle of Jude. Commentators are not agreed as to the origin of this designation. Whitby, Michaëlis, and some others, have adopted the opinion of Œcumenius—that they were so denominated because addressed, not to people dwelling in one place, but to the Jews dispersed through all the countries in the Roman empire. The opinion of Hammond, however, which has been adopted by Macknight and others, seems more probable. He conceives that the first epistle of Peter, and the first of John, having from the beginning been received as authentic, which the others were not, obtained the name of *Catholic*, or universally acknowledged, and therefore canonical, epistles, in contradistinction to those which were rejected. But the authenticity of these, also, being at length acknowledged by the majority of churches, they were added to the others, and the title which was at first a mark of distinction, borne by the two former, became at length the common appellation of the whole.

2. The circumstance of the primitive church having rejected, for some period of time, three out of these five epistles, furnishes convincing proof of the great deliberation with which writings purporting to be apostolic were received into the canon of Scripture; and also a sufficient answer to those who have charged the early Christians with want of care, and ourselves with credulity, in receiving as authentic and inspired, books of the original character of which nothing is known. The proofs of the genuineness and consequent

authenticity of these epistles will be noticed in treating of them severally.

SECTION I.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

1. THERE has been some difference of opinion as to the identity of the author of this epistle; some critics referring it to James the Elder,* son of Zebedee and brother of John (Matt. x. 2); while others, with much greater probability, ascribe it to James the Less, son of Alphæus (ver. 3), brother or cousin to our Lord (Gal. i. 19), and, as has been thought, bishop of Jerusalem; but this, perhaps, without sufficient authority. That it cannot have been written by the former person, is evident from the period at which it was published. This we gather from chap. v. 1—8, where the approaching destruction of Jerusalem is clearly referred to, and the wars and insurrections which led to that calamitous event are forcibly reprov'd. This fixes it to the year 61, or the beginning of 62; whereas James the son of Zebedee was put to death by Herod, in the year 44, Acts xii.†

2. That the epistle of James was early received as an inspired writing, is evident from Eusebius, who places it among the approved and received books, though rejected by some as spurious. But if any argument be wanting against those who question its genuineness, it is to be found in the following

* See Michaëlis, vol. iv., p. 277, &c., and Fragments to Calmet, No. 634.

† See Whitby, Doddridge, and Macknight's Prefaces to this Epistle; and Lardner's Works, vol. iii., p. 368, &c.

fact : that, while the Second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, the Epistle of Jude, and the Book of Revelation, are omitted in the first Syriac translation of the New Testament, which is thought to have been made at the end of the first century, or very early in the second, the Epistle of James has been inserted. And when it is remembered that this Version was made for the particular use of the converted Jews, to whom the epistle itself was originally addressed, it will be evident that its authenticity and authority were from the beginning acknowledged by those for whom it was primarily designed.*

3. The design of the epistle appears to have been, first, to correct those errors, both in doctrine and practice, into which the Jewish Christians had fallen, chiefly by a perversion of Paul's doctrine of justification by faith; and then to establish the faith and animate the hopes of sincere believers, under both their present and approaching sufferings. The object of the apostle, with reference to the unbelieving Jews, was to convince them of the heinousness of their offences, and to excite them to sincere and immediate repentance. The epistle consists of five chapters: the inscription (chap. i. 1); an exhortation to patience in enduring outward and conquering inward temptations, urged by motives derived from the readiness of God to supply all needful grace, in answer to prayer (ver. 2—18); hearing to be joined with practice, as the latter is the only test of true religion (ver. 19—27); cautions against undue partiality, occasioned by men's external circumstances, with an exhortation to universal benevolence (chap. ii. 1—13); the inefficacy of an empty faith pointed out and illustrated (ver. 14—26); a caution against officiousness in assuming the character and office of teachers, which tends to inflame the passions, and to set on fire the licentious tongue (chap. iii. 1—12); a recommendation of the opposite qualities of candour and benevolence, which are the necessary fruits of true religion (ver. 13—18); the source of animosities and dissensions pointed out, which can only be removed by seeking the assistance of God by prayer (chap. iv. 1—10); cautions against evil speaking, and vain confidence in the events of futurity, or in any worldly possessions, which often prove a temptation to luxury, and an occasion of sin (ver. 11—v. 6); an exhortation and encouragement to the oppressed Christians to wait patiently for the coming of the Lord (ver. 7—11); profane and vain swearing condemned; moderation, fortitude, and prayer recommended; a ready acknowledg-

ment of our faults, and a solicitous concern for the salvation of others commended (ver. 12—20).†

4. This epistle is entirely different in its complexion from all others in the sacred canon; the style and manner being more those of a Jewish prophet than of a Christian apostle. It scarcely touches on any subject purely Christian. Our blessed Lord is only mentioned in it twice (chap. i. 1, ii. 1). It begins without any apostolical salutation, and ends without any benediction. It may be considered as a sort of connecting link between Judaism and Christianity, as the ministry of John the Baptist was between the old covenant and the new.‡ Dr. Harwood pronounces it to be one of the finest and most finished productions of the New Testament. The diction is very pure, chaste, and correct; the periods are pure and perspicuous; the composition is elegantly concise and sententious; and the sentiments are noble and instructive. There are many figurative descriptions and allusions, that are truly classical, finely conceived, and pleasingly expressed; particularly chap. i. 10, 11, 23, 24; iii. 3—10, iv. 13.¶ Its divine worth and excellence, he remarks, transcend every eulogy that human imagination can dictate, or human language utter.§

SECTION II.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

1. THE author of this and the following epistle was a native of Bethsaida in Galilee, and by trade a fisherman. It is generally thought that, with his brother Andrew, he was a disciple of John the Baptist, before he was called to the apostleship by our blessed Lord. Peter was a married man, and occasionally followed his occupation of fishing after his call by Christ, till the choice of the twelve to be with him constantly, among which number were Peter and his brother Andrew, Matt. x. On several occasions the zeal and forwardness of this apostle were rendered conspicuous; and, with James and John, he was peculiarly favoured in witnessing transactions in the life of our Lord, from which the rest of the twelve were precluded. When the multitude from the chief-priests came out to take Jesus, on the night before his crucifixion, the zeal of Peter impelled him to attack them with his sword; and before his master could stay his impetuosity, he had

† See Whitby, Doddridge, and Wesley's Prefaces to this epistle.

‡ Townsend.

¶ See Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i., p. 301, 12ma.

§ Harwood's Introduction, vol. i., p. 216, &c.

* See the authorities already referred to.

severed off the ear of the high-priest's servant. And yet (alas! for the boasted dignity of human nature!) this same Peter, but a few hours afterwards, denied thrice, with repeated oaths, that he knew anything of Jesus of Nazareth! Being stung with deep remorse, he went out and wept bitterly, was pardoned by his risen Saviour, and reinstated in his apostolic office, John xxi. 15—17. From this time Peter never faltered in the faith, but with the utmost zeal and courage laboured in his master's cause. In the history of the Acts no mention is made of him after the council of Jerusalem; but from Gal. ii. 11 it appears that after the council he was with Paul at Antioch. It has been thought that he preached in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, from the circumstance of his inscribing his first epistle to the Jews dispersed throughout those cities; but of this we have no certain information. According to the testimony of ancient writers, Peter, with his wife, at length visited Rome, about the year 63, during the reign of Nero; and after preaching the gospel for some time, they were both put to death, Peter being crucified with his head downwards.*

2 Every part of the apostle's writings indicates a mind that felt the power of the doctrines he delivered, and a soul that glowed with a most fervent zeal for the Christian religion. But he is a very irregular and immethodical writer. Harwood says, "I do not know *who* it was I once heard make this observation, that there was not a full stop in all his first epistle. As he writes along, he starts a thought, and then pursues it, till in the pursuit something else presents itself, which in like manner seizes his imagination till it is dismissed for another object. He appears to be too intent upon better things to have studied composition. He was not solicitous about the choice of words, or their harmonious disposition; he paid but little attention to manner and method in writing: what engaged his thoughts and heart were the grand truths and discoveries of the gospel, and the indispensable obligations Christians were under to illustrate them in their daily conduct. The earnest and affectionate injunctions he lays upon ministers and people, old and young, male and female, to adorn their common profession, are pathetic and worthy an apostle. In his second epistle he satirizes, with a holy indignation and vehemence, the abandoned principles and practices of the *false teachers* and *false prophets*, who in those early times rose up in the

Christian church, and disseminated their pernicious tenets with such art and cunning—entering into private houses, and leading captive silly women laden with sins, and making the credulity of the ignorant minister to their lust and avarice. His prophetic description of the general conflagration, and the end of all terrestrial things, is very awful, and was evidently described with that minute and circumstantial solemnity to engage us to prepare for it. Such great and affecting truths as these strike, by their own intrinsic weight and moment, more than all the elaborate periods that the wit and genius of men ever polished. When one is reading such interesting divine discoveries as these, it is the *ideas* which fill the soul; the mind pays little regard to those *invented* symbols, that are only the factitious and external *signs* of them.†

3. The genuineness and authenticity of this epistle have never been disputed. It is referred to by several of the apostolical Fathers as Peter's undoubted work, and as such it was received by Eusebius and Origen.‡

4. There has been some diversity of opinion among commentators as to the persons to whom this epistle was originally directed. Eusebius, Jerome, and many of the ancients, were of opinion that it was addressed to the Jewish Christians, scattered through the countries mentioned in the inscription. And this opinion has been adopted by Beza, Grotius, Mill, Cave, Dr. Hales, Horne, and others. Wetstein supposes it was written to the Gentiles; Barrington and Benson, to the Proselytes of the Gate; but Whitby, Lardner, Estius, Macknight, Dr. A. Clarke, and Townsend, that it was sent to all Christians in general, Jews and Gentiles, residing in the several countries enumerated in the inscription. In support of the latter opinion, several passages are adduced which can apply only to Gentile converts. See particularly chap. i. 14, 18, 20, 21, ii. 10, iv. 3. The passages in the epistle which have been thought inconsistent with this opinion, will easily be reconciled by drawing a distinction between Gentile believers and Gentile unbelievers.

5. From chap. v. 13, where the apostle sends the salutation of the church at Babylon, it has been thought that he wrote the epistle at that place. But whether it were the Assyrian or the Egyptian Babylon is not certain. Indeed, many, both of ancient and moderns writers, have interpreted *Babylon* mystically, and referred it to *Rome*. The late learned editor of Calmet|| is for a *third*

* For further particulars of the life and labours of Peter, the reader is referred to Lardner's Works, vol. iii., p. 388, &c., and Macknight's Preface to the First Epistle of Peter, sect. 1.

† Introduction, vol. i. pp. 221, 222.

‡ Lardner's Works, vol. i. p. 302, 332, &c.

|| See Calmet's Bib. Ency. art. "Babylon III."

Babylon, situated on the Euphrates; and in favour of this opinion, the *order* of the provinces saluted by the apostle may be noticed. He places Pontus and Cappadocia first, certainly because they were nearest to him; and Bithynia last, because it was the most distant from him. This, however, is utterly inconsistent with his being at this time resident in Rome, which would have prescribed a contrary order.*

6. There is no mark of time in this epistle by which to fix its date, but it is pretty generally referred to the year 65 or 66, in conformity with the notion that it was written at Rome. If this were not the case, an earlier date must be the true one.†

7. The design of the epistle is evidently to induce the Christian converts to maintain a conversation, not merely inoffensive, but in all respects worthy of the gospel; and to support them under the severe persecutions and fiery trials they already endured, or were likely to endure, by the noblest considerations which their religion could suggest.‡ And Macknight remarks, as the design of this epistle is excellent, its execution, in the judgment of the best critics, does not fall short of its design. Ostervald says of the First Epistle of Peter, "It is one of the finest books in the New Testament;" and of the Second, "It is a most excellent epistle, and is written with great strength and majesty." Erasmus's opinion of Peter's first epistle is, "It is worthy of the prince of the apostles, and full of apostolical dignity and authority." He adds, "It is sparing of words, but full of sense." Lardner observes, that Peter's two epistles, with his discourses in the Acts, and the multitudes who were converted by these discourses, are monuments of a divine inspiration, and of the fulfilment of Christ's promise to Peter and Andrew, "Follow me, and I will make you fishers of men."||

8. This epistle contains five chapters, comprising the inscription (chap. i. 1, 2); the stirring up of those to whom it is addressed, by reminding them of the benefits of God toward them, and their duties toward God (ver. 3—25); exhortations to receive the word of God with meekness; to continue in the exercise of faith, and the discharge of every relative and social duty, urged by the same considerations (chap. ii.); the relative duties of husbands and wives enjoined (chap. iii. 1—7); arguments to engage them to

the exercise of patience and meekness under their sufferings and persecutions (ver. 8—17); the same subject further treated of and urged by notices drawn from the unmerited sufferings of our Saviour (ver. 18—iv. 2); particular cautions both to ministers and private Christians; urging on the former, humility, diligence, and watchfulness; and exhorting the latter to a faithful and steadfast discharge of their several duties, animated by this sublime consideration, that they had been delivered from a state of abominable idolatry and wickedness, and were now called to eternal glory, by God; who, after they had suffered awhile, would make them perfect, according to the apostle's earnest prayer (ver. 3—v. 11); the salutation (ver. 12—14).

SECTION III.

THE SECOND EPISTLE OF PETER.

1. MANY doubts were entertained by the ancients whether Peter were really the author of this epistle. Eusebius reckoned it among the books not generally received as canonical, and thinks that the superior influence of that party in the church which advocated the admission of the idolatrous Gentiles prevented its general reception. However this may be, we have the most undoubted evidence of its genuineness, and consequent authority. It expressly claims Peter for its author: "Simeon Peter,"—which is the Hebrew form of writing,— "a servant and an apostle of Jesus Christ." Luke has distinguished him by the same name (Acts xv. 14), and John calls him Simon Peter seventeen times in his gospel, to show, perhaps, as Macknight observes, that he was the author of the epistle beginning "Simeon Peter, a servant and an apostle." The writer calls himself an apostle both in the inscription and in chap. iii. 2; and in ver. 15, he calls Paul his beloved brother, and commends his epistles as Scriptures or inspired writings. He also declares that he was with Jesus at his transfiguration, and alludes to the prediction of our Saviour, where he made known to Peter the death by which he should glorify God, John xxi. 19. Some commentators have supposed that the first and second epistles ascribed to Peter could not have been written by the same person, because the style in which they are composed differs; but this difference is only observable in the second chapter of the second epistle, and is easily accounted for, by supposing that many expressions in that chapter were borrowed from the Gnostics, whose doctrines the apostle was opposing and confuting. Thus, in ver. 17, the Gnostics are called "clouds agitated by a tempest," and we are in-

* See Fragments to Calmet, No. 66.

† See Whithy, Macknight, and Dr. A. Clarke's Prefaces; and Michaelis' Introduction, vol. iv. p. 315, &c.

‡ Whithy, Doddridge, and the Commentators generally.

|| Macknight's Preface, sect. iv.

formed that the Manicheans, who held many similar doctrines with the Gnostics, taught that there were five good and five bad elements, and that one of the latter was called "tempest." They speak also of darkness under the name of *zophos*, which word occurs several times in this chapter. After a diligent comparison of the two epistles ascribed to Peter, Michaëlis remarks, that the agreement between them appears to be such, that if the second were not written by Peter, as well as the first, the person who forged it, not only possessed the power of imitation in a very unusual degree, but understood likewise the design of the first epistle, with which the ancients do not appear to have been acquainted. It is not credible, however, he further remarks, that a pious impostor of the first or second century should have imitated Peter so successfully as to betray no marks of a forgery; for the spurious productions of those ages, which were sent into the world under the name of apostles, are for the most part very unhappy imitations, and discover very evident marks that they were not written by the persons to whom they were ascribed. They betray their origin by the poverty of their materials, or by the circumstance, that instead of containing original thoughts, they are nothing more than a rhapsody of sentiments collected from various parts of the Bible, and put together without plan or order. This charge cannot possibly be laid to the second epistle ascribed to Peter, which is so far from containing materials derived from other parts of the Bible, that the third chapter exhibits the discussion of a totally new subject. Its resemblance to the Epistle of Jude will hardly be urged as an argument against it; for no doubt can be made, that the Second Epistle of Peter was, in respect to the Epistle of Jude, the original, and not the copy.

2. The same writer adds, that the deluge, which is not a common subject in the apostolic epistles, is mentioned both in 1 Pet. iii. 20, and in 2 Pet. ii. 5; and in both places the circumstance is noted, that eight persons only were saved, though in neither does the subject require that the number should be particularly specified. Now, it is true, that Peter was not the only apostle who knew how many persons were saved in the ark; but he only who by habit had acquired a familiarity with the subject would ascertain the precise number, where his argument did not depend on it. Another thing is, that the author of the first epistle had read Paul's Epistle to the Romans (comp. chap. ii. 13, 14, with Rom. xiii. 1—5); and the author of the second epistle speaks in express terms (chap. iii. 15, 16) of the epistles of Paul. Now, no other writer of the New Testament has quoted from the New

Testament; consequently we have in this epistle a criterion, from which we may judge that they were written by the same author.*

3. Grotius is of opinion that this epistle was written after the destruction of Jerusalem. This, however, could not be, for in chap. i. 14 the apostle speaks of his death being near at hand:—"Knowing that *shortly* I must put off my tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ showed me;" and Peter was put to death in the year 68, that is, three years before the destruction of Jerusalem. The most probable opinion therefore is, that the epistle was written about the year 66 or 67, and that probably from Rome.

4. From chap. iii. 1 it is evident that this epistle was addressed to the same persons as the former one, and its general design is to confirm the doctrines and instructions delivered in that; to excite the Christian converts to adorn and stedfastly adhere to their holy religion, as a religion proceeding from God, notwithstanding the artifices and persecution of false teachers, and bitter and inveterate enemies. The apostle, with this view, having first congratulated the Christian converts on the happy condition into which they were brought by the gospel, exhorts them, in order to secure the blessings connected with their profession, to endeavour to improve in the most substantial graces and virtues (chap. i. 1—11); and, that their attention might be the more effectually engaged, he reminds them, both that he spoke to them in the near view of eternity, and that the subjects on which he discoursed were not cunningly devised fables, but attested by a miraculous voice from heaven, and by divinely inspired prophecies (ver. 12—21). And that this exhortation might not fail of producing the most kindly and genuine effects, he cautions them against the false teachers, whose character he describes; reminding them of the judgments executed on the apostate angels, on the old world, and on Sodom; and, at the same time, of the deliverance of Noah and of Lot, as suggesting considerations which, on the one hand, should terrify such ungodly wretches,† and, on the other, comfort and establish the hearts of upright and pious Christians (chap. ii. 1—9). He then further describes the character of these seducers; warning all true Christians of the danger of being perverted by them, and then of the dreadful de-

* Michaëlis, *Introd.*, vol. iv., p. 346, &c.; Whithy, *Doddridge*, and Macknight's *Prefaces to 2 Peter*; Lardner's *Works*, vol. i., p. 302, &c.; Tomline's *Elements of Theology*, vol. i., p. 486, &c.; and Townsend's *Arrangement*, vol. ii., p. 622, &c.

† This, as Michaëlis remarks, affords a proof that the false teachers admitted the authenticity and authority of the Old Testament Scriptures.

struction to which they exposed themselves, ver. 10—22. And that the persons to whom he was writing might more effectually escape the artifices of those who lay in wait to deceive, they are directed to adhere steadily and closely to the sacred Scriptures, and to consider the absolute certainty and awful manner of the final destruction of this world; * and then the whole is concluded with several weighty and pertinent exhortations.

5. In conclusion, we remark, in the language of Macknight, that “in this, as in the first epistle, there are discoveries of some important truths and circumstances not mentioned at all, or not mentioned so plainly, by the other inspired writers. Such as, (1) That our Lord was transfigured for the purpose of exhibiting, not only a proof of his greatness and power as the Son of God and Judge of the world, but as an example of the glory in which he will come to judgment. An example also of his power to transform our corrupted mortal bodies, at the resurrection, into the likeness of his own glorious body, as it appeared in his transfiguration.—(2) That the destruction of the cities of the plain by fire was intended to be an example of that destruction by fire from the presence of the

* Hammond, Lightfoot, Wetstein, and some others, have denied that this passage refers to the end of the world, and restrict it to the destruction of Jerusalem. But this opinion, as Whitby remarks, is contrary to the judgment of all the ancient writers, who refer to the words.—*Preface to 2 Peter*. And that it is not true, has been shown by Michaëlis, from the following considerations. *First*, Peter represents the fact for which he argues, as possible, by appealing to the deluge. Now no man would appeal to the deluge, to show the possibility that a city may be taken and destroyed; but we may very properly argue, that, as the earth has already undergone a material change, so it may undergo another change equally great. And what Peter says is consonant to the Jewish theology, in which was taught the doctrine, that the earth was destined to suffer two grand revolutions; the one effected by water, the other to be effected by fire. See *Joseph. Ant.* i. iii. 3. *Secondly*, no one could doubt that Jerusalem would be destroyed, merely because the destruction was delayed longer than he expected, and still less because all things continued as they were from the beginning of the creation. This ground of doubt manifestly implies, that the question related to a revolution of the earth. *Thirdly*, we know of no heretics who called in question Christ's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem. And, even if there were such, it is hardly credible that Peter should write an epistle to persons who were born heathens, and lived in the northern part of Asia Minor, to prove an event with which they had little or no concern. *Fourthly*, what Peter says, chap. iii. 8, that “one day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day,” is not very applicable to an event which was to take place within six or seven years after Peter wrote. *Lastly*, if we explain what Peter says, as relating to the destruction of Jerusalem, we must take his expressions in a figurative sense; but figurative language, though it is well adapted to prophecy, such as that which is recorded in Matt. xxiv., is not very suitable to a plain doctrinal dissertation, especially to one delivered in the form of an epistle.—*Introduction*, vol. iv., p. 357, note. See also Macknight, and other commentators, on 2 Pet. iii. 7.

Lord, which will be inflicted on the wicked after the judgment; comp. Jude 7.—(3) That in the last age of the world, scoffers will arise, who, from the stability of the present mundane system, will argue that the world has existed as we see it from eternity, and that it will continue for ever.—(4) That after the judgment, this earth with its atmosphere shall be set on fire; and, burning furiously, the elements shall be melted, and the earth, with all the works of God and man thereon, shall be utterly destroyed.—(5) That after the present heaven and earth are burnt, a new heaven and a new earth shall appear, into which, according to God's promise, the righteous shall be carried, there to live in unspeakable happiness; an event which Peter himself, in his discourse to the Jews (Acts iii. 21), has termed, ‘the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.’ From this account of the discoveries made in the Second Epistle of Peter, the attentive reader must be sensible that they are more grand and interesting than even those contained in the first epistle; and that to the foreknowledge and declaration of them, a degree of inspiration was necessary, superior to that required in the writing of the first epistle. Consequently, that the matters exhibited in the second epistle are every way worthy of an apostle of Christ really inspired, such as this writer expressly affirms himself to have been, and of which there can be no doubt.”†

SECTION IV.

THE EPISTLE OF JUDE.

1. JUDE, or Judas, the writer of this epistle, was the apostle surnamed *Lebbeus* and *Thaddæus*, Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18. As he expressly declares himself to have been the brother of James, he evidently bore the same relation to our Lord as that apostle, and hence he is called one of the brethren of Jesus in Matt. xiii. 55, and Mark vi. 3. We know neither the time nor the manner in which he became a disciple of Christ, but his call to the apostleship is recorded in Luke vi. 13. The genuineness or authorship of this epistle has been disputed on two grounds. (1) Because the writer has not described himself as an *apostle*; and (2) because he is supposed to have cited an apocryphal book of Enoch, ver. 14. To the former objection it has been replied, that by calling himself an apostle, Jude would not have distinguished himself at all, since there were two apos-

† *Preface to 2 Peter*, sect. v.

ties of that name; whereas, by styling himself the "brother of James," he has at once made himself known to all who are acquainted with the catalogues of the apostles given by the evangelists. Grotius, indeed, has argued that the words, "and brother of James," are an interpolation; but as he has not produced a single authority in support of his assertion, further notice of it is rendered unnecessary. In reply to the other objection, it has been shown that we have no evidence that Jude quoted from any writing then extant. He may only have mentioned a fact preserved by tradition, as it is evident other apostles have done. See 2 Tim. iii. 8; Heb. xii. 21; 2 Pet. ii. 4, 5. But granting that Jude really cited an apocryphal book, it no more proves that he was not an inspired writer, than that Paul was not one, because he quotes the heathen poets, Menander and Epimenides, 1 Cor. xv. 33; Titus i. 12. Such allusions or citations do not establish the credibility of the entire work cited, but of that part only which is immediately employed.

2. The canonical authority of this epistle is proved by the majesty of its style; the truth, importance, and purity of its doctrines; its agreement with the other canonical books, especially the Second of Peter; and its early reception into the Christian church. Eusebius affirms that it was reckoned among the seven catholic epistles, and was published in most churches. And though he remarks that several of the ancient writers make no mention of it, it is certain that several of them before his time have cited it as the genuine production of Jude. Among these, we may notice Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Origen, the passages from whom may be seen in Lardner.*

3. We agree with those writers who conceive that this epistle was addressed to all, without distinction, who had embraced the gospel; the inscription being, "To the sanctified by God the Father, and to the preserved by Jesus Christ, to the called," ver. 1.

4. There is nothing in the epistle from which we can fix its date with any degree of certainty. Some critics place it as early as the year 65, while others have brought it down to the year 90. Amidst these conflicting opinions, it is difficult to come to a decision; for almost every date assumed possesses a degree of probability. In fact, after carefully weighing the several arguments adduced for the respective hypotheses, we have determined not to hazard a conjecture. Lardner, whose opinion is adopted by Mr. Townsend, concludes for the year 65 or 66.

5. The design of the epistle appears to be similar to that of the second of Peter, namely, to describe the character and punishment of the false teachers, and to caution the Christian converts against being led astray by their pernicious doctrines. Hence the apostle, after a general salutation, exhorts the Christians to whom he wrote, strenuously to assert the purity of their common faith; reminding them of the destruction which came on God's professing people, and even on the apostate angels, for their sins, as well as on the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, and proceeds to the description of some seditious and abandoned persons, from whom he imagined them in peculiar danger, ver. 1—11. He then pursues the character of the scandalous professors he had before mentioned; and concludes with exhorting the Christians to endeavour to secure their own edification in faith and love, and to do their utmost for the preservation and recovery of others, ver. 12—25.†

SECTION V.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF JOHN.

1. ALTHOUGH the name of John is neither prefixed nor subscribed to this epistle, it has been received as his unquestionable production from the earliest times,‡ and also presents the strongest internal evidence of its genuineness. In proof of this, Macknight and others have collected various passages from his gospel, and, by comparing them with other passages in this epistle, have shown that there is such an exact agreement of sentiment and expression in the two writings, that no reader who is capable of discerning what is peculiar in an author's mode of thinking, can entertain the least doubt of their being the productions of the same writer.

2. The date which we have assigned to this epistle in the chronological table places its publication between that of the Book of Revelation and the Gospel by the same writer, that is, in the year 96. Concerning the propriety of this, however, there has been much dispute among critics and commentators, as must ever be the case where conjectural arguments only can be entertained. That the reader may judge for himself, the following summary of the arguments on either side is furnished.||

† Doddridge, Gill, Macknight, Benson, and Dr. Clarke's Prefaces to Jude; and Calmet's Bib. Ency., *sub voce*.

‡ See the passages in Lardner, Canon iii., p. 262.

|| For this we are indebted to Mr. Townsend.

3. When the Holy Spirit inspired the various writers of the Old and New Testaments, it imparted only the instructions and prophecies which were necessary for the benefit of the universal church. It did not so interfere with the natural or acquired talents of the favoured persons, whom it elevated above the rest of mankind, that their peculiar or characteristic modes of expression should be necessarily altered. Isaiah was a nobleman and a courtier, and his refined and polished language declares his education, as well as his native genius. Amos was a herdsman; and though there is the same superhuman internal evidence that the spirit of prophecy rested on him also; though none of the prophets has more magnificently described the Deity; though his sentiments are elevated, and his diction splendid; he is still distinguished by the use of images which are drawn from rural life, and by phrases which are not characteristic either of the study of the schools of the prophets, or of the courtesy of a king's palace. Every one of the sacred writers is distinguished from his inspired brethren by some internal proofs of his vocation, or habits, or education; and if the external evidence of the truth and authenticity of the various books of Scripture were not taken into consideration, sufficient arguments might be adduced in their defence, from a careful comparison of the contents of the sacred books.

4. This consideration will possibly assist us in the attempt to discover, from internal evidence, whether it is not probable that the Apocalypse was written before the epistles of John. The former book abounds with Hebraisms, and with images derived from the Jewish traditions and peculiarities. Though neither the Septuagint nor the New Testament are written in purely Attic Greek, not one book of either volume is so full of the solecisms in question as the Apocalypse; whereas the epistles and gospel of John are written both correctly and elegantly. It is true that the three books are proved to be the work of the same author, by their general agreement, both in style and expression; and Wetstein, Horne, and Dr. Lardner have collected numerous instances of this coincidence: but the chief barbarisms of the Apocalypse are to be found neither in the epistles nor in the gospel of John. In this respect they are remarkably distinguished from each other; and while the common adoption of certain forms of speech demonstrates the whole of the books in question to be the work of one writer, the insertion of so many peculiar idioms and Hebraisms in the one appears to justify our conclusion, that it must have been written at a period when the author was not so well versed in the elegances

and purity of the language in which he wrote. He seems as if he thought in one language, and wrote in another; or as if he had attempted for the first time to write in a language in which he made a subsequent improvement. This, in literature, is not an unfrequent case. The triple sentence, for instance, and the balanced periods, which so remarkably characterize the style of the Rambler, and the Lives of the Poets, were perceptible in the early works of Dr. Johnson, and afford internal evidence that they were written by him; while the grossness and puerility of his *Marmor Norfolciense* are such as he would have blushed to have acknowledged in his maturer years. In the early poems of Milton we may trace, and that not faintly, "the towering thought," and hear "the living lyre" of the days of his ripened genius; yet he could not have written, at that splendid period, the pretty conceits which adorn or disgrace his juvenile poems on the Passion and the Nativity.

5. But it is not only the internal evidence which induces us to place the Apocalypse before the Epistles of John. The circumstances of the apostle's life sufficiently account for the more frequent adoption of Hebraisms in the former book. He was a native Jew, and probably continued within the precincts of the Holy Land longer than any of the apostles. Neither he, nor any of the twelve, appear to have left Palestine during the Pauline persecutions. When James was made bishop of Jerusalem, in the Herodian persecution, after the apostle James was beheaded, and Peter had been cast into prison, it is probable that all the apostles left Jerusalem, and John among the number. He was present, however, at the council in that city; and there could not have been time, during that short interval, for the establishment of the churches in Asia, which are said to have acknowledged him as their founder. It seems probable that he continued either in Jerusalem, or within the precincts of Palestine, till the destruction of the city. Throughout that part of the Acts of the Apostles which relates the travels of Paul, John is not once mentioned; and no salutation is sent to him in any of the epistles which Paul wrote from Rome to the churches of Asia; not even in his Epistle to the Ephesians, nor in the epistles which, in the latter part of his life, he wrote to Timothy in Ephesus, while Paul was alive. We agree, therefore, with the opinion of Macknight and others, that John probably remained in Judea till he saw Jerusalem encompassed with armies, and observed the other signs of its approaching ruin, foretold by his divine Master. Lampe (*Prolegomena to John's Gospel*, lib. i., cap. 3) is of the same opinion, and fixes

the time of his departure in the last year of Nero ; in which he is confirmed by the Chronicon Paschale. During the whole of this period he would have conversed in his native language, among his own people : neither can we assign any reason for his adopting the Greek language, or for cultivating it with peculiar attention at this period. Baronius and Dr. Lardner would place the retirement of the apostle from Judea after the martyrdom of Paul and Peter ; but this would make a difference of a few years only.

6. A more important question is, whether John lived exclusively among the Greek cities of Asia in the interval between the overthrow of Jerusalem and his banishment to Patmos in the last year of Domitian. This cannot be satisfactorily decided. The learned Mill places some dependence upon the tradition, that this apostle travelled into Parthia and India. His first epistle was called by Augustine the Epistle to the Parthians ; and the Jesuit's letters, cited by Baronius, affirm that the people of a town in India believed the gospel to have been preached there by John ; and the same is asserted, as we find in a note in Lampe, by the people of a town in Arabia. It is not likely that he would immediately establish himself at Ephesus ; as Timothy, who is generally declared by the ecclesiastical historians to have been bishop of that place, was probably still alive. Others, whose opinion is strongly condemned by Lampe, have been of opinion that John did not take up his residence at Ephesus till near the end of the reign of Domitian. This opinion seems to be most supported by the little remaining evidence which can enable us to come to any decision on a point so obscure. The apostles were commanded to preach throughout the world ; and they would probably have adopted that plan, which they are said to have done, that each should take his peculiar district, and to that direct his attention. As part, at least, of Asia Minor had been placed under the care of Timothy, it is not unlikely that John would have travelled to other parts of the East before he came to Ephesus, to reside there. The course of his travels might have been from the east of Judea to Parthia, and round from thence to India ; and returning by Arabia to Asia, to there preached, and founded the churches of Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Laodicea, and others. These he might have established at the conclusion of his route. In Parthia, India, and Arabia, he would not have required the Greek language ; and during the short period which elapsed between his arrival in Asia, and his banishment at the latter end of the reign of Domitian, he would have been more likely to

have acquired that kind of language which we find in the Apocalypse, than the more polished style of the epistles and the gospel. The former shows less acquaintance with the language than the latter ; and the fact is fully accounted for, if we suppose that the apostle, when he wrote the Apocalypse, had not had so frequent intercourse with the people as at a subsequent period ; and this course of his travels explains the causes of this fact.

7. If we may thus decide respecting the travels of John after the destruction of Jerusalem, we reconcile many of the various traditions of antiquity, and account for the difference between the language of the Apocalypse and the other writings of the apostle. We have taken no notice of the journey which Eusebius tells us he took again to Palestine, after the destruction of Jerusalem. Lampe considers it as very uncertain, and there is no corroborating authority to support it. Neither can we venture to assert the truth of the story, that the apostle went to Rome towards the end of the reign of Domitian, and was there cast into a cauldron of boiling oil. That he was sent to the island of Patmos, and there wrote the Apocalypse, cannot be doubted ; and the arguments of Lampe confirm the general opinion, that he was banished to that island in the fifteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and not of Claudius, and was recalled soon after, in the reign of Nerva.

8. The uniform tradition of antiquity assures us, that the apostle returned to Ephesus after the termination of his banishment to Patmos, and continued there till his death, in the third year of Trajan, and probably in the hundredth year of his own age. After his return from Patmos, he resided constantly at Ephesus, and spoke, as we may justly conclude, the Greek language only. This practice would have given him a knowledge and fluency in that tongue to a greater degree than when he was at Jerusalem, or associating with the people of various countries ; and it will sufficiently explain the reasons why the style of the epistles should so much resemble that of the gospel of John, which was undoubtedly the last of the inspired books added to the canon of Scripture. Thus, in his gospel, John does not content himself with simply affirming or denying a thing, but denies its contrary to strengthen his affirmation ; and in like manner, to strengthen his denial of a thing, he affirms its contrary. See John i. 20, iii. 36, v. 24, vi. 22. The same manner of expressing things strongly occurs in this epistle. See chap. ii. 4, 47, and iv. 2, 3. In his gospel, also, John frequently uses the pronoun, or *ours*,

avro, touto, this, in order to express things emphatically. See chap. i. 19, iii. 19, vi. 29, 40, 50, and xvii. 3. In the epistle the same emphatical mode of expression obtains. Compare chap. i. 5, ii. 25, iii. 23, v. 3, 4, 6, 14.*

9. It does not therefore appear improbable that this and the other epistles were written as late as the year 95 or 96, towards the very close of the apostolic age.

10. As this opinion is by no means generally adopted, it will be necessary to take some notice of the arguments by which Dr. Hales, Mr. Horne, and other critics would assign an earlier date to the epistle.

(1) The expression in chap. ii. 18, "It is the last hour," is said to be more applicable to the last hour of time of the duration of the Jewish state than to any later period, especially as the apostle adds, "And as ye have heard that Antichrist is coming, even so now there have been many Antichrists, whence we know that it is the last hour:" in which passage the apostle evidently alludes to our Lord's prediction concerning the springing up of false Christs, false teachers, and false prophets, before the destruction of Jerusalem, Matt. xxiv. 5—25. The expression, however, "the last time," may allude, not to the destruction of that city, but to the close of the apostolic age. Michaëlis would support this argument for the early date of the epistle, by observing that John's gospel was opposed to heretics, who maintained the same opinions as are opposed in this epistle, which tenets he has confuted by argument in his gospel, whereas in the epistle he expresses only his disapprobation. Michaëlis therefore concludes that the epistle was written before the gospel, because, if John had already given a complete confutation when he wrote this epistle, he would have thought it unnecessary to have again declared the falsehood of such opinions. This idea of Michaëlis appears to be correct; but the date of the epistle is not ascertained by its having been written before the gospel.

(2) Again, the expression, chap. ii. 13, 14, "Ye have known him from the beginning," applies, it is said, better to the disciples immediately before Jerusalem was destroyed, than to the few who might have been alive at the late date which some critics assign to the epistle. In the verses just cited, the fathers or elders are twice distinguished from the "young men" and the "children," by this circumstance, that they had seen Jesus during his ministry or after his resurrection. Thirty-five

years after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, when Jerusalem was destroyed, many such persons might have been alive, whereas in 96 or even in 92, there could not have been many persons alive of that description. In reply to this argument we may observe, that some of those who had seen the miracles of our Lord might have taken refuge with John at Ephesus.

(3) To these two arguments for the early date of John's first epistle, Dr. Hales has added the following, which have not been noticed by any other biblical critic. As the other apostles, James, Jude, Paul, and Peter, had written catholic epistles to the Hebrew Christians especially, it is likely that one of the principal "*pillars* of the church," the greatest surety of the mother church, the most highly gifted and illuminated of all the apostles of the circumcision, and the beloved disciple, would not be deficient likewise in this labour of love. This is true; but the labours of these apostles might have been the very cause why John should delay writing.

(4) Nothing could tend so strongly to establish the faith of the early Jewish converts as the remarkable circumstances of our Lord's crucifixion, exhibiting the accomplishment of the ancient types and prophecies of the Old Testament respecting Christ's passion or sufferings in the flesh. These John alone could record, as he was the only eye-witness of that last solemn scene among the apostles. To these, therefore, he alludes in the exordium, as well as to the circumstances of our Lord's appearances after the resurrection; and to these he again recalls their attention in that remarkable reference to "the water" at his baptism, to "the water and blood" at his passion, and to the dismissal of "his spirit," when he commended it to his Father, and expired (chap. v. 5—9). This argument really appears to be but of little weight. The early converts had the other gospels in their hands, and there does not seem to have been any necessity for John's writing ten or twenty years earlier.

(5) The parallel testimony in the gospel (John xix. 35—37) bears witness also to the priority of the epistle in the expression, "He that saw hath testified" (*μεμαρτυρηκεν*), intimating that he had delivered this testimony to the world already; for if now for the first time, it should rather be expressed by the present tense, *μαρτυρει*, "testifieth." And this is strongly confirmed by the apostle's same expression, after giving his evidence in the epistle, "This is the testimony of God which He hath testified (*μεμαρτυρηκεν*) concerning his Son" (ver. 9), referring to the past transaction as fulfilling prophecy. It is acknowledged that the

* Macknight's Preface, sect. ii., § 2.

epistle was written first: but this does not settle the date.*

11. Though this composition is called an epistle, nothing is to be found in it, as Bishop Horsley has observed, of the epistolary form. It is not inscribed to any individual, like Paul's to Timothy and Titus, or the second of the two which follow it, "to the well-beloved Gaius;" nor to any particular church, like Paul's to the churches of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, and others; nor to the faithful of any particular region, like Peter's first epistle "to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia;" nor to any principal branch of the Christian church, like Paul's to the Hebrews; nor to the Christian church in general, like the second of Peter's "to them that had obtained like precious faith with him," and like Jude's "to them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called." It bears no such inscription; it begins without salutation, and ends without benediction. It is true the writer sometimes speaks, but without naming himself, in the first person, and addresses his reader, without naming him, in the second. But this colloquial style is very common in all writings of a plain familiar cast; instances of it occur in John's gospel, and it is by no means a distinguishing character of epistolary composition. It should seem that this book has for no other reason acquired the title of an epistle, but that in the first formation of the canon of the New Testament it was put into the same volume with the didactic writings of the apostles, which, with this single exception, are all in the epistolary form. It is indeed a didactic discourse upon the principles of Christianity, both in doctrine and in practice: and whether we consider the sublimity of its opening with the fundamental topics of God's perfections, man's depravity, and Christ's propitiation, the perspicuity with which it propounds the deepest mysteries of our holy faith, and the evidence of the proof which it brings to confirm them; whether we consider the sanctity of its precepts and the energy of argument with which they are enforced, the dignified simplicity of language in which both doctrine and precept

are delivered; whether we regard the importance of the matter, the propriety of the style, or the general spirit of ardent piety and warm benevolence, united with a fervid zeal, which breathes throughout the whole composition;—we shall find it in every respect worthy of the holy author to whom the constant tradition of the church ascribes it,—“the disciple whom Jesus loved.”†

12. That the leading design of this epistle was to combat the doctrines delivered by certain false teachers, appears from chap. ii. 18—26, iii. 7, iv. 1—3. And that the doctrines taught by these

heretics were similar to those of the Cerinthians and the Gnostics,‡ is evident, as Michaelis has ably shown,|| from the counter doctrines here delivered by John. In order to guard the Christians to whom he wrote against the pernicious errors of these infatuated men, the apostle has insisted, most strenuously, on the humanity and divinity of Christ—on the purity of the doctrines taught by his apostles, and their conformity to the teachings of their master—on the unsullied holiness of God and his essential goodness—on the vanity of faith separate from holy tempers and benevolent dispositions—and on the importance and obligations of brotherly love.

13. A variety of synopses of this epistle have been proposed, with a view to illustrate the apostle's argument. Mr. Horne has undoubtedly adopted the best of these, which is as follows: It comprises six sections, besides the conclusion, which is a recapitulation of the whole.

SECT. I. asserts the true divinity and humanity of Christ, in opposition to the false teachers; and urges the union of faith and holiness of life, as absolutely necessary to enable Christians to enjoy communion with God (chap. i. 1—7).

SECT. II. shows that all have sinned, and explains the doctrine of Christ's propitiation (ver. 8—10, ii. 1, 2). Whence the apostle takes occasion to illustrate the marks of true faith, viz., Obeying the commandments of God and sincere love of the brethren, and shows that the love of the world is inconsistent with the love of God (chap. ii. 3—17).

SECT. III. asserts Jesus to be the same person with Christ, in opposition to the false teachers who denied it (ver. 18—29).

SECT. IV. On the privileges of true believers, and their consequent happiness and duties, and

* Arrangement of the New Testament, vol. ii., p. 689, &c. The late learned and ingenious editor of Calmet, Mr. Charles Taylor, has proposed an hypothesis to dispose of the difficulties attending both the exclusively early and late dates of this epistle. He supposes that there were two publications of it; one at a very early period of the church, the other toward the close of the apostolic age, after it had been revised by its author, and adapted to the then state of the church. See *Fragments to Calmet*, Nos. 619—622, 625—633.

† Horsley's *Sermons*, p. 144, &c., 2nd edit.

‡ For an account of these, see the Introduction to John's Gospel, pp. 173—178, *ante*.

|| Introduction, vol. iv., ch. xxx., sect. 3.

the marks by which they are known to be the sons of God (chap. iii.).

SECT. V. contains criteria by which to distinguish Antichrist and false Christians, with an exhortation to brotherly love (chap. iv.).

§ i. A mark to know one sort of Antichrist—the not confessing that Christ came in the flesh (ver. 1—3).

§ ii. Criteria for distinguishing false Christians, viz.

(1) Love of the world (ver. 4—6.)

(2) Want of brotherly love (ver. 7—12).

(3) Denying Christ to be the true Son of God (ver. 13—15).

§ iii. A recommendation of brotherly love, from the consideration of the love of God in giving his Son for sinners (ver. 16—21).

SECT. VI. shows the connexion between faith in Christ, regeneration, love to God and his children, obedience to his commandments, and victory over the world; and that Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God, able to save us, and to hear the prayers we make for ourselves and others (chap. v. 1—16).

The conclusion, which is a summary of the preceding treatise, shows that a sinful life is inconsistent with true Christianity, asserts the divinity of Christ, and cautions believers against idolatry (ver. 17—21).

This is an outline of this admirable epistle, which, being designed to promote right principles of doctrine and practical piety in conduct, abounds, more than any book of the New Testament, with criteria by which Christians may soberly *examine themselves whether they be in the faith.**

SECTION VI.

THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

1. THESE two epistles may be regarded as an epitome of the first one, and contain very little not to be found in that. The similarity, both in style and in sentiment, between these and the first

epistle is so striking, that they have been almost universally attributed to the same author.†

2. The doubts which were formerly entertained of their genuineness have been satisfactorily accounted for; and their early reception among the canonical books is shown from their citation by Irenæus, who was a disciple of Polycarp and a hearer of Papias, both of whom were disciples of the Evangelists.‡

3. Commentators are much divided respecting the person to whom the second epistle is addressed. Some suppose it to have been written to an individual; others, to some particular church. The former opinion seems the most likely, from the whole tenor of the letter, and particularly from ver. 12, 13.

4. Macknight, after Tertullian and other ancient writers, thinks the second epistle was written to confute the errors of Basilides, which were propagated by his followers in the latter end of the first century. These false teachers affirmed that Christ was a man in appearance only, consequently that his death and sufferings were not real, but only in appearance.

5. The third epistle was addressed to Gaius, or Caius; but it is quite uncertain who this Christian was. Its object was to recommend to his notice and affectionate regard certain Christians, who were travelling to preach the gospel to the heathen; and John addressed him in particular, because his hospitality was already known.

6. There is nothing contained in these epistles from which we can fix their dates with any certainty. This in a great measure depends on the date of the first epistle; soon after which, it is generally agreed, both these were written: probably at Ephesus, over which church John is thought to have presided.||

† This resemblance may be seen by comparing 2 Epist. 5 with 1 Epist. ii. 8; and ver. 6 with 1 Epist. v. 3; and ver. 7 with 1 Epist. v. 5; and 3 Epist. 12 with John xix. 35. Of John's peculiar manner of expressing things, 2 Epist. 7 and 3 Epist. 11 are examples. Eight verses out of the thirteen which the second epistle contains, may be found in the first, either in sense or in expression. See Mill, Prolegomena, No. 153, and Whitby's Preface.

‡ See Lardner on the Canon, vol. iii., p. 622.

|| See Whitby, Michaëlis, Macknight, and the commentators generally.

* Horne's Introduction, vol. iv., p. 432, 4th edition.

CHAPTER X.

THE BOOK OF REVELATION.

1. THE writer of this book affirms himself to have been John, a servant of Jesus Christ, then in the island of Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus; which will agree with no other John, of whom we have any knowledge, except the evangelist; and accordingly, from this description of the writer, and also the similarity of style which prevails between this and the acknowledged writings of that apostle, it was universally received as his inspired production in the primitive church. It is expressly cited as such by Justin Martyr,* Irenæus,† and Polycarp,‡ in the second century; and is reasonably thought to have been known to Hermas and Papias still earlier, from some modes of expression in their writings, which appear to be borrowed from it.|| Indeed, as Sir Isaac Newton has remarked,§ there is no book of the New Testament so strongly attested, or commented upon so early, as the Apocalypse. Independent of these testimonies, however, the book itself furnishes the most indubitable evidence of its inspiration, in the numerous clear and circumstantial predictions with which it abounds, many of which have been subsequently fulfilled.

2. Concerning the time when this book was written, critics are not agreed: indeed, they differ so widely, that some make it one of the earliest, while others make it the last published book of the New Testament. Grotius, Sir Isaac Newton, Michaëlis, Bishop Newton, and Dr. Tilloch, ascribe it to the reign of Claudius or Nero. Mill, Lardner, Bengelius, Woodhouse, Horne, Townsend, and others, contend that it was written in the reign of Domitian, A. D. 96 or 97. The latter opinion accords with the voice of Christian antiquity, and alone agrees with the contents of the book. Thus the three first chapters describe the Asiatic churches as being in that advanced and flourishing state of society and discipline, and to have undergone those changes in their faith and morals, which could not have taken place until after they had been planted for a considerable

time. For instance, the church at Ephesus is reproved for having left her "first love:" whereas the epistle addressed to them by Paul, in the year 61, commends their love and faith, chap. i. 15. There are also several expressions in the address to the churches, which indicate their having been exposed to persecution. But there was no persecution of the Christians extending to the provinces, till the reign of Domitian, whose death is related to have happened in September, A. D. 96. The Christian exiles were then liberated, and John was permitted to return to Ephesus. As, however, the emperor's decease, and the permission to return, could not be made known in Asia immediately, some time must intervene before the apostle could be at liberty either to write the Apocalypse at Ephesus, or to send it by messengers from Patmos. The year 96 or 97, therefore, appears to be the most probable time to which this book can be assigned.¶

3. Nor are the learned more agreed on the structure and machinery, and the design and object, of this prophetic book. The principal hypotheses which have been advanced are five.

(1) That it is a prophetic and scenical exhibition of what shall happen to the Christian church till the end of the world. Those who espouse this opinion, lay down as a proposition, which comprises the subject of the whole book, the contest of Christ with his enemies, and his final victory and triumph over them. See 1 Cor. xv. 25; Matt. xxiv.; Mark xiii.; Luke xxi. But what is but briefly hinted in these Scriptures, is detailed at large in the Apocalypse, and represented by various images, and in regular order.

(2) That it contains a prophetic description of the destruction of Jerusalem, of the Jewish war, and of the civil wars of the Romans. This is the theory of Wetstein, who divides the prophecy into two parts. (1) The first is contained in the closed book, and concerns the earth and the third part, i. e., Judea and the Jewish nation. (2) The second part is contained in the open book, and concerns many peoples, and nations, and tongues, and kings (chap. x. 11), i. e. the Roman empire.

(3) That it contains predictions of the persecutions of the Christians under the heathen emperors of Rome, and of the happy days of the church

* Lardner, vol. i., p. 348, iii. p. 417.

† Ibid, vol. i., p. 372.

‡ Gill's Comment. Pref. Rev. and Woodhouse's Dissertation, prefixed to "The Apocalypse translated," p. 36, &c.

|| See Woodhouse's Dissertation, p. 31, &c.

§ Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse.

¶ See further, p. 235, ante

under the Christian emperors, from Constantine downwards. This was the general opinion of the Fathers.

(4) That it contains prophecies concerning the tyrannical and oppressive conduct of the Roman pontiffs, the true Antichrist; and foretels the final destruction of popery. This opinion is adopted by the generality of Protestant writers.

(5) On the other hand, the Roman Catholic writers maintain that it is a prophetic declaration of the schism and heresies of Martin Luther, those called Reformers, and their successors; and the final destruction of the Protestant religion. This hypothesis has been illustrated and defended at large, by Bishop Walmsley, in a work called the History of the Church, under the feigned name of Signior Pastorini; in which he endeavours to turn every thing against Luther and the Protestants, which they interpreted of the Pope and popery; and attempts to show, from a computation of the Apocalyptical numbers, that the total destruction of Protestantism in the world will take place in 1825 or 1828!

(6) Mr. Faber has supposed that much of the imagery of the Revelation is taken from the ancient mysteries; and Eichhorn has represented it as a drama. This opinion, somewhat modified, was espoused and defended by Mr. Irving, who observes, "The great object and main action of the book, is to show the condition of the church under Daniel's fourth beast, from the time that John wrote, or rather from the time of the things that are recounted in the epistles to the seven churches, down to the period at which the saints should obtain the kingdom, with the judgments which came upon her adversaries during that long period, and the judgments by which she was put in possession of the kingdom, and the blessedness of her millennial reign, down till the time of the general judgment and consummation of all things. And if this could have been done by one prophetic narration in regular order, I doubt not but that, being the simplest plan, would have been chosen; but as there were three distinct scenes of distinct actions, the western empire, and the eastern empire, and the church, with experiences altogether diverse, the three-fold division became necessary until the time when the saints possess the kingdom, after which it is one. The thread of the story is therefore three-fold: when the one is followed out to the great crisis, the prophecy goes back to bring up the second to the same point, then to bring up the third to the same point; after which they all proceed together. If, therefore, I were to select an emblem by which to represent the method of this

emblematical book, it would be that of a river, which ariseth at three heads in one mountain, and flows for a long space in three great streams through diverse countries of the earth, but afterwards reunites at the same place, and continues in one great channel to flow onward to the ocean. But if I were called to say what form of composition this book resembled the most, I would say the ancient drama, and that it was subdivided into four acts; the first setting forth, in several scenes, the progress of one subsidiary action; the second bringing forward the progress of a second action to the same point; the third, the progress of a third action to the same point; yet connected and linked with one another, but not appearing together upon the stage till the fourth act, which contains the triumph of the last of the three persons over the other two. And each of these acts hath its prologue, descriptive of its contents and style of representation. And there are distinct notices of the changing of the acts; and, as in the ancient drama, there are choruses of saints and angels to interpret and apply the matter, with single voices to make it still more clear; which method is intricate (but its intricacy becomes its evidence in the explication of it) only because of the great mass of matter to be briefly spoken. And yet I say not that it is a drama, but that it resembles those ancient dramas, in which high poetry, divine morality, and mystical theology were wont to be set forth in concert. For it is to be likened to other compositions only for the sake of more clear conceptions, being in itself singular and unrivalled, the sublimest and most comprehensive of God's revelations." *

4. Of these several hypotheses we must leave the reader to take his choice, referring him to those writers who have with much learning and ability discussed their respective merits.†

5. This book has justly been considered as designed to supply the place of that succession of prophets, which demonstrated the continued providence of God to the Jewish and the patriarchal churches. The superiority of prophecy over miracles, as an evidence of Christianity, has been asserted by Bishop Warburton, and by many learned

* *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed of God*, vol. i., p. 181, &c.

† See *Mede's Key to the Apocalypse*; *Lowman's Commentary and Paraphrase on the Revelation*; *Bengelius' Introduction to his Exposition of the Apocalypse*, translated by Robertson; *Daubuz's Perpetual Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*; *Woodhouse's Apocalypse translated*; *Michaëlis' Introduction*, vol. iv., p. 512, &c.; *Horne's Introduction*, vol. iv., p. 474, &c.; *Townsend's Arrangement*, vol. ii., p. 646, &c.; and *Tillock's Dissertations*.

writers, as a continually increasing evidence. 'The great peculiarity of the prophecies of the Old Testament, is their gradual development of the system of truth, as the world was able to bear it. The first prophecy of the seed of the woman, that is, of some one family of the descendants of Eve, was less definite than those which predicted in their order that he should descend from Abraham; from Isaac, rather than from Esau; from Judah, rather than from the other patriarchs; from David, and so on, till the annunciation of Malachi, that the Lord whom they sought should come while the second temple was standing. Another peculiarity was, that the ancient prophets announced, in very general terms, in the boldest and most figurative language, various events which have never yet taken place, relative to some more glorious state of the church, the punishment and overthrow of its enemies, the final restoration of the Jews, and the universal establishment of happiness and innocence among mankind. If we are justified in expecting a book of prophecy, in the place of a succession of prophets, in the Christian church, we may anticipate also the clearer prediction of the same events, and their gradual development.

5. The majority of commentators on the Apocalypse generally act on these principles of interpretation. They discover in this book certain predictions of events which were fulfilled soon after they were announced; they trace in the history of later years various coincidences, which so fully agree with various parts of the Apocalypse, that they are justly entitled to consider them as the fulfilment of its prophecies; and by thus tracing the one God of revelation, through the clouds of the dark ages, through the storms of revolutions and wars, through the mighty convulsions which at various periods have agitated the world, their interpretations even when they are most contradictory, when they venture to speculate concerning the future, are founded on so much undoubted truth, that they have materially confirmed the wavering faith of thousands. Clouds and darkness must cover the brightness of the throne of God, till it shall please him to enable us to bear the brighter beams of his glory. In the mean time, we trace his footsteps in the sea of the Gentile world, his path in the mighty

waters of the ambition and clashing passions of man. We rejoice to anticipate the day when the bondage of Rome, which would perpetuate the intellectual and spiritual slavery of man, shall be overthrown, and the day-spring of united knowledge and holiness bless the world.*

6. We conclude these remarks with the following very excellent canons of interpretation, proposed by Dr. Woodhouse, who has himself applied them with great success to the exposition of this sacred book.

(1) Compare the language, and symbols, and predictions of the Apocalypse, with those of former revelations; and admit only such interpretation as shall appear to have the sanction of this divine authority.

(2) Unless the language and symbols of the Apocalypse should in particular passages direct, or evidently require another mode of application, the predictions are to be applied to the progressive church of Christ.

(3) The kingdom, which is the subject of this prophetic book, is not a temporal but a spiritual kingdom; "not a kingdom of this world;" not established by the means and apparatus of worldly pomp, not bearing the external ensigns of royalty, but governing the inward man, by possession of the ruling principles: "The kingdom of God," says our Lord, "is within you," Luke xvii. 21. The predictions relative to this kingdom, therefore, are to be spiritually interpreted. Wars, conquests, and revolutions, and vast extent and great political import, are not the object of the apocalyptic prophecies—unless they appear to have promoted or retarded in a considerable degree the *real* progress of the religion of Jesus Christ, whose proper reign is in the hearts and consciences of his subjects. His reign is advanced when Christian principles—when faith, and righteousness, and charity abound; it is retarded when ignorance, impurity, idolatrous superstition, and wickedness prevail.

(4) We are not to attempt the particular explanation of those prophecies which remain to be fulfilled.†

* Townsend's Arrangement, vol. ii., pp. 646, 647.

† Translation of the Apocalypse, p. xii., &c.

PART III.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

1. THE term THEOLOGY, which strictly imports, "A discourse or treatise concerning God," embraces, according to its enlarged and ordinary acceptance, every thing pertaining to the principles, institutions, and practices of religion. Theology is therefore a branch of biblical science of pre-eminent importance; it is that, in fact, which gives to criticism and interpretation all their value, inasmuch as they are directed solely and exclusively to ascertain the precise character, import, obligations, and purposes of this, as it is revealed and illustrated in the sacred writings. The Bible, as a mere literary work—comprising history, philosophy, jurisprudence, morals, poetry, and prophecy—is, indeed, a volume of incomparable value to the philosopher, and of inexhaustible interest to the inquisitive mind. It comprises "all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge;" the simple eloquence of its narratives, the sublime imagery of its poetry, the grandeur of its descriptive painting, the profundities of its social and political economy, and the persuasive power of its moral lessons, with many other high qualities that are familiar to every attentive reader, combine to render it a book which will repay, a thousand-fold, any amount of

thought and labour that may be expended upon its study and interpretation. But all else dwindles into insignificance and comparative worthlessness, when the divinity of its origin, and the nature and object of its revelations, are taken into the account. It is to the thorough understanding of these, therefore, that every thing should be made subservient. This should be the object and aim of all our studies—the prompting motive to all our inquiries.

2. It would not comport with our design to enlarge upon topics which fall more properly within the province of the theologian or divine; but a work purporting to be introductory to the study of the Scriptures, would be manifestly defective did it not at least indicate the primary features and progressive character of the divine revelation—point out the evidences which attest its genuineness and authenticity—trace the errors and corruptions that have been grafted upon it, so far as they are indicated in Scripture—and describe the principal rites and ceremonies which it has prescribed and enjoined. These topics will furnish the subjects of inquiry and exposition in the following chapters.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE MEDIA OF DIVINE REVELATION.

Divine Revelation originally communicated to Individuals—
—Mission of Personal Revelations—The Bible the only Me-
—dium of Revelation—Inspiration of the Scriptures—Various
Theories of Inspiration—The Author's Theory of Inspira-
—tion in relation to the Scriptures—Discrepancies in the Gos-
—pels are proofs against their plenary Inspiration, but attes-
—tations of their Genuineness and General Authenticity—
Character and Claims of the Bible.

1. TIME was when the revelations of God were communicated to mankind through the medium of certain individual persons, chosen for this special

purpose, and furnished with the necessary credentials to attest the divine character of their mission, and to command the attention and obedience of those to whom they addressed themselves. A succession of divine teachers, from Adam to Christ, was raised up by the Almighty, and under his inspiration taught mankind those doctrines, pertaining both to life and godliness, which their unaided reason could never have discovered. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake

in times past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son, whom he hath appointed heir of all things, and by whom also he made the world," Heb. i. 1. "There was a time when each revelation of the word of God had an introduction into this earth, which neither permitted men to doubt whence it came, nor wherefore it was sent. If, at the giving of each several truth, a star was not lighted up in heaven, as at the birth of the Prince of Truth, there was done upon the earth a wonder, to make her children listen to the message of their Maker. The Almighty made bare his arm, and, through mighty acts shown by his holy servants, gave demonstration to his truth, and found for it a sure place among the other matters of human knowledge and belief. But now the miracles of God have ceased, and Nature, secure and unmolested, is no longer called on for testimonies to her Creator's voice. No burning bush draws the footsteps to his presence chamber; no invisible voice holds the ear awake; no hand cometh forth from the obscure to write his purpose in letters of flame. The vision is shut up, and the testimony is sealed, and the word of the Lord is ended; and this solitary volume, with its chapters and verses, is the sum total of all for which the chariot of heaven made so many visits to the earth, and the Son of God himself tabernacled and dwelt among us. The truth which it contains once dwelt undivulged in the bosom of God; and, on coming forth to take its place among things revealed, the heavens, and the earth, and nature through all her chambers, gave it reverend welcome. Beyond what it reveals, the mysteries of the future are unknown. To gain it acceptance and currency, the noble army of martyrs testified unto the death. The general assembly of the first-born in heaven made it the day-star of their hopes, and the pavilion of their peace. Its every sentence is charmed with the power of God, and is powerful to the everlasting salvation of souls."*

II. It is obvious that to claim so much as this on behalf of the Scriptures, is to claim for them a degree of inspiration of which no other writings partake. For it is not to be overlooked, that the biblical writers are not always those who were numbered amongst the prophets, apostles, or evangelists; and that even where this is the case, the writers often describe events which they did not themselves witness, record discourses and propound doctrines which they did not themselves originally deliver or bring to light. It is evident, therefore, that the validity and authority of the

original communication might be greatly compromised or wholly invalidated by the subsequent narrator, if he were not protected against error by a divine interposition.

1. And what is thus seen to be necessary in theory, is accorded in fact, to the Sacred Scriptures. The memorable words of Paul and Peter are most explicit. The *Θεοπνευστος* of the former asserts unequivocally the important fact; and the *ὑπο Πνευματος ἁγίου φερομενοι* of the latter presents the Sacred Agent direct as breathing, and "bearing" the writers beyond the possibility of error: "All Scripture given by inspiration of God" (*Θεοπνευστος*), 2 Tim. iii. 26. "Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost" (*ὑπο Πνευματος ἁγίου φερομενοι*), 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. With such language, of so determinate a meaning, the solemn declaration of John, Rev. xxii. 18, 19, need scarcely be appealed to.

2. We confess, however, that we are far from being satisfied with the current doctrines of inspiration as claimed on behalf of the Scriptures. It is vague, unsatisfactory, incapable of proof, and leaves insuperable objections against some passages in the historical parts of the New Testament Scriptures.

3. The term *inspiration*, in its application to the sacred writings, was formerly employed to denote the divine communication of knowledge to the human mind, extending not only to the doctrines and facts which the writers had to detail, but also to the identical words in which those doctrines and facts were to be communicated. This doctrine of organic or literal inspiration, however, is now very generally abandoned for a modified and more flexible theory. Instead of maintaining a uniform, unremitting, indiscriminate operation of the Holy Spirit upon the minds of the sacred penmen, the divine agency is now generally represented as accommodating itself to circumstances, and assuming, as occasion required, the several forms of superintendence, suggestion, and revelation. This theory, though scarcely accurate, as its definition falls short of the ideas intended by the persons adopting it, is sufficiently so for our present purpose. That there are many things in the historical parts of the Old and New Testaments, of which the writers must have obtained a knowledge by the ordinary modes of communication, is too obvious to need a single remark; and that, as men possessed of memory and judgment, they were able, without supernatural influence, to relate them to others, and to accompany them with occasional remarks, must

* Irving's Orations for the Oracles of God.

be equally evident. Matthew could relate, without divine aid, that Christ called him from the receipt of custom, to become his disciple, and that upon this occasion he made his Master a feast in his own house; and John, without supernatural assistance, could give an account of the miraculous conversion of water into wine, at the marriage in Cana. But notwithstanding that this is conceded by the claimants of plenary inspiration, it is argued, that even in these cases there was an inspiration of superintendence, to preserve from error; and of suggestion, to record particular events, and note particular observations.

4. The term *revelation* is used with reference to those communications of knowledge on subjects relative to God and divine things, which are placed beyond the sphere of human attainments. Had man possessed the abilities of an angel, he could never have explored the thoughts and purposes of the Divine Being; and therefore, where these are brought within the cognizance of the human mind, it must be by a revelation from above. Dr. Doddridge and others have noticed a degree of inspiration, which they term *elevation*, and confine to such parts of Scripture as are lofty and sublime. But as this notion is generally exploded, further reference may be deemed unnecessary. The celebrated Michaëlis struck out a path, in which we are not aware that he has been followed by any writer, in this country at least. According to the theory maintained by this critic, the inspiration of the several parts of the New Testament is made to depend upon the fact of their having been written by the *apostles* of Christ. The inspiration of Mark and Luke is therefore abandoned, and the inspiration of the writings ascribed to Matthew and John is made contingent upon the genuineness of these gospels. This theory appears to be any thing but satisfactory, and the arguments any thing but convincing.

5. The last theory to which we shall refer, is what may be termed *partial* inspiration, and is advocated by Mr. Horne, in his Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures. "It is not to be supposed," he remarks, "that the writers were thus inspired [that is, in the lowest degree] in every fact which they related, or in every precept which they delivered. They were left to the common use of their faculties, and did not, upon every occasion, stand in need of supernatural communication; but whenever, and as far as divine assistance was necessary, it was always afforded." He again observes, "Whatever distinctions are made with respect to the sorts, degrees, or modes of inspiration, we may rest assured that one property belongs to every inspired writing, namely, that it is free from error,

that is, any *material error*. This property must be considered as extending to the whole of each of those writings of which a part only is inspired; for it is not to be supposed that God would suffer any such errors as would tend to mislead our faith or pervert our practice. In this restricted sense it may be asserted, that the sacred writers always wrote under the influence, or guidance, or care of the Holy Spirit, which sufficiently establishes the truth and divine authority of all Scripture."

6. Such are the theories of inspiration that are now generally maintained. The one class extends some kind of active divine interposition to every part of Scripture; but the others, though in *words* they do so, in *fact* confine it to a part of the text. Of the two kinds, we think the theory supported by Mr. Horne to be the most exceptionable, inasmuch as it leaves us ignorant of the limits of the inspiration argued for. Those who maintain this theory, do not pretend to possess any peculiar information respecting the situation of the sacred writers, or of the opportunities and means of knowledge they possessed, so as to be able to ascertain where their ordinary sources of knowledge failed them, and where the need of a divine interposition arose; still less do they profess to recognize, by any marks, the operation of the Spirit, and so to distinguish passages inspired from those derived through personal experience or testimony. The existence, therefore, of any writing of the former description is a merely arbitrary conjecture, which rests entirely on a dogmatical ground.

7. These discrepancies and anomalies, as to the theory of inspiration, originate in want of attention to the real nature of the case, and also, and perhaps above all, in an imperfect knowledge of the doctrine of Scripture itself relative to this important question. Men have been, so to speak, more anxious than the Divine Author of the Scriptures himself has been, to multiply the claims of its authority, by exaggerating the divinity of its character. The advocates of plenary inspiration have confounded questions that are essentially distinct and independent of each other; namely, *authenticity* and *infallibility*—the *possibility* of error with *error* itself. As historical records, the sacred writings are sustained by evidence demonstrative of their *truth*, and this wholly apart from the consideration of their *inspiration*; and it is upon this evidence, and not upon the ground of their supposed inspiration, that they immediately challenge the belief of mankind, and denounce the punishment of man's negligence and infidelity.

8. But do we therefore deny all inspiration in reference to the Scriptures, and restrict their

claims to the mere fact of their truth or falsehood? We have already asserted the contrary, and will now proceed to point out the limitations under which, we think, all theories of inspiration should be received, as indicated by the Scriptures themselves, and as rendered necessary by the exigencies of the case.

9. The sacred writings are of a multifarious character. There is one great object proposed by the Divine Being throughout all the dispensations of his providence and revelations of his will, as recorded in these documents, namely, the enlightenment and salvation of mankind. But the documents themselves assume a variety of forms, embracing history, cosmography, theology, psalmody, prophecy, preaching, and various other things, neither immediately connected with, nor essentially dependent upon, each other. Now, the question is, were all these several subjects, and every part of these several subjects, reduced to writing under the direct and immediate superintendence of the Holy Spirit; or, if they were not thus uniformly and universally inspired, do we possess the means of discriminating between the two classes of writing—that which is of divine superintendence or revelation, and that which is the mere product of unaided intellect? The *plenary* theory is given up, as we have seen, by Mr. Horne and others; but they leave us wholly at a loss to discover where the mere rational faculties of the biblical writers terminated, and inspiration came in to their aid. “*They were left*,” remarks the writer just named, “*to the common use of their faculties*, and did not, upon every occasion, stand in need of supernatural communication; but *whenever*, and *as far as divine assistance was necessary*, it was always afforded.” We think that the following theory will get rid of the difficulties attendant upon both the hypotheses we have noticed, and dispose, at the same time, of some otherwise unaccountable discrepancies and anomalies in the sacred text itself. We assume, then, that all that portion of the sacred writings which partakes of the prophetic or of the didactic character,—whether it assume the form of theological teaching or of historical narrative, was written under the immediate direction and superintendence of the Holy Spirit. For this portion of the sacred writings we are disposed to contend for the fullest amount of inspiration, and that for the following reasons:—

(1) The nature of the subjects requires such a divine illumination and superintendence. They relate either to the Divine Being; to the spiritual relations, exigencies, and duties of man, and a future life; to the nature and reasonableness of moral obligations; or to future occur-

rences, contingent upon the actions of mutable beings. Without a divine revelation, each of these things must have remained amongst those which “eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and which it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive” of.

(2) For this inspiration we have the express declarations of the sacred writers themselves, as well as (in relation to the New Testament) the unconditional promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ himself.

(3) As to the prophetic parts of the sacred volume, whether comprised in the Old or the New Testament, there can be no doubt. The foretelling of future events is by the Almighty himself made the criterion for distinguishing those who were inspired by his Spirit. “I will that they may see, and know, and consider, and understand together, that the hand of the Lord hath done this, and the Holy One of Israel hath created it. Produce your cause, saith the Lord; bring forth your strong reasons, saith the King of Jacob. Let them bring them forth, and shew us what shall happen: let them shew the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or declare us things for to come. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know ye are gods; yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together. Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought: an abomination is he that chooseth you. I have raised up one from the north, and he shall come: from the rising of the sun shall he call upon my name: and he shall come upon princes as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. Who hath declared from the beginning, that we may know; and before time, that we may say, He is righteous? Yea, there is none that sheweth; yea, there is none that declareth; yea, there is none that heareth your words. Behold, they are all vanity; their works are nothing: their molten images are wind and confusion,” Isai. xli. 19—29. “Assemble yourselves and come; draw near together, ye that are escaped of the nations; they have no knowledge that set up the wood of their graven image, and pray unto a god that cannot save. Tell ye, and bring them near; yea, let them take counsel together: who hath declared this from ancient time? who hath told it from that time? Have not I, the Lord? and there is no God else beside me; a just God and a Saviour: there is none beside me,” chap. xlv. 20, 21. “Remember the former things of old: for I am God; and there is none else: I am God, and there is none like me, declaring the end from the beginning, and from ancient times

the things that are not yet done, saying, Thy counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure," chap. xvi. 9, 10. "I have declared the former things from the beginning; and they went forth out of my mouth, and I shewed them: I did them suddenly, and they came to pass. Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass; I have even from the beginning declared it to thee; before it came to pass I shewed it thee, lest thou shouldest say, Mine idol hath done them, and my molten image hath commanded them. . . . Mine hand also hath laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens; when I call unto them, they stand up together. All ye, assemble yourselves, and hear; which among them hath declared these things? The LORD hath loved him: he will do his pleasure on Babylon, and his arm shall be on the Chaldeans," chap. xlviii. 3—14. In accordance with these declarations, which might be multiplied to an almost unlimited extent, is the uniform testimony of the apostles and evangelists. "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets," Heb. i. 1. "Knowing this first, that no prophecy of the Scripture is of any private interpretation.* For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," 2 Pet. i. 20, 21. Hence, too, the common formula, "Thus saith the Lord;" "Wherefore, as the Holy Ghost saith;" "As he saith in another place," &c. (see Hebrews, *passim*); always having reference to the prophetic Scriptures of the Old Testament, and affirming, in the most direct terms, their inspiration. It is upon this ground of their inspiration, in fact, that the doctrinal value and authority of the Old Testament Scriptures are placed by the inspired apostle, who, in addressing Timothy, says, "All Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness: that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works," 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.† What is true of the prophecies, in this respect, is also true of the legislative and didactic portions of the Old

Testament Scriptures. Whatever was intended to communicate the knowledge of any spiritual or moral truth, or to discover and enforce any obligation, whether resulting from the established harmony and order of the divine economy in human affairs, or resting, apparently, upon the mere fiat and inscrutable will of God, comes within the category of inspired writing, and possesses divine authority.

(4) With reference to the New Testament Scriptures, the question is, if possible, still clearer and more satisfactory. For all the purposes of divine teaching, whether orally or by writing, our Lord promised to his disciples the suggesting and superintending influence of the Holy Spirit: "When the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth" (John xvi. 13); "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you," xiv. 26. The latter passage explains the former, and, with its context, clearly refers it to the *discourses* and *teachings* of Christ. Hence we find, that however the authors of the gospels may differ in their relation of *historical* circumstances, they agree in recording the discourses of our Saviour, and in exhibiting the same moral and spiritual truths. Then, with regard to those parts of the New Testament which are professedly doctrinal, we have also the unequivocal avowal of the writers themselves, as to the fact of a divine inspiration having been granted. Paul, writing to the Galatian church, claims, in the most unqualified manner, a plenitude of inspiration: "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which is preached of me is not after man; for I neither received it of man, neither was I taught but by the revelation of Jesus Christ," chap. i. 11, 12. And in reply to the Corinthians, who reproached him with his destitution of the graces of oratory, the apostle says, "We speak not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which *the Holy Ghost teacheth*; comparing spiritual things with spiritual," 1 Cor. ii. 13. In like manner, he appeals, not only to this church in general, but to those who were prophets or spiritual in particular, to acknowledge that the things which he commanded were those of the Lord (xiv. 37, 38); and in the seventh chapter of the same epistle, he carefully draws a line of distinction between that which proceeded *from himself*, and that which was *from the Lord*; inducing the natural inference, that where no such caution is taken, the apostle spoke and wrote under a divine afflatus. So far and satisfactory, Paul; and with him agrees Peter, who not only asserts of the apostles generally, that they "preached the gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven," but

* The word *ἐκκλυσιν* signifies *impetus*, *impulse*, and probably this is the best sense here, i. e., "not by the mere impulse of their own mind, but by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost."—See Dr. A. Clarke, *in loco*.

† This translation of the apostle's words is supported by the best authorities. Dr. A. Clarke, who thus translates, says, "the particle, *καί*, and, is omitted by almost all the Versions, and by many of the Fathers, and certainly does not agree well with the text."—Comment. *in loco*.

refers particularly to the epistles of Paul, and ranks them with the *τας ΛΟΙΠΙΑΣ γραφας*—"the other Scriptures," whose inspiration had been attested by Christ.

10. Here, then, we may rest the question relative to the inspiration of the didactic parts of the New Testament. That inspiration was necessary, in order to a perception of the truths made known by the writers—was promised by Christ—was claimed by the respective authors—and was conceded by the persons to whom they wrote. Beyond this point, however, we find no indication of divine superintendence or suggestion having been afforded to the writers of the New Testament. So far, indeed, are the evangelists from referring the origin of their narratives to any such inspired source, that in the only case in which we can derive direct information relative to the sources of their knowledge, we are necessarily led to deny the assumption. In the preface to Luke's gospel, that evangelist sets forth the pretensions upon which he demands the credence of those to whom he addresses himself. In alleging the motives from which he undertook the task of writing his narrative, he claims for it no higher origin than was conceded to the "many" to which he refers (ver. 1), and no higher authority for the facts set forth than was derivable from the diligence of the author, and the superior nature and credibility of his resources (ver. 4).

11. But we shall not dwell upon this circumstance, important as it is in relation to the theory of inspiration, so far as the evangelical narratives are concerned, but at once advert to certain portions of these narratives, for the purpose of showing, that to claim a constant superintending control of the Holy Spirit on behalf of them, must necessarily lead to insuperable and very serious difficulties.

(1) In the accounts which the evangelists have given of the cure of a blind man, in the vicinity of Jericho, there exists a difficulty utterly incompatible with the notion of divine inspiration. Luke states that the transaction occurred as our Saviour was *approaching towards* Jericho; while Matthew and Mark represent it as having taken place after his *departure from it*.

(2) Let the reader next turn to the accounts furnished of the embalming of Christ at the tomb, by Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and compare those accounts with the narrative which John gives of the transaction, and the discrepancies will be seen to defy human ingenuity to remove them. John, who often appears anxious to rectify the trivial errors of the preceding evangelists, informs us, in this case, that *previous to the entombing* of the Saviour's body, it was embalmed by Nicodemus

and Joseph; that is, on the Friday evening; and that this was done with the full knowledge of Mary and the other women, who were present at the crucifixion. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, however, state that the spices for embalming the body were purchased by the women *after the entombing*, it being intended to perform the process of embalming on the Sunday morning.

(3) The numerous variations existing in the several narratives of the resurrection are obvious enough to every reader of the gospels; the numerous and fruitless efforts that have been made to remove them sufficiently demonstrate them to be more than apparent.

(4) To mention one case more. In the accounts which three of the evangelists have given of a dispute that took place amongst the disciples, for pre-eminence in the kingdom of the Messiah, and of the conversation which subsequently took place between them and our Saviour, there is a very marked and striking difference; but between two of the narratives this difference is so great as to render them utterly irreconcilable with each other. According to Matthew, the disciples *came to Jesus to ask* who should be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven. According to Mark, however, the dispute amongst the disciples arose on the way from Galilee to Capernaum; and on their arrival in the town, our Saviour excited their surprise, by discovering to them his knowledge of the controversy in which they had been engaged. He was the first to notice the occurrence. *He asked them* of what they had been disputing on the way; and so far do they appear to have been from soliciting his opinion, that they hesitated to answer his question as to the fact, being by that time convinced of the error and sin into which they had been betrayed.

12. These discrepancies might be greatly multiplied, but it is unnecessary to add to their number. One such discrepancy, if its existence be assumed, is as conclusive against the plenary inspiration of the narrative in which it is found, as a thousand of them would be; for it is to be observed, that the cases we have produced, are not cases in which there is a mere variation in the mode of relating a transaction, one writer supplying what another omitted; they involve direct and palpable contradictions; and, notwithstanding all the labour and ingenuity which have been expended upon them, they are utterly incapable of being removed.

13. Now, however unimportant such variations in the text of the sacred narratives may be, viewed in themselves, and however little they affect the general credit of the writers, as faithful and trustworthy historians, they are, as we have said, wholly irreconcilable with the notion of a constant

divine inspiration; for where this exists, there must be an absence of all error. To suppose, as some have done, that these contradictions have been allowed for the purpose of inducing a reliance upon the divine communications, even where they are contradictory to human reason, appears to be, not only a palpable begging of the question, but to savour of so much absurdity, as to preclude a serious answer. The inspiration of any writing is only to be gathered from internal evidence; and where this evidence makes against the assumption, the case is clearly and finally settled.

14. We may ask, too, what is gained by contending for the inspiration of those parts of Scripture which are the subjects of this inquiry? By its abandonment, no evidence of the divine origin of Christianity is given up—no doctrine of the Christian faith is rendered questionable or nugatory. These are not founded upon the fidelity with which the minutiae of events are detailed; but upon the fact of certain great occurrences, and upon the truth of certain annunciations, whose inspiration is placed beyond question. Of the truth of this remark, all persons appear to be fully sensible when engaged in defending the outworks of Christianity against the assaults of the deist. In controversy with such a one, no advocate of Christianity attempts to argue the *inspiration* of the sacred records; all his efforts are directed to exhibit the proofs and confirmatory evidences of their genuineness, authenticity, and general credibility; and it is only when these points have been settled, that the question of inspiration is adverted to.

15. In conclusion, it may be remarked, that the absence of plenary inspiration, and the existence of such discrepancies in the narratives of Scripture as those now pointed out, not only do not tend to weaken the evidences of the Christian revelation, but, on the contrary, contribute most effectually to strengthen and confirm them. A universally inspired writing can contain no real contradiction, because this implies a departure, more or less, from the precise truth—the prevention of which enters into all our notions of inspiration. This has ever been felt by the advocates of plenary inspiration; and hence the laborious but fruitless attempts to gloss over difficulties that could not be removed, and to disguise and mystify contradictions that could not be reconciled. To the conscientious deist these considerations must ever present an insuperable dif-

ficulty in the way of embracing Christianity, while they become to the timid Christian a fruitful source of disquietude and perplexity. Let the evangelical histories, however, be regarded in the character in which they present themselves to the world. Let them be considered as mere historical compositions, where they assume no other character; let their credibility be tried by the same tests as any other literary work of the same species; let their general agreement among themselves, and with other historical documents, be urged as incontestable proofs of their authenticity, while their unimportant discrepancies are exhibited as proofs of the absence of all concert among the writers, and of their independent modes of proceeding; and nothing will be lost, but much will be gained, by abandoning the notion of an universal inspiration in the writings composing the Holy Bible.

III. We have thus established the proposition originally laid down; namely, that the Scriptures are the media through which the divine revelation is made to mankind, and also succeeded, we hope, in relieving the subject from some of the difficulties with which it is generally encumbered. If such be the character and claims of the sacred writings, then—if they be the only source of divine knowledge, the only authenticated medium through which the will of God and the knowledge of and preparation for a future state of life and immortality are to be obtained—how gratefully and devoutly should we avail ourselves of their light, and submit to their teachings! “Coming to the word of God, we are like children brought into the conversation of experienced men, and we should humbly listen and reverently inquire: or, we are like raw recruits introduced into high and polished life, and we should unlearn our coarseness, and copy the habits of the station: nay, we are like offenders caught, and for amendment committed to the bosom of honourable society, with the power of regaining our lost condition, and inheriting honour and trust. Therefore we should walk softly and tenderly, covering our former reproach with modesty and humbleness, hasting to redeem our reputation by distinguished performances, against offence doubly guarded, doubly watchful for opportunities to demonstrate our recovered goodness.” *

*Irving, *Oracles of God*, pp. 21, 22.

CHAPTER II.

THE OBJECT OF DIVINE REVELATION.

The Necessity for a Divine Revelation—The great Objects of Revelation—The Harmony subsisting amongst the various portions of Revelation—The Law introductory and preparatory of the Gospel—Divine Revelation gradually developed—Its congeniality with the Nature and Destinies of Man.

IN discussing the media of Divine Revelation we have been compelled to speak incidentally of its object; but we must now advert to this topic more particularly, and at large.

1. Had time been nought but stagnant duration, and man been exempt from the ravages of death, no excursive conjecture would have wandered to the future, nor life been darkened by the shadow of its expected end. We should have comprehended our destiny, and experience would have supplied all the knowledge our necessities required. But our days are numbered, and our experience limited. That natural life would terminate, mankind have always been conscious: yet, to follow the victim of death beyond the tomb, and ascertain whether existence was continued or became extinct; to determine whether this was the only world in which man lived, or but an incipient stage of being indissolubly connected with the future; human powers were wholly inadequate. But of all uncertainties, that which relates to existence or annihilation is the most gloomy and terrible. Its tendency is to induce a stubborn apathy which prevents enjoyment, while it suspends apprehension, and renders man insensible to happiness as well as to danger. Of the anxiety of mankind to ascertain the realities and certainty of a future life, we have abundant proofs. It was the great object of solicitude with the most enlightened of the heathen philosophers; but their unaided reason never carried them beyond the *probability* of immortality. Man's reason was compelled to abase itself, after every attempt to penetrate into the future, and to confess its impotence whenever it affected to scan the unseen mysteries of the eternal world.

2. To illuminate that which was obscure, to turn doubt into certainty, to convert inference into proof, and to relieve the wretchedness of incessant and anxious conjecture; to extend the vision of faith where the eye of reason failed, and declare that happiness which hope had sought for in vain; to supply virtue with renovated motives, and appal wickedness by the misery which its commission entails; to change the aspect of humanity, and radiate the prospects of man;—these were the

great objects for which revelation was made, and for which it is preserved and handed down to mankind.

3. But though revelation refers principally to the future state of man, its assurances and requisitions include the greatest possible degree of present happiness. To know that when the present life shall terminate, our existence will commence in a higher sphere; that intellect shall be eternally expanded by fresh accessions of knowledge; that the sympathies shall increase with enlightened ardour, and be exercised upon elevated and multiplied objects; that the virtuous associations of earth shall be purified and recommenced; that we are the objects of the Divine solicitude and protection, and are regenerated and exalted by his love;—are sufficient to create present delight, as well as to allay all apprehension and anxiety as to the future. The prospective objects of revelation thus unite with its more immediate operations; and, what is not to be overlooked, there is, between the end and the means, the happiness and its materia, a visible connexion, as well as a mutual concordance. The one naturally produces the other, and they are thus closely allied, as cause and effect.

4. What we have said of revelation generally comprehends all its parts. The spirit, import, and objects of the law, were in exact accordance with those of the gospel.* There is no opposition, but the strictest harmony, between them. If the evangelical and apostolic writings were penned that we "might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, we might have life through his name" (John xx. 31), it is not less true, that eternal life through a divine mediator is the great doctrine inculcated and illustrated throughout the law and the prophets. The revelation, it is true, was gradually unfolded. Its full light did not burst upon mankind at once; they would have been unable to bear it. Hence it seems to be most wisely established in the divine

* The following remark of Josephus is most important, and is moreover quite relevant to our purpose: "To account for our steadfast faith in God and his commandments, it is necessary to recur to the fact, that our system of laws was far more useful than that of any other nation. For Moses regarded all the virtues as subordinate parts of piety to God, and not piety as a mere subdivision of virtue. In his legislation, he recognises all our actions as having ἀναφορὰν πρὸς Θεόν, a relation to God."—Contr. Ap. ii. 16.

decrees, that a ceremonial worship and a sacrificial service should every where precede the worship "in spirit and in truth." We find, therefore, among all the pagan nations, imposing ceremonies, and among the Jews also, a splendid external worship; but—and here is the striking difference—monotheism, and a symbolical and typical meaning, stamp upon the Israelitish worship a peculiar character.* The religious laws of the Jews had plainly two grand objects in view:—to inscribe monotheism upon the very tablet of the heart, and to awaken a lively sense of *sin*. The priesthood and the law were ordained for this purpose. Hence we find such frequent and striking allusions to humility in the Old Testament. "The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit," Ps. xxxiv. 18. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God," Mic. vi. 8. "For thus saith the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity; I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones," Isai. lviii. 15. "For all these things hath mine hand made, and all those things have been, saith the Lord: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word," Isai. lxvi. 2. "He resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." *Sin, sin*, then, is the word which is heard again and again in the Old Testament, and had it not there for centuries rung in the ear, and fastened on the conscience, the joyful sound of *grace for grace* could not have been heard, at the time of Christ, as the watchword of the New Testament. What need of *grace* have those heathen who will hear nothing of *sin*, while, alas! they feel too much of its destructive consequences? To this end was the whole system of sacrifices; to this end, the priesthood—that all flesh might know that it is *grass*. It was obviously essential that thereby the law should prepare the way for Christianity. In every view, the sacri-

ficial worship must be regarded as one of the most unaccountable institutions of the ancient world. Strange, indeed, that uncorrupted nature even, without the aid of grace, should feel, in so lively a manner, its dependance upon God, and its deep pollution! The belief also in one only God, what a tone of genuine piety it produced! This, as Professor Tholuck remarks,† has not been hitherto sufficiently appreciated. The gods of the Greeks were exalted men, who, being unequal in might, were embroiled in mutual contentions. As he who knows no better protection and no surer defence than the favour of a powerful party, never can attain to quietude and tranquillity, but is at one time full of anxiety lest his party should be forced to succumb, at another disquieted with solicitude, lest *he* should lose his favour, must cherish in his bosom an everlasting conflict and dread; so also was it impossible that an unclouded spiritual life should dawn in the bosom of a serious-minded Greek. He could not say, with the Psalmist: "Truly my soul waiteth upon God." An unceasing ebb and flow must have disquieted the fainting heart, when one deity was known to hurl defiance in the face of another.‡ Such was far from being the case with the Hebrew. He knew that *his* God was the God of heaven and earth, who gave to all nations their habitations, to whom "every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall swear" (Isai. xlv. 23). The effects of this constant flowing forth of the heart towards the only living and the true God, are known to those who lead a spiritual life. That it means, to look away from man, and to look solely to God, was well understood by all the holy men of the Jewish and the Christian church, by all the martyrs, and by Luther also, when he replied to the prime elector, "You cannot protect *me* by your might, but *I* can protect *you* by my prayers."

5. Such were the effects of the faith in the only true God. Still more beneficent was the faith in the only living God, as *the Holy One* who reigns above the powers of Nature. Of course, there was nothing in their system by which the soul of man might range beyond the limits of time. Nay, terrestrial things were even consecrated in the eye of the Greek. It seemed, therefore, in him temerity, to lift himself above them, and see them beneath his feet.

6. If we direct our attention to the political portion of the Law, we shall find that in this respect the institutions of Moses will cope with those of any other nation. The natural sentiment

* The entire religious system of the Jews is, in the most appropriate sense, a *prophecy*; and the individual passages of their sacred books are merely the strongest expressions of that spirit which enlivens the whole mass. To the same purport are the passages, Col. ii. 17, and Heb. x. 1, where the *skid*, or *shadow*, is the obscure and imperfect resemblance, which falls so far short of the glorious splendour of the reality, that it can excite but very faint ideas of it. Lehman, *Letter to Harms*, p. 43, and Ran, *Ueber die Typologie*, p. 71, quoted in Tholuck's *Hints on the Importance of the Study of the Old Testament*, p. 250.

† Hints, &c., p. 214.

‡ Æschylus, *Prometheus*, verse 1045, ed. Glasgow.

of humanity and equity was laid at the foundation, and from this principle proceeded most of the commands. Witness the humanity and gentleness towards strangers, widows, orphans, and even beasts. How tender is the prohibition (Exod. xxii. 21, xxiii. 9), "Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him; for ye know the heart of a stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." And again (Lev. xix. 34), "But the stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born among you; and thou shalt love him as thyself." Witness also the numerous commands concerning widows and orphans;* and, before all other commands, those which enjoin as follows, "Thou shalt love God supremely, and thy neighbour as thyself."

7. This law and this religious service were, it is true, a mere *evil*. They became about the time of our Saviour more and more spiritless and nerveless. Then it was that the winged Psyche burst from its chrysalis state, and extended its wings toward heaven. Until this happened, holy men were sent continually, down to a very late period, who breathed forth the Spirit of the Almighty, and enlivened the age; "but when the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son;" the law was communicated, the prophecies were ful-

filled, and the revelations of the Almighty were divested of all their obscurity.

8. Such, briefly stated, are the great object and gradual development of divine revelation. Had it only amused the fancy with rhapsodies of future exaltation; had it prescribed no conditions and required no obedience; had it effected nothing but the expansion of eager hope and impetuous desire, there would have been no visible and rational connexion between the cause and the effect. It would have been a matter of investigation, and not of reason. But now its first principles rest on individual consciousness and experience. It propounds that which has been attested by the collective generations of mankind, that the human heart is evil, that evil incurs punishment, and induces misery, so long as it exists. It proposes to emancipate man from darkness and sin, to renovate his nature, and recover him from spiritual and moral degradation. Its influence does not terminate on the external man. It is not a code of mere outward morality—a specious mantle to conceal inherent defects: it penetrates the latent source of action; it demands an entire conversion from wickedness, and a restoration of the image of God in the human heart. It implies, indeed, a spiritual resurrection—an utter extinction of the corruptions of the natural man. Is not this an object worthy of the Almighty, and identified with the highest and most enduring interests of his creatures?

* Exod. xxii. 15; Lev. xix. 32; Deut. xv. 7; xxiv. 10, 14, 17; Exod. xxiii. 11; Numb. xxii. 24; Deut. xxii. 1.—Tholuck on the Study of the Old Testament, pp. 212, &c.

CHAPTER III.

THE EVIDENCES OF DIVINE REVELATION.

THE accumulated and concurrent Evidence of Revelation—the Genuineness of the Scriptures—the Authenticity of the Scriptures—Integrity of the Sacred Text—Proofs that the Scriptures comprise a Divine Revelation: Miracles; Prophecy; the Doctrines of Christianity; the Spread and Revival of the Gospel—Recapitulation.

THE only difficulty connected with the subject to which this chapter relates arises out of the vast accumulation of materials before us, and the necessity we are under of making such a selection as shall indicate the nature and value of the several parts, without weakening or destroying the effect of the whole.

SECTION I.

THE ACCUMULATED EVIDENCES OF REVELATION.

1. "WHENEVER the truth of Christianity is

examined," says an able writer, "there is a certain body of evidence which, taken together, constitutes the proper and adequate answer to that inquiry; which evidence, therefore, ought not to be divided so long as the inquiry is supposed to be still open. If it be asked, what are the constituent parts of this body of evidence, they include, among other topics, the following, most commonly insisted on:—The miracles of our Saviour and his apostles—the series of prophecy—the extraordinary perfection and sanctity of Christ's moral doctrine—his own character as expressed in his life upon earth—the rapid and triumphant propagation of his religion under the special circumstances of that event—the singular adaptation of the religion itself to the nature and condition of man, both in its form and in its essential pro-

visions. These topics, prominent as they are when separately taken, compose only one subject of connected and harmonizing proof. However deficient the ground and principle of reason in each of them may be, the effect of them is to be united, and it bears upon one and the same point in combining to make up that moral evidence by which it has pleased the Almighty to ascertain his last revelation to us. And as each of these arguments, supposing the matter of them to be truly alleged, possesses some force in concluding upon the question at issue; so it may be observed of them—which indeed is only a modification of the same remark—that they are all of a kind which it comes within the power of our common reason to apprehend; and they are satisfactory, because they are so intelligible, and answer entirely to the natural sense and judgment of our minds, independently of the accidents of previous study, or of any peculiar modes of thinking. Agreeably to the design of the religion itself, they carry with them a universality of application. Prophecy, verified in the accomplishment of its predictions, attests the authentic inspiration by which it was given: miracles—public, unequivocal miracles—exhibited, bring home to the very senses of men the intervention of a divine power. Competently witnessed and recorded, they transmit the conviction from age to age. Unexampled and perfect moral purity of doctrine seems to be, in fact, what it pretends to be—an emanation from the source of all rectitude and holiness. The life and character of the Founder of Christianity have no prototype in the examples of human virtue. The fitness of his religion, in every part of it, to the exigencies of the being to whom it is tendered, gives to it a compendious practical authority which almost supersedes the labour of deduction, by an intimacy of use and relation, identifying the very nature of man, in his greatest needs, his best hopes, and his most rational desires, with the resources of the dispensation tendered to his acceptance. Such are the force and tenour of the evidences of Christianity, if, as we have said, the matter of them be duly alleged; that is, if we have well attested miracles and prophecies, and the other arguments have a ground in fact. The defenders of revelation have vindicated these several arguments; and the obvious state of the case, after it has been examined, compels us, on the lowest assumption, to allow a considerable weight to each. But we speak now of the arguments in their kind, as distinguished from their degree. Their great simplicity and reasonableness are such, that if any person of a candid mind were to lay down, beforehand, what would be the most prevailing induce-

ments to his belief of a revelation, he could not, we think, easily mention any other in kind than such as we find we possess. The actual various attestations of Christianity, external and internal—its august apparatus of prophecies and miracles—the excellence of its constitution, in its laws, doctrines, and sanctions—its power in subduing the laboured opposition of the world—with the glory of its Founder illuminating his religion by the signs of a divine presence in his own person;—these furnish to us whatever our most deliberate judgment could have suggested, had it been permitted to us to choose the grounds of our belief. It now appeals to that judgment with an integrity of claim which we shall seek in vain to resist, without invalidating the most certain principles of all our knowledge.*

2. The value and importance of the accumulated and concurring evidence of revelation, as here stated, are too frequently lost sight of by Christians as well as by unbelievers. The separation of the essential branches of the combined subject, is too apt, as this writer intimates, to limit our conception of the whole nature of it, for the time, at least, to the train of thought which it presents before us. The separation made seems to have the effect of staking the fortune and issue of the whole cause upon the selected ground of argument, narrowing the subject down to the reduced compass within which we are busied in viewing it, and transferring the imperfection of our details of thought to the substance of more enlarged truth. It may be that the amount of the proof deducible from any one branch of the evidences of divine revelation, does not in itself exceed such a probability as any man may choose to admit; yet, when the several inducements to one and the same conclusion of belief, arising out of the several branches of evidence, are drawn into each other, the joint amount of them, derived as they are from such different sources, is a collection of moral proof which we cannot properly describe as being less than that of a cogent and conclusive demonstration.

3. It is obviously impossible, within the limits of a single chapter of such a work as this, to discuss these topics in detail: to do them the merest justice would require an ample volume. Referring our readers, therefore, to those works in which the evidences of revelation are professedly and formally treated of, we must be content simply to indicate the outlines of the accumulated argument, without attempting to fill it up, or to supply the necessary proofs and illustrations.

* Davison's Discourses on Prophecy, pp. 19—22.

SECTION II.

THE GENUINENESS OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

1. THE first thing that suggests itself to the mind of an inquirer, relative to the evidences of revelation, concerns *the genuineness* of the books in which it purports to be made. If these books were not written by the persons who assume to have been their authors, or if they were not written at the times, and published at the places, at which they purport to have been written and published;—in other words, if they be spurious or supposititious productions, instead of genuine and, in every respect, veritable ones,—it is clear that no reliance can be placed upon their contents, as no confidence can be reposed in their authors. On such supposition, they must have originated in unworthy motives, or their authors must have had some object in speaking untruth: in either case, they forfeit the character of honest and trustworthy men, and we are under no moral obligation to give credit to their declarations. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to ascertain how the question pertaining to the genuineness of the biblical books stands, and to know upon what grounds we call upon persons to receive them as the genuine and accredited productions of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles.*

2. The questions, by what person, at what time, and in what circumstances any document has been written, are questions of fact which, like all similar questions, must be determined according to the nature and sufficiency of the evidence through which the knowledge of all facts of the same kind is originally acquired. It is not necessary to discuss here the question of historical testimony, or its admissibility in inquiries of this nature. No person will seriously dispute that it is the exclusive ground of our belief in numerous and momentous cases. Our knowledge of the various phenomena placed within the sphere of our perception is acquired either by consciousness or sensation; and for the existence of these things, we have evidence beyond which it is impossible to ascend—the evidence of an ultimate law of thought, when, if the objects of it are mental, we can refer them to the testimony of consciousness; or, if material, to the testimony of that sense by which they are naturally perceived. But how is such belief to be produced, when this direct evidence cannot be

had; when, from distance, or length of time, we can have no consciousness of mental, and no perception of material phenomena? Are the boundaries of rational belief fixed by the limits within which these perceptions take place? To what a little portion of facts would our knowledge then have extended! But, no: it is at this line, beyond which our own direct perceptions cannot reach, that human testimony comes in, as a rational ground of belief, to extend the range of human knowledge. What we cannot know from our own perceptions, we may learn through the testimony of others, by whom it has been perceived; and here, again, we have reached another ultimate principle, beyond which, in the circumstances supposed, it is impossible to go for evidence; namely, when we refer any thing asserted to have been thought or done, to the unexceptionable testimony of the person or persons who had the original, direct, and appropriate perception of the fact.†

3. Now, this reasoning is immediately applicable to the genuineness of the books composing the Holy Scriptures, which, like any other fact, has its appropriate mode of perception, that must, at some time or other, have been directly exercised, and to which primary original evidence it must be referred before it can be rationally believed. But it is evident, that it will not be enough for the satisfaction of those who could not have this primary evidence, to refer the facts to testimony, of the source of which no account can be given. The testimony must not only have originally emanated from its proper source, namely, the authors or writers themselves, but the intervening links in the chain of testimony by which this is brought down to us must, in some way or other, be traced back, and hung to the consciousness of the minds whose thoughts the writings contain; and then the whole and each separate part must be subjected to the ordinary tests of valid evidence. If this be fairly done, and the result be satisfactory, no man can refuse his assent to the genuineness of such writings, and at the same time maintain his character as a rational being.

4. What, then, are these tests, and how are they to be applied, in examining the evidence for the genuineness of the Scriptures? The criteria by which human evidence must, in every important case, be tried, turn upon the invariable connexion which subsists between the intellectual

* The author has borrowed much of what follows from a small work published some time since, for purposes similar to those in which the present work originated.

† These positions are amplified and illustrated in Cook's Inquiry into the Books of the New Testament.

and moral powers of man, joined with the circumstances in which he is placed, on the one hand; and, on the other, the conduct which he will follow when possessed of these powers, and placed in these circumstances. We cannot absolutely, and previously to all inquiry, trust to his depositions in any important matter of fact. Why? Because his knowledge and integrity are not free from defect. He may be wrong in his testimony, from not distinctly knowing the fact; or he may render his testimony false, by wilfully misrepresenting it. Here there is nothing so fixed, as to render all his depositions in themselves the proper object of implicit trust. But between accurate knowledge, strict integrity, and strong inducements to learn and state the truth, on the one hand; and, on the other, evidence correctly and fairly given, there is a fixed and invariable connexion. The one cannot be without the other, for it would amount to a contradiction. We can inquire, then, into the knowledge, character, and circumstances of the witness; for if these be found unexceptionable, we may with certainty infer the truth of his deposition; and, by parity of reasoning, we may see that, if these qualities entitle the deposition of one man to our belief, we are not at liberty to withhold that belief from the deposition of another, possessed of the same qualifications. But besides this, we may examine the deposition itself; for there may be in it such decided marks of consistency and truth as will entitle us to infer, with equal certainty, the knowledge and integrity with which it has been made. In the one case, we reason from cause to effect; in the other, from effect to cause. Were there no such fixed connexion as is here supposed, or none which could be trusted, then there would be no test whatever for trying human testimony; and wherever we ourselves had no experience, we should be left, according as the original propensity to trust in it prevailed or decayed, to receive whatever is said with blind credulity, or to reject it with absolute unbelief.

5. Now this view of the question suggests the propriety of dividing the evidence for the genuineness of a book into two branches; namely, that derived from the testimony of unexceptionable witnesses, and that derived from the internal character of the book itself. This is amply sufficient to prove the genuine character of any writing whatever, and is applicable to the books of Scripture.

6. The limits necessarily assigned to this inquiry will only permit us, as we have said, to glance at the outlines of the argument; the details must be supplied by the researches and reflections of our readers. From the same necessity, we must also

confine ourselves to a consideration of the books of the New Testament. If the divine character of these can be satisfactorily shown, that of the Old Testament will inevitably follow. In the latter Scriptures, the former are uniformly spoken of as "the oracles of God"—"the sure word of prophecy"—"the God-inspired writings," proceeding from holy men who were moved by the Holy Spirit, and, as such, entitled to implicit belief. Although, therefore, an investigation into the direct and immediate evidence for the genuineness, authenticity, and supreme authority of the Old Testament, cannot fail to be attended with much gratification and advantage, and to strengthen very materially the conviction produced by a more limited inquiry, it is by no means essential or indispensable, in order to justify our reception of all and every part of the sacred volume.

7. Let us now advert to the nature of that external evidence of which we are possessed, attesting the genuineness of the books composing this sacred volume.

SECTION III.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

1. THE New Testament contains twenty-seven books, purporting to have been written by certain persons, under specified circumstances, and at a particular period of time. These books are as follow:—(1) Five HISTORICAL BOOKS; namely, four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, assigned respectively to Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the Acts being written by the author of the third Gospel. (2) Fourteen EPISTLES by PAUL, addressed to the following Christian societies and persons; one to that of Rome, two to that at Corinth, one to those in Galatia, one to that at Ephesus, one to that at Philippi, one to that at Colossæ, two to that at Thessalonica, one to the Hebrews, two to Timothy, one to Titus, and one to Philemon. (3) Seven EPISTLES by OTHER APOSTLES; namely, one by James, two by Peter, three by John, and one by Jude. (4) The APOCALYPSE, which forms a class of itself, of a prophetic character, and assuming to be written by John.

2. Now the mode of applying those tests of which mention has been made, to the genuineness of these books, is determined by the nature of the fact, and our vicinity to or distance from the time of the persons who could be the primary witnesses in the case. Those who lived in the days and had access to the presence of the apostles, could, upon the publication of their re-

puted works, apply directly to them, and obtain at its source all the information necessary to satisfy them that these persons had really composed the works, and announced them as their own. The circumstances in which these persons had lived, their opportunities of gaining the information which they recorded, the tried integrity of their moral character—all of which particulars could then be easily and thoroughly ascertained—would place it beyond the possibility of doubt, that they must in truth have composed the writings which were circulated in their names. To us, who cannot thus immediately approach the witnesses who are represented to have given the original testimony, it is left gradually to ascend to them, by applying the proper tests of evidence to the whole intervening succession of subordinate witnesses; with regard to all of whom, if it appeared by the application of the tests that they must have had the knowledge and integrity essential to their credit, a case would be made out in which it must have been as impossible that the New Testament, if a forgery, could ever have been received in the character of apostolical writings, as that the apostles could have allowed the writings to circulate in their name.

3. In many of these books, the declaration of their authorship comes *prima facie* from the writers themselves. So it is with the epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Thessalonians, Timothy, Titus, and Philemon; with the epistles of Peter, James, Jude; with the Apocalypse, and even, perhaps, with the second and third epistles of John; in all of which the proper name of the ostensible writer, or an epithet by which he might easily be discriminated, is so incorporated with the work, that it must have come from the pen of the real author. Whether the authors of the gospels of John, and Luke, and of the book of Acts, be considered as indicated, the one as the beloved disciple of Jesus, the other as the correspondent of Theophilus, the declaration which we are considering, although not explicitly made in the works themselves, might have been made by the writers in the circles where their writings were first read; nor is there any other way of satisfactorily accounting for their early reception into a class of writings whose genuineness was so publicly proclaimed. At all events, the evidence for the genuineness of each book must, in so far, be estimated separately by itself, that no seeming defect in the evidence for one can take from the evidence of another.

4. Now the only point here to be determined is this, Were the persons who made these declarations well-informed and honest men? for then

alone can we determine whether their assertions are to be trusted. The best ground on which we can believe the assertion of any witness is, our own personal acquaintance with his information and character; next to that, the same acquaintance with him on the part of one with whom we are acquainted; and so on, in a line to any extent, each immediately successive part vouching for the integrity of the preceding. But such a concatenation of testimony is not to be found in support of any ancient fact, and we supply the defect by considering the circumstances in which witnesses give their evidence, and inferring from their character, as previously suggested, the veracity of any particular assertion.

5. But with reference to the New Testament writings, we are not left entirely to this general inference, satisfactory as are the grounds upon which it rests; for after having ascended on it to a certain point in the evidence, we come to written testimony, still extant, by the very men, who not only lived in the days, but were themselves companions of the apostles. Such were Barnabas, the companion of Paul (Acts iv. 36); Clement, a fellow-labourer with that apostle (Phil. iv. 3); Hermas, one of the faithful brethren whom he greets in his epistle to the Romans (chap. xvi. 14); Ignatius, the friend and associate of the apostles; and Polycarp, the disciple of John. Now, the testimony of these writers, as they have given it, is next, in point of authority and value, to that of the original writers themselves, and it goes full to confirm their depositions.

6. It is impossible, within the space assigned to this inquiry, that we should follow the entire chain of this evidence, in a regular series. There is not a single work, out of all the scientific writings of the Greeks and Romans, the age and origin of which might be established by so many witnesses and writers, who lived near to the time, as the New Testament. For the purpose of establishing this position, the writings of the oldest Fathers of the church have been examined with indefatigable research, and the passages collected which have reference to the New Testament, by Lardner, and others who followed in his laudable career.* The result of this investigation has been to show that the books of the New Testament are quoted, or alluded to, as the genuine works of those persons whose names they bear, by a series of Christian writers, beginning with those already referred to, who were contem-

* Paley has availed himself with great judgment of Lardner's selection, in his "View of the Evidences of Christianity," chap. ix., to which the reader is referred.

ponary with the apostles, and proceeding in close and regular succession from their time to the present. This medium of proof, as Paley remarks, is, of all others, the most unquestionable, the least liable to any practices of fraud, and is not diminished by the lapse of ages. Bishop Burnet, he adds, in the *History of his Own Times*, inserts various extracts from Lord Clarendon's *History*. One such insertion is a proof, that Lord Clarendon's *History* was extant at the time when Bishop Burnet wrote, that it had been read by Burnet, that it was received by him as the work of Lord Clarendon, and also regarded by him as an authentic account of the transactions which it relates; and it will be a proof of these points a thousand years hence, or as long as the books exist.*

7. Let so much of this argument as is applicable to the writings composing the New Testament—which have been quoted and referred to as above stated—be carefully attended to by the reader, and it can leave nothing to be desired in the establishment of their age and authorship. Their authenticity or truth is another matter, and is to be sustained by independent proofs.

8. But it should not be left unnoticed, that the species of proof at which we have been glancing, arises not only out of the direct and incidental testimony of persons friendly to the cause of Christianity, but from that also of its secret and avowed enemies, or such as seceded from the orthodox church, and were on no terms of good understanding with it. "The first ages of Christianity produced a multitude of sects, which were anxious to unite their philosophical and theurgical speculations with the doctrines of the gospel, and frequently lost themselves in strange admixtures of opinion—in beautiful, but much oftener in ridiculous, dreams. Yet even these sought to establish their assertions on the authority of the biblical books, and to prove them against those indulging different sentiments, especially against the dominant church. Their writings, indeed, are, for the most part, lost, and were destroyed on purpose, for which we have but little reason to thank piety. But the zeal of refuting them has occasionally preserved some fragments of their treatises, and their opponents have retained proofs which they adduced in support of their positions."† Of these sects we may refer to the Cerinthians, the Ebonites, the Nicolaitans, the Valentinians, the Marcionites, and the Basilidians, all of whom existed in the second century, and some of them

at the close of the first; and also to the Sabelians, the Novatians, the Donatists, the Manicheans, the Priscillianists, the Photinians, and the Arians, who flourished in the third and fourth centuries. Among the individuals of the classes we are referring to, and deserving especial notice, may be mentioned Tatian, Julius Cassian, Theodotus, Heracleon, and Isidorus, who all lived in the second century, and seceded from the orthodox communities by whom they were opposed and refuted. Nor should we omit to refer to Celsus, the Epicurean philosopher, who attacked Christianity with great skill and vehemence towards the close of the second century; to Porphyry, one of the most severe and sensible adversaries of the Christian religion antiquity can produce, who flourished about the middle of the third century; or to the emperor and apostate Julian, whose mode of opposing the Christian system was as artful as it was determined and persevering, who flourished about a century later.‡ These parties and persons knew too well the evidence by which the genuineness of the New Testament writings was supported, to think of denying or calling it in question; and their positive or implied testimony is of immense importance. They may, as Michaëlis remarks, have denied an apostle to be an infallible teacher, and therefore have banished his writings from the sacred canon; but they nowhere contend or insinuate that the apostle is not the author of the book or books which bear his name.

9. Another and equally satisfactory source of testimony to the genuineness of the Christian writings, are those very early translations which were made of them into other languages, the authors of which have ascribed the anonymous books of Scripture to the same writers as they are now attributed to, and have, of course, recognized the claims of the penmen of the acknowledged books. The earliest of these is the *Peshito* or *literal Syriac Version*, which is ascertained, upon undoubted evidence, to have been made, at the latest, towards the close of the second century, and is attributed, upon grounds of very high probability, to the close of the first or to the earlier part of the second century. All the Christian sects in Syria and the East make use of this Version, exclusively, and hold it in the highest estimation. Then there is the *old Italic* or *ancient Latin Version*, which was certainly made before the end of the second century, as it was then

* View of the Evidences. chap. ix., sect. 1.

† Hug's *Introd.*, Part I., chap. 1, sect. 6.

‡ For a view of the nature and extent to which these sects and individuals have deposed to the genuineness of the books of the New Testament, the reader may refer to Hug's *Introd.*, chap. i., pt. 1, sect. 7.

quoted by Tertullian: there is good reason to think that it was made even much earlier than this. Now these Versions furnish a most important external or historical evidence for the antiquity and genuineness of the New Testament, since it must necessarily have existed previously to the making of them; and a book which was so early and so universally read throughout the East in the Syriac, and throughout Europe and Africa in the Latin, must be able to lay a well-founded and indisputable claim to a high antiquity; while the correspondence of these Versions with the existing copies of the original attests the genuineness, if not the authenticity, of the latter.

SECTION IV.

INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE GENUINENESS OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

1. PROFESSOR HUG has introduced the discussion of the internal evidence for the genuineness of the historical books of the New Testament in the following manner: "Should any one, without knowing any thing further of them, anywhere unexpectedly find them, and being thus furnished with them, open them with the necessary scrutiny, what opinion would such a man form of their origin, age, and composers, solely from their internal state?" From the answer which the learned and acute writer has given to this inquiry, the following particulars are abridged:—

(1) A person into whose possession the books of the New Testament should thus come, would say that they were written in Greek; yet in none of the proper dialects of that language, but with a variation of expression and construction, which is so frequently approximated to the Hebrew, in the use of words and in grammatical connexion, that he would account the authors to have been Jews who spoke the Greek language. This exactly accords with the representation of the case, as it is made out by the Christian writers.

(2) These books also contain so little of science and the historic art, that they manifestly are the essays of uneducated men, who, with the exception of a certain acquaintance with the Jewish writings, lay no pretensions to information and literature. The narration itself is so constituted, that it represents them, notwithstanding its brevity, as having the demeanour of persons engaged in traffic; it depicts their situation and motion from place to place, the parts which the spectators bore, their expressions, their actions, and their appearance. This also is precisely what

the Christians say of these books, namely, that they were written by native Jews of plebeian origin and rank, without any literary education, who were, either as eye-witnesses, or by means of eye-witnesses, informed of the events which they have described.

(3) The perfect description of the age and country—of the municipal regulations and manners—of the history and geography—and of the circumstances under which the events narrated in the New Testament occurred, is such as could have been given by none but contemporary writers.

(4) The incidental agreement subsisting between these writings and the ascertained events and circumstances of the times, is, of all others, perhaps, the most convincing evidence that they were penned at the time and in the places to which they are ascribed. Thus were the Jews circumstanced, as the New Testament implies, with reference to foreign nations and regulations which crept into their system, and gave to their national condition a bias which it first had under Herod the Great, but never afterwards.—

(a) The invidious question of the *census* contains in it all the re-awakened prejudices of the Jews, and exhibits their disposition towards the Romans as it really was (Josephus, Wars, b. ii., c. 12). The precept of reconciliation in Matt. v. 25, was enjoined in every item with a view to the Roman law *de injuriis*, according to which the complainant, with his own hand, dragged the accused before the judge, without magisterial summons, *in jus rapit*, yet, according to which, on the road, an agreement, *transactio*, remains open to him; but should not this be accomplished, *the mulct* assuredly awaits him, which if he does not discharge, he continues in prison until its liquidation.

(b) When our Lord is in conversation or company with publicans, the Roman system of farming and its oppressions are every where displayed. When he drives with scourges the money-brokers from the temple, we perceive the consequence of the Roman dominion, and the influence of foreign manners, which allowed the money-changers to place their usurious tables by the statues of the gods, even in the most holy places.* We also observe, in the conduct of our Saviour upon the occasion referred to, the extent of the Roman toleration. This permitted no encroachments in the temples and religions of other nations; and therefore a private Jew, unmolested, maintained the honour of HIS temple, from which, in Rome, no laws could have screened him.

* Horace, Epist. lib. i., ep. 1.

(c) The parable in Matt. xviii. 23, represents a king, that is, a *tetrarch*, who, as far as himself and his own affairs were concerned, was not under the Roman law. He consequently proceeds according to the ancient Jewish law. But the sequel, which relates to a common man, contains an appeal to the Roman laws against the *obscuros*, in consequence of which the debtor who does not pay is called upon by his creditor, who instantly arrests him, and detains him in his house as a prisoner, as one delivered up to his will. The harshness of this law was indeed mitigated by a subsequent one; yet afterwards, and at this time, it had returned to its former severity, as it here appears in the parable.

(d) This admixture of manners and constitutions forcibly proceeded through numberless circumstances of life. Take, for example, the circulation of coin. At one time it is Greek coin; at another, Roman; at another, ancient Jewish. But how carefully was even this managed, according to the history and the arrangement of things! The ancient imposts, which were introduced before the Roman dominion, were valued according to the Greek coinage: e. g., the taxes of the temple, the *didrachma*, Matt. xvii. 24, *margin*. The offerings were paid in these, Mark xii. 42; Luke xxi. 2. A payment which proceeded from the temple treasury was made according to the ancient national payment, by weight, Matt. xxvi. 15. But in common business, trade, wages, sale, &c., the *assarius* and *denarius*, and Roman coin were usual, Matt. x. 29; Luke xii. 6; Matt. xx. 2; Mark xiv. 5; John xii. 5, vi. 7. The more modern state taxes are likewise paid in the coin of the nation, which exercises at the time the greatest authority, Matt. xxii. 19; Mark xii. 15; Luke xx. 24.

Writers who, in each little circumstance, which otherwise would pass by unnoticed, so accurately describe the period of time, must certainly have had a personal knowledge of it.

(5) The epistolary writings, also, have internal marks, or, as they are called, the impression of a particular age, as well with respect to the materials as to the form.

(a) As far as relates to the materials, these writings are not general treatises, without a country and a distinct object; they were called forth by occasions and circumstances compulsory on the writers, and were therefore adapted to particular situations and readers, and their individual necessities. Since these are confirmed in other documents; since the picture of the times which the authors preserve in them, as they write these memoirs, has historical truth; we easily perceive that the writers did not labour on arbitrary cir-

cumstances, or those invented by themselves. The more circumstantial this picture was, and the more accurately it was present to their mind, so much the more is it demonstrated that they saw these very times.

(b) But in addition to this, in the Acts of the Apostles we meet with a considerable number of undesigned data, negligently scattered here and there, which now and then relate to the persons, or are connected with other incidents, mentioned in the epistles, or promise even further instructions for their accidental elucidation. Where, then, we observe such an historical and obvious directory belonging to them, and connect these memoirs with them, we cannot but remark between them a harmony which is particularly requisite to the epistles, which, according to their own pretensions, claim a connexion with these events.*

(c) If we afterwards pay attention to the local weaknesses, imperfections, and errors which are censured in Paul's epistles, for the correction of which they were designed; namely, in Crete, Corinth, Ephesus; if we pay attention to these, in the Greek and Roman authors, where some such traits are incidentally reprobated; we may often make the agreeable discovery, that our epistles have accurately treated of the errors of the age, or the local imperfections noticed in each epistle, and have sometimes delineated them strongly in satire and seriousness.

(d) The system of morality, too, which is developed in the writings of Paul, Peter, and John, is unique in its character. It is not the peculiar and mechanical virtue of the Jews; it is not the virtue of the Greeks; it is not the political and warlike virtue of the Romans; not the virtue of the porch or of the academy; not even a sophisticated and declamatory wisdom of this life. It is the virtue of Jesus Christ, as he had proposed it in the gospels. No person, scarcely, can read the morality of the epistles without concluding that those who propounded it were, as they have represented themselves, the hearers and disciples of Jesus.

(e) Upon the form of these writings, that is, the arrangement and mode of treating things, the method of adducing proofs to support assertions, and the style and diction, many and interesting remarks might be offered, by way of confirming the argument. But this belongs to a higher branch

* This argument has been felicitously managed by Paley, in his "Horæ Paulinæ, or the truth of the Scripture history of St Paul evinced by a comparison of his Epistles with the Acts of the Apostles." We may even invert the case, as he has stated it in his title.

of the inquiry than that to which our readers are supposed to have attained, and it must therefore be left for their future consideration.

2. From what has been said, we arrive at the conclusion, that the books of the New Testament were written in the age to which they refer, and by the persons whose names they bear; that is, that they are genuine, and not spurious or supposititious writings.

SECTION V.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

WE have now ascertained two things; the first, that the books of the New Testament were written by the persons to whom they are now attributed; the second, that they were published at or about the times to which they are now referred. These constitute the *genuineness* of the sacred books, which we may now, therefore, consider to have been established. But another, and an equally important, question remains for determination; namely, are these books *authentic*, or true? Do they give a faithful delineation of the history and character of Jesus Christ, and of that religious system which he promulgated and founded? This question, it will be seen, is not involved in the one we have hitherto been considering; it requires a separate and independent species of proof, and to this we now invite attention. In the prosecution of such an inquiry, the following considerations naturally present themselves to the mind:—

1. Is it possible to conceive that the books composing the New Testament should ever have been received as authentic, by any number of persons, at any period of time, if they had not possessed all the necessary evidences and proofs of their having been true?

1. It is necessary, in the determination of this question, to advert to the character of those transactions which form the subject of the New Testament books; for upon this, chiefly, depends the impossibility of their imposition on the world as authentic writings, if they had been but fabricated and spurious stories. The books of the New Testament, then, consist of three distinct classes. The *first* class consists of narratives, embracing an account of the miraculous birth—the public recognition—the active ministry—the violent death—the extraordinary resurrection—the subsequent transactions—and the ascension to heaven, of Jesus Christ; with distinct notices of the calling and commission of the apostles—their conduct during the personal ministry of Christ, and also subsequent to his departure from the world—and their

indefatigable and successful labours in planting Christian churches, and furthering the designs of the gospel, in different parts of Judea, Syria, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome; the whole being interspersed with relations of various discourses and miracles, developing the nature and attesting the divine origin of that religious system which was thus introduced and established by Jesus Christ. The *second* class of books are didactic and epistolary, consisting of letters which were addressed by Paul, Peter, James, and John (all of them apostles), to the various churches which were planted either by themselves or their fellow-labourers, and to certain individuals who were personally acquainted with the writers, and were engaged in the same cause. But the epistles are not exclusively didactic or preceptive; they contain a large portion of historical matter, and, in connexion with the Acts of the Apostles, furnish a succinct, though in many respects a particular and detailed, account of the early progress of the gospel, and of the first Christian communities. The *third* class comprises only the Book of Revelation, which is of a mixed character, being partly didactic and hortatory, and partly historical and prophetic. It comprises, in its latter character, a history of the Christian church, and so much of the world as is inseparably connected with it, from the time of Domitian, at the close of the first century, to the end of the world. Such is, briefly, the character of the New Testament writings, and the subject matter which they contain. They develop the origin, progress, and final establishment of that system of religion which superseded the Levitical economy, annihilated the idolatry of paganism, and triumphed over the most fierce and cruel persecutions.

2. It should be borne in mind, that every part of these writings represents the occurrences connected with the introduction and establishment of Christianity to have been of a decisively miraculous character. The Saviour's conception—his public designation to the ministry—his works of charity and mercy—his resurrection from the tomb—and his ascent to heaven, were all events and occurrences of an unparalleled character, and placed very far beyond the reach of merely human agency. They were, in fact, what they purported to be (that is, if they really took place), so many demonstrations of the divine character of their subject and author, and, as a necessary consequence, of that system of religion which he founded in the world.

3. Now, it has been already shown, that the books containing these narratives and epistles were published at or about the times in which the events spoken of occurred, and also in the same

part of the world. They were appealed to as genuine and authentic documents, in common by all parties—orthodox and heretical, Christian and pagan—so early as the second century; that is, within a few years after the events which they narrate transpired. Several of them were addressed to the very persons said to have witnessed the miraculous occurrences, and to have listened to the divine discourses; who are also appealed to for the truth of the representations put forth, although they are not unfrequently reprov'd for their want of consistency, or their nonconformity to the requisitions of the gospel; and the avowed object of the whole of them is to demonstrate that the principal person to whom they refer, and whose religion was attested by so many and incontrovertible miracles, was the Son of God, and the Saviour of all who believe, John xx. 31.

4. After this recapitulation of the character and design of the New Testament writings, brief and imperfect as it is, it may be safely left for the reader to determine, whether their reception as genuine and authentic books can be rationally accounted for upon the supposition that they were forged and false. The events which they narrate and presuppose are assumed, upon the grounds previously stated, to have been fresh in the recollection of the world, and to have been transacted so publicly that none could have been ignorant of their occurrence. Under such circumstances, we are fairly entitled to say, that the books of the New Testament could never have obtained even the slightest degree of attention. Their falsehood would have been so obvious, and their attempted imposition so impudent, that they could not have failed to excite the contempt and derision of every person under whose notice they fell.

5. But it is not necessary to the argument, that these books should have been published so near to the times in which the events occurred; it will be equally conclusive, to whatever period of time their publication may be assigned. Let it be assumed, by an objector, in spite of the evidence adduced to the contrary, that the books of the New Testament did not make their appearance till fifty, a hundred, or even five hundred years after the occurrences they narrate and refer to are stated to have happened; the difficulty in the way of supposing them, in their main and most important particulars (those upon which all the rest depend) to be untrue, will be equally great.

6. Let us put a case. Suppose that a book were now, for the first time, to make its appearance, purporting to be a narrative of extraordinary events which had occurred in this country fifty, a hundred, or even five hundred years since;—that it set

forth, among other remarkable occurrences, that at the period referred to a man of unusual appearance and of singular manners presented himself to the notice of the public, professing to be invested with the prophetic character, and commissioned to prepare the world for another divine messenger, more eminent than himself, whom God was about to send forth upon some special mission;—that he required all who were willing to become his disciples, not only to repent of their vicious conduct, and henceforth to live in an exemplary manner, but also to be publicly initiated into their new profession by the rite of baptism;—that not only a few persons complied with his injunctions, but that such multitudes from the metropolis and its vicinity submitted to his ritual ordinance, that it might be said, without impropriety, “all London, Westminster, and Southwark went out and were baptized of him;”—that while he was thus employed, the prophet whom he had announced made his appearance, and, after having been publicly baptized, was proclaimed, by an audible voice from heaven, and the descent upon him of a visible symbol of the Holy Spirit, to be divinely appointed to teach the will of God, and to unfold the nature of his kingdom;—that he now entered upon his public ministry—taught doctrines the most pure and beneficent, and of the first importance to mankind—laid down a system of morals superior to any that the world had before seen, and, in order to demonstrate the divinity of his mission, wrought openly, and in the presence of multitudes—even of those who were bitterly incensed against him—the most stupendous miracles; such as, at one time feeding a multitude of five thousand persons with five loaves and two fishes, at another time satisfying the hunger of more than four thousand with seven loaves and a few small fishes; upon several occasions raising the dead—curing the lame—unstopping the ears of the deaf—loosing the tongues of the dumb—opening the eyes of the blind—cleansing lepers—casting out devils—in a word, healing all manner of the most inveterate diseases, with a word or a touch; and this in the most public though unostentatious manner;—that the effect of his teaching and miracles was to convert many of his countrymen, among all ranks of society, who, in their turn, and under his direction, became zealous advocates of his system, and were competent witnesses of his actions and works;—that he at length delivered himself up to his enemies, was condemned as an impostor, and publicly put to death;—that when he expired, darkness overspread the land for the space of three hours—the rocks rent—the graves opened—and many who had been previously buried came forth from their places of sepulture, and were

seen alive in the city ;—that his body, after hanging for some hours upon the cross, was taken down, and laid in a new sepulchre, which was carefully sealed, and surrounded by a guard of soldiers, placed there by the persons most determinately opposed to his pretensions, and who, in fact, had put him to death ;—that on the third morning, however, he left the sepulchre, unknown to the guard, rejoined his disciples, associated with them for the space of forty days, and then, in their presence, ascended into heaven ;—that shortly after this occurrence, his disciples, who were assembled in a large room, agreeably to his instructions, were suddenly endued with the power of speaking various languages with ease and fluency, to the great astonishment of a multitude of strangers who listened to their discourses ;—that from this time their characters underwent a most remarkable change, their timidity and fear giving place to invincible courage and fortitude ;—that they boldly, and in face of the most imminent danger, proclaimed the extraordinary occurrences of their master's life, and laboured indefatigably to induce their countrymen and others, who had witnessed his actions and listened to his discourses, to receive him as the Messiah, and rely upon him as the Saviour ;—that their labours were so successful that in one day, and in the very place where their divine Master had frequently taught and wrought miracles, three thousand persons were convinced of the truth of their testimony, and embraced the new religion ; and that within the space of a few years many of the neighbouring states became proselytes to the faith, and submitted themselves to its requirements ;—and that these men, after having undergone the most fiery trials, and submitted to the most cruel and protracted sufferings, yielded themselves up to violent deaths, to attest, not—be it observed—the sincerity of their *opinions*, but the truth of their *statements*, in regard to matters of *fact*.

7. Now, we ask, if a work containing a narrative so unusual and so extraordinary as this, stating the events recorded to have happened in the places where it was published and read, and pointing to certain existing observances,* as having been originally prescribed to commemorate some of these very events, while the whole was a gross fabrication, having had no existence but in the mind of its author or authors, can it be conceived possible, that it should, by any device, be imposed upon the world, and obtain the credit of an authentic history? Would not the common sense of mankind lead them to argue, that if the

narrative was true, the events recorded must have been notorious before the appearance of this work ; and that, although the lapse of several hundred years, and the variation to which traditionary testimony is liable, might induce some discrepancies between the written document and the floating tradition, there would yet be a sufficient conformity to yield proof of their identity? There is, in fact, no conceivable way in which the supposed production could obtain credit with any number of persons, as an authentic record of facts. And this was our postulatium.†

8. In this view of the case, the question at issue between the Christian and the unbeliever is brought into a very limited compass. The fact of the bare existence of the New Testament books, and of the religious system which they develop, is obviously certain and indisputable: the sole question, therefore, is, how these books started into existence, and what are their pretensions to be received as divine? The Christian assigns to them an origin, not only perfectly reasonable and consistent in themselves, but which is also supported—as we have already seen, and as we shall presently see more fully—by the concurrent testimony of antiquity, in a regular and unbroken series, from the time at which they were introduced down to the present day. The unbeliever rejects these evidences, which in every other case are held to be sufficient and conclusive, and calls upon us to assign to them some unknown and inconceivable origin, which cannot be done without involving a monstrous tissue of absurdities, and unhinging all historical evidence. Whose conduct is the more reasonable, or worthy of a rational creature? Let the reader determine for himself.‡

II. Is it possible to assign to the writers of the New Testament any adequate motive for their undertaking, on the supposition that it does not contain an authentic statement of facts?

1. It may be conceived that this inquiry is superfluous, after it has been shown, that whatever the motives of the New Testament penmen might have been, it would have been impossible to have procured any credit for their writings had they not been supported by adequate proofs of their authenticity. And so, in truth, it is, except in as far as it furnishes an additional argument for demonstrating the unreasonableness and irrationality

* As the religious observance of the first day of the week, and the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper.

† For the authenticity of the books of the New Testament, a much stronger case, even upon this ground, might be made out, could we enter into detail. The impossibility of their forgery, however, has been sufficiently shown, though the argument is capable of confirmation by many additional considerations.

‡ Upon this topic, Faber's *Difficulties of Infidelity* may be read with advantage.

of infidelity. A suggestion or two, however, is all that can be here submitted: the intelligent reader will find it worth his while to pursue the inquiry into all its details.

2. There are but two conceivable motives that could induce the writers of the New Testament—supposing them to have been impostors—to make the attempt of imposing their books upon the world. Either they must have done so to promote their personal gain, pecuniary or otherwise; or they must have done it from a sincere and disinterested desire to benefit their fellow-creatures. But neither of these suppositions will hold good.

3. The authors of the New Testament could not have proposed in their undertaking either power, pleasure, or any other species of gain; because they could not but know that the religion which they were labouring to establish was, in its very principles, equally opposed to Judaism and Paganism, and must, of necessity, bring down upon its advocates the vengeance of these two great classes of society. That both Christ and his apostles were fully aware of the consequences which would result to them from their exertions and labours, is evident from every part of the writings under consideration;* and that the event answered to the anticipation, is known to every reader of these and other early Christian writings. Now, is it reasonable to suppose that any persons of common sense would voluntarily have engaged in an imposture from which they could not hope to derive any thing but the most dreadful sufferings, and even death itself? If these men were mere cheats, they were such without any motive or advantage, and even contrary to every motive and idea of advantage by which men are usually influenced. With regard to pecuniary gain, or money-getting, every thing concurs to show that this was no part of the design proposed by the persons whose conduct we are referring to. They had no fixed places of abode themselves, and they never interfered in the pecuniary concerns of their converts, except so far as to induce them to minister to the necessities of those who were unable to support themselves. For some short time they took upon themselves, for very obvious reasons, the distribution of the provision thus made for the poor; but as soon as it became any thing considerable, they committed it to other hands, and devoted themselves exclusively to their apostolic and ministerial labours.†

4. They could not have engaged in the imposture from a desire to benefit their fellow-creatures. This must presuppose their belief, at least, in the doctrines which they taught, and their conviction that they were adapted to promote the well-being and happiness of men. These, however, cannot be separated from the facts of the evangelical histories, which the objection assumes to be false; and therefore no such belief or conviction could have been cherished by the persons in question. But to this must be added, that the doctrines taught by these persons condemn, most unequivocally, the conduct which they are supposed to have pursued, and denounce it under the penalty of eternal misery. Are we to suppose, then, that they were ardently attached to a religion which forbids every kind and degree of fraud and falsehood, while their whole lives were one continued scene of perjury; and that, whilst guilty of the basest and most useless knavery themselves, they were taking infinite pains, and enduring unexampled suffering, in order to teach mankind the value of truth and honesty? The idea is monstrously absurd.

III. Is there any thing contained in the books of the New Testament which is contradicted by other and independent writers, possessing an actual knowledge of the facts and circumstances narrated in them?

1. The only discrepancy between the sacred and profane history, of which we have any recollection, is found in Luke ii. 1, 2, which presents a chronological difficulty. The passage is as follows:—"And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. (And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.)"

2. As to the extent of this census. It being now agreed, on all hands, that the Greek words here translated "all the world" are to be taken in a restricted sense, it is unnecessary to notice the tom-fooleries of which some sagacious deistical writers have been guilty, in their remarks upon

by the custody and management of the public funds, when some of the richer members of the church, intending to contribute their fortunes to the common support of their society, sold their possessions, and laid down the price at the apostles' feet, Acts iv. 34—37. Yet so insensible or undesirous were they of the advantage which that confidence afforded, that we find they very soon disposed of the trust, by putting it into the hands, not of nominees of their own, but of stewards formally elected, for the purpose, by the society at large, Acts vi. 1—6. He adds, that this excess of generosity, which cast private property into the public stock, was so far from being required by the apostles, or imposed as a law of Christianity, that Peter reminds Ananias that he had been guilty, in his behaviour, of an officious and voluntary pervarication, Acts v. 4.

* See Matt. xxiv. 9; Mark iv. 17; x. 30; Luke xi. 49; xii. 12—16; John xv. 20; xvi. 4, 33; Rom. v. 3, 4; viii. 35, 37; 2 Cor. iv. 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 17; 2 Thess. i. 4, 5; Heb. x. 32—35; 1 Pet. iv. 12—19; James v. 10, 11.

† Paley remarks, that the most tempting opportunity which occurred to the apostles, of making a gain of their converts, was

the phrase. The words are restricted, by common consent, to the sense in which they are employed by some of the best Greek writers, to signify the extent of the Roman dominions. But as there is no *general* census mentioned in any historian as having taken place at this time, the meaning of *οἰκουμένη* must be farther *restrained* to the *land of Judea*. This signification it certainly has in this same evangelist, chap. xxi. 26: "Men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth," *ἐν οἰκουμένῃ, this land*. The whole discourse relates to the calamities that were coming, not upon the *whole world*, nor the *whole of the Roman empire*, but on the *land of Judea*; see ver. 21: "Then let them that are in *Judea* flee to the mountains." Out of Judea, therefore, there would be safety; and only those who *should be with child*, or *giving suck*, in those days, are considered as peculiarly unhappy, *because* they could not *flee away from that land* on which the scourge was to fall: for the *wrath*, or punishment, *shall be*, says our Lord, ON THIS VERY PEOPLE, namely, the *Jews*, ver. 23. It appears that Luke used this word in conformity to the Septuagint, who have applied it in precisely the same way, Isa. xiii. 11; xix. 26; xxiv. 1. And from this we may learn, that the word *οἰκουμένη* had been long used as a term by which the *land of Judea* was commonly expressed. See Luke iv. 25; Josh. ii. 3. It is probable that the reason why this enrolment, or census, is said to have been *throughout the whole Jewish nation*, was to distinguish it from that *partial* one made ten years after, mentioned Acts v. 37, which does not appear to have extended beyond the estates of Archelaüs, and which gave birth to the insurrection excited by Judas of Galilee.*

3. As to the act itself. It has been thought that the testimony of Josephus, that no tax or tribute was levied from Judea till many years after this, is at variance with the evangelist. Such, however, is not the fact, for the word *ἀπογραφισθαι* properly signifies registering—taking an account of the population; probably with a view to the levying of a tax.

4. As to the governorship of Syria. It is granted on all hands that Cyrenius was not governor of Syria, till ten or twelve years after the birth of our Lord. The question, therefore, is, how is the evangelist to be reconciled with the historical fact?

(1) Dr. Hales conceives that Cyrenius, whom Tacitus calls "an active soldier and a rigid commissioner," and who was therefore well qualified for an employment so odious to Herod and his

subjects as the making of this enrolment must have been, was probably sent into Syria to execute the decree of Augustus with an armed force. At this juncture, however, the census proceeded no farther than the first act of the enrolment of persons in the Roman registers; Herod having succeeded in effecting a reconciliation with the emperor. But upon the deposal and banishment of Archelaüs it was carried into effect, for the purpose of which Cyrenius was sent again, as president of Syria, with an armed force. Now it is of this establishment of the assessment or taxing, which was necessary to complete the Roman census, that Dr. Hales understands the evangelist to speak in the parenthetical remark, which he renders thus—"The *taxing itself* was first made while Cyrenius was president of Syria;" and he subjoins some cogent reasons in justification of its correctness.

(2) Dr. Lardner, whose solution has been adopted by many subsequent critics, conceives that Cyrenius, having been employed in the way Dr. Hales supposes, during the presidency of Quintilius Varus, or Saturninus, whichever of them was then president, made a second census when he himself came into the office of president, ten or twelve years afterwards. Now to both these acts he supposes the evangelist to allude, when he says, "This was the *first* assessment of Cyrenius, governor of Syria." The passage thus translated does not say that this assessment was made *when* Cyrenius was governor of Syria, which would not have been true; but that this was the *first* assessment which Cyrenius, who was (that is, afterwards) governor of Syria, made; for after he became governor he made a *second*.

(3) The late editor of Calmet, Mr. Charles Taylor, has offered a new conjecture, which was suggested to him by the inscription on a medal of Antioch; namely, that Cyrenius was associated with Saturninus in the government of Syria. The following is the substance of his observations in support of this opinion:—On this medal appear the letters ΟΥΟΛΟ, which are presumed to be the first letters of ΟΥΟΛΟμνίου, *Volumnius*, the colleague of *Saturninus*; and indeed Josephus (Ant. lib. xvi., cap. 9, 10), speaking of these persons, styles them presidents or governors, in the *plural*; though Saturninus was properly president, and Volumnius procurator, that is, chief of the emperor's revenue, in this province. There are, then, two things extremely remarkable in this medal: First, that only on medals of Antioch are *any* names inscribed of those consular Romans who were sent by the early emperors to govern the province of Syria: Secondly, that the name of Volumnius, an inferior officer, should appear

* See Josephus, Antiq. b. xx., ch. 3.

on the same coin with that of Saturninus, the principal governor. There must have been some reason for this; and this is conceived to be the following:—Antioch, the capital of Syria, where, no doubt, Saturninus kept his court, was the metropolis of a very extensive province; but was ill-situated for being the seat of government, being very far north. It may be presumed, too, that Damascus, a city of no slight pretensions, was sometimes in this province; and thus it might be proper, that although one was the primary president, yet that, for the purposes of government, there should be *two* presidents of Syria, both appointed by the emperor. The reader perceives that we suppose Saturninus to have been stationary at Antioch, while his associate was engaged in other districts of the province, as circumstances required; and what we suppose of Volumnius we also suppose of Cyrenius, who after him held the same office. Nor is it impossible that this second governor might reside at some other city in the province. However that might be, we have instances that the province of Syria could, on occasion, spare one of its rulers for a time to an adjacent district, as it might still have one remaining: nevertheless, any transaction said to be done under one (he who was in activity), might be said, not improperly, to be done under the other also; especially if he were the superior in dignity, although he staid at home at the seat of government. It remains now, that we examine the date on our medal, E A, 35, which, we presume, is from the Julian era of Rome 705, and marks the year 740 for the time when the coin was struck. If Herod died in the year 750, or 751, and Quintilius Varus had succeeded Saturninus only about a year at that time, then Saturninus must have held this station eight or nine years, supposing this medal to have been struck immediately on his appointment to the government. We are, however, more interested respecting Volumnius, who possibly might die, or might quit his appointment in or before the year 746 or 747, and be succeeded by Cyrenius. This nobleman was consul of Rome, 742; was sent against the Homonadenses, perhaps about 745, being then either the ordinary proconsul of Cilicia the adjoining province to Syria, or an extra officer in that province. Having terminated this commission, he was appointed to Syria, suppose on the death of Volumnius, and in this character he superintended the execution of that enrolment which was appointed by the decree of Augustus Cæsar.* Thus, by means of our medal, we have

vindicated Josephus, who describes Saturninus and Volumnius as governors [*plural*] of Syria; we have justified both St. Luke and Tertullian, though in a seeming contradiction; one affirming Cyrenius, the other affirming Saturninus, to have executed the enrolment; and we have justified the words of the evangelist, which may be thus understood: "This enrolment was the first effected by Cyrenius; meaning, while he was the first time governor of Syria, of the same rank as Volumnius; of which province he was afterwards governor, of the same rank as Saturninus; in which capacity he enforced another enrolment, from which this should be carefully distinguished." Or, "This was the enrolment of Cyrenius, he being then governor of Syria associated with Saturninus; and should be distinguished from that made by him eleven years afterwards, when he was the chief, the precedential governor of the same province."†

(4) That these solutions of the difficulty will be perfectly satisfactory to every reader, would be rather too much to affirm; but to every candid inquirer they cannot fail to suggest that the discrepancy may result from the paucity or imperfection of our own historical knowledge. And is it too much to say that a passage of this kind—occurring in a work which is, in every other respect, not only perfectly accordant with contemporary history in its direct statements and more prominent features, but which also exhibits so many incidental and undesigned coincidences in the most minute and trifling matters—should not be too closely pressed, or too harshly interpreted; much less should it be thought to make against its general accuracy. Let it receive the same treatment in this respect, as if it were found in the pages of Xenophon, or of Livy.

IV. Do the books of the New Testament contain any thing incredible in itself, or contradictory to the nature of things?

1. This question may be safely answered in the negative. The entire history of the introduction of Christianity into the world is miraculous, but it is not absurd; the extraordinary works performed by our Saviour and his apostles were above the laws of nature, and beyond human agency; but there was nothing in them repugnant to the nature of things, or to the power and moral excellence of the Supreme Being.

2. That there are any miracles recorded in the New Testament, which are in themselves absurd or contradictory to the moral excellence which belongs to God, few, if any, persons will have

* This statement allows for the opinion of those who think that Christ was born in 747, and that Herod died about the February, 750.

† Calmel's Dictionary, art. "ANTIOCH," vol. i., fifth edition.

the arrogance to maintain. But it is said, they are incredible or improbable; and thus the very acts that were intended to ratify the pretensions put forth by their authors, are taken as a ground of objection to their claims. The argument of Mr. Hume, to which all subsequent objectors have betaken themselves, is well known. Personal experience he maintains to be our only guide with reference to matters of fact; "and since miracles are contrary to what we constantly observe in nature, and indeed to its laws, no testimony can be sufficient to warrant our believing them to be true or credible, even in the lowest degree." It is evidently impossible, here, to enter into a full examination of this fanciful hypothesis. It has been ably exposed by Professor Campbell, and some other writers, to whose works the reader is referred. A remark or two, however, may be offered.

(1) It is not true that personal experience is our only guide or authority for believing matters of fact. The merest clown or peasant derives incomparably more knowledge from testimony, and the communicated experience of others, than, in the longest life, he could have amassed out of the treasure of his own memory. If that, therefore, must be the rule, the only rule, by which every testimony is ultimately to be judged, our belief in matters of fact must have very narrow bounds. No testimony, it is said, ought to have any weight with us, that does not relate to an event, similar, at least, to some one observation which we ourselves have had the opportunity of making. For instance, that there exist such people as negroes, could not, on this hypothesis, be rendered credible to a person who had never seen a negro, not even by the most numerous and the most unexceptionable attestations. The absurdities that would flow from the adoption of such a principle must be immediately obvious.

(2) To object to the credibility of miracles, on the ground that they are contrary to the laws of nature, discovers a mistaken notion of those laws. Nature has not imposed these laws upon itself; they have been imposed upon it by its divine Author. But it is dangerous to employ metaphorical language in philosophical or metaphysical disquisition; and had it been avoided by those who have urged the objection, its unreasonableness might have stood naked before them. The laws of nature are nothing more than a certain course of events which the Creator has determined that matter shall exhibit; in other words, they are the will and pleasure of God, acting continually upon matter, according to certain rules of uniformity, still bearing a relation to contingencies. This being the case, it is as easy, as Dr. Gregory remarks, for the

Supreme Being to alter what men think the course of nature, as to preserve it. "Those effects which are produced in the world regularly and indesinently, and which are usually termed the works of nature, prove the constant providence of the Deity; those, on the contrary, which, upon any extraordinary occasion, are produced in such a manner as it is manifest could not have been either by human power, or by what is called chance, prove undeniably the immediate interposition of the Deity on that special occasion. God, it must be recollected, is the governor of the *moral* as well as of the *physical* world; and since the moral well-being of the universe is of more consequence than its physical order and regularity, it follows, obviously, that the laws conformably with which the material world seems generally to be regulated, are subservient, and may occasionally yield, to the laws by which the moral world is governed. Although, therefore, a miracle is contrary to the *usual course* of nature—and would, indeed, lose its beneficial effect if it were not so—it cannot thence be inferred that it is 'a violation of the laws of nature,' allowing the term to include a regard to *moral* tendencies. The laws by which a wise and holy God governs the world cannot, unless he is pleased to reveal them, be learnt in any other way than from testimony; since, on this supposition, nothing but testimony can bring us acquainted with the whole series of his dispensations, and this kind of knowledge is absolutely necessary previously to our correctly enforcing those laws. Testimony, therefore, must be admitted as constituting the principal means of discovering the real laws by which the universe has been regulated. That testimony assures us that the *apparent* course of nature has often been interrupted to produce important moral effects; and we must not at random disregard such testimony, because, in estimating its credibility, we ought to look almost infinitely more at the moral than at the physical circumstances connected with any particular event." *

V. Do the writings composing the New Testament exhibit any internal evidences of the fidelity of their authors, and of the truth of those facts and circumstances which they narrate?

1. The books of the New Testament do exhibit various and powerful evidences of the fidelity of their respective authors; internal marks of sincerity and truth that are not to be found, and could not possibly exist, in any forged writings. A few particulars may be noticed.

* Letters on the Evidences, vol. i., p. 177.

2. Their style and manner exhibit the most convincing evidences of truth and sincerity. We are aware that this argument would be of no value if it applied to merely didactic or doctrinal writings. The utmost that would be provable from the style of an author, in such a case, would be his own belief in the doctrines he propounded, and his conviction of their beneficial purpose or tendency. But when, in a narrative of *facts*, which purport to have fallen under the personal notice of the writer, and therefore to be within his individual knowledge—facts of such a nature that he could not possibly be deceived as to their existence or non-existence—when we find a narrative of such facts characterized by evident marks of simplicity and candour, it affords a very strong presumption of its fidelity and truth. Now such is the case in the historical books of the New Testament. There is nothing like design or artifice apparent in any part of them. The style is removed at the utmost conceivable distance from high colouring or exaggeration. The writers narrate the most extraordinary events and circumstances with the most artless simplicity, and without the slightest apparent inclination to give them undue prominence or artificial importance. There are no harangues, no apologies, no encomiums; every fact, whether honourable or discreditable to themselves, is left to speak for itself; and the reader is left to form his own conclusion. The same may be said of the epistolary writings. They exhibit proofs, not only of the most devout and generous disposition on the part of their authors—a thing totally irreconcilable with the notion of fraud—but also of the utmost confidence in the simplicity of truth, and the most scrupulous adherence to calm and dispassionate statement. Affecting no “excellency of speech,” they determined to know only Jesus Christ the crucified; and, notwithstanding that their themes would have supplied them with an abundant variety of the most pathetic declamation, they preferred a plain statement of facts, and an appeal to the proofs of their veracity and authority; thus “commending themselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.”

3. The particularity with which the writers of the New Testament have noted minute circumstances of time, person, place, &c., affords a very strong evidence of the truth of their writings. No forged or false accounts of things thus superabound with peculiarities, and no forger or relator of falsehoods would give so great a number of particulars, since this would put into his reader’s hands so many criteria by which to detect him; nor, in fact, *could* he produce such a minute detail of circumstances. It is easy to

conceive how faithful records, kept from time to time by persons concerned in the transactions, should contain such a minute account of things; but it would be a work of the highest invention, and the greatest stretch of genius, to raise from nothing such numberless particulars as are almost every where to be met with in the New Testament; particulars, the falsehood of which would most assuredly have been detected by the persons most interested, if they had been forged or false. These accounts, it has been already shown, were published among the people who are said to have witnessed the events related by the historians, and who could, with the greatest ease, have exposed the fraud or falsehood, if there had been any, in the details of such transactions. But they did not attempt to question either the reality of the facts, or the fidelity of the narratives; and their acquiescence in them, as well as their obedience to the injunctions contained in these books, are conclusive evidence in favour of their authenticity.

4. Another and a very cogent argument for the authenticity of the New Testament, arises out of the harmony which subsists among the sacred writers on the various subjects of which they treat. Should a number of contemporaries of the same country, education, habits, profession, natural disposition, and rank in life, concur in writing a book on religious subjects, as large as the Bible, each furnishing his proportion, without any comparing of notes, the attentive reader of it would be able to discover—would not fail to discover—some diversity of opinion among them. But the penmen of the Scriptures were not upon an equality in these respects; and if we take into account the whole of the sacred writings, they were separated from each other by an interval of many hundred years. Some of them were princes and priests; others, shepherds and fishermen: their natural abilities, education, habits, and employments were exceedingly dissimilar. They wrote laws, history, prophecy, odes, devotional exercises, proverbs, doctrines, parables, and controversy; and each one had his distinct department: yet they all exactly coincide in their statements of facts, and in the exhibition which they give us of the perfections, works, truths, and will of God; of the nature, situation, and obligations of man; of sin and salvation; of this world and the next. *Apparent* inconsistencies will, indeed, perplex the superficial reader; but they will disappear upon a more accurate investigation. The writers have related the same facts with different circumstances; and they have given instructions suited to the persons whom they severally addressed, without systema-

tically showing the harmony of them with other parts of divine truth. But this can afford no ground of objection to their fidelity: quite the reverse. They wrote not by concert, nor did they bestow any pains to avoid the appearance of inconsistency; yet the exact coincidence which is perceived among them by the diligent student, is most astonishing, and cannot be accounted for on any rational principles, without admitting that they wrote under the invariable dictates of truth, and, in many respects, as "they were moved by the Holy Spirit." *

5. But to advert more particularly to the New Testament. No person can attentively peruse the four gospels without perceiving that they were designed by their respective authors to promote some particular purpose, suggested by the character or circumstances of the people to whom they were more immediately addressed; which purpose was somewhat diverse or different.† Still, however, the most perfect agreement will be found to subsist among the whole, except in a very few minute particulars, which is quite consistent with their general truth and accuracy.

6. But between the epistles of Paul and his history in the Acts of the Apostles there exist many notes of *undesigned coincidences* or correspondence; while the simple perusal of the writings is sufficient to prove that neither the history was taken from the letters, nor the letters from the history. And the *undesignedness* of the agreements (which undesignedness is gathered from their latency, their minuteness, their obliquity, and the suitableness of the circumstances in which they consist to the places in which those circumstances occur, and the circuitous references by which they are traced out) demonstrates that they have not been produced by meditation, or by any fraudulent contrivance. But coincidences from which these causes are excluded, and which are too close and numerous to be accounted for by accidental occurrences or fiction, must necessarily have truth for their foundation.

7. This argument appeared to the mind of Paley to be of so much value (especially for its assuming nothing beyond the bare existence of the books) that he has pursued it through the thirteen epistles of Paul, in his able and original work entitled "*Horæ Paulinæ*," which should be read with close attention by every person who desires to see the authenticity of this important section of the Scriptures completely demonstrated.

The argument depending upon a large induction of particulars, renders it impossible to give such an abstract of it as shall convey an adequate idea of its force and conclusiveness; but the following summary of the author's recapitulation and conclusion will not be without its use.

"When we take into our hands the letters [of Paul], which the consent and suffrage of antiquity have thus transmitted to us, the first thing that strikes our attention is the air of reality and business, as well as of seriousness and conviction, which pervades the whole. Let the sceptic read them. If he be not sensible of these qualities, the argument can have no weight with him. If he be—if he perceive in almost every page the language of a mind actuated by real occasions, and operating upon real circumstances, I would wish it to be observed that the proof which arises from this perception is not to be deemed occult or imaginary, because it is incapable of being drawn out in words, or of being conveyed to the apprehension of the reader in any other way, than by sending him to the books themselves." After having shown that the genuineness and originality of the epistles, ascertained by the series of inductions which had been instituted, lead to the conclusion that there was such a person as Paul; that he went about preaching the religion of which Jesus Christ was the founder; and that the letters which we now read were actually written by him on the subject, and in the course of that ministry; Dr. Paley proceeds to remark, that—beside the proof they afford of the general reality of Paul's history, of the knowledge which the author of the Acts of the Apostles had obtained of that history, and the consequent probability that he was what he professes himself to have been, a companion of the apostles—they meet specifically some of the principal objections upon which the adversaries of Christianity have thought proper to rely. In particular they show, (1) That Christianity had fixed and established itself before the destruction of Jerusalem, and that confusion which attended and immediately preceded it, and by which inquiry was rendered impracticable. (2) That the epistles themselves could not have been compiled from reports and stories current at the time; for a man could not write the history of his own life from reports; nor, which is the same thing, could he be led by reports to refer to passages and transactions in which he states himself to have been immediately present and active. (3) That the converts to Christianity were not composed of a barbarous, mean, or ignorant set of men: to such persons the epistles would have been altogether unintelligible. (4) These writings also prove the truth of the Christian history gene-

See Scott's Essays, Essay I., § 2.

† The reader who desires to enter into this subject may find it ably discussed and illustrated in Townson's Discourses on the Gospels.

rally; and particularly the existence and labours of the other apostles, and the existence of various Christian churches in different countries, especially of a considerable one at Jerusalem, where Christianity was published by those who had attended the miraculous ministry of its founder. (5) They also furnish evidence, of the best description, of the soundness and sobriety of St. Paul's judgment. His caution and discrimination are everywhere apparent; and his morality is throughout calm, pure, and rational. (6) They are decisive, too, as to the sufferings of the author, the distressed state of the Christian church, and the dangers which attended the preaching of the gospel. (7) Equally important are the evidences which they furnish of the miraculous powers with which the apostle was invested, and also of his publicly exerting them upon numerous occasions.*

8. Now let the circumstances which have been thus briefly enumerated—and they might be augmented at least ten-fold—be thrown together, and their combined force and value be fairly and dispassionately estimated, and we have no fear of incurring a charge of rash assertion or offensive dogmatism, in saying that no man can refuse his assent to the truth of the New Testament, *on the mere ground of its own evidences*, without being driven to the reception of difficulties infinitely more numerous and weighty than are to be found in any part of the Christian history.

VI. Do the books of the New Testament receive any confirmation from external and independent sources of information?

1. We have already seen that the narrative comprised in the New Testament accords in several and important particulars with general history. Not only is its historical complexion exactly that of the times to which it belongs; it also receives direct and ample confirmation from such writings of that period as have come down to us. Lardner, and after him Paley, have shown the numerous agreements between the histories of Josephus and the Scripture narratives, not only in articles of public history, but sometimes in minute, recondite, and very peculiar circumstances, in which, of all others, a forger is most likely to have been found tripping; but we are precluded, by our narrow space, from prosecuting this interesting inquiry, and must refer the reader for the proofs to the works of these able and indefatigable writers. From the details which they have furnished, it will be found that the main facts of the gospel narrative, and of the early history of the church, as it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and

in the epistles of Paul, are corroborated by the testimony of Jewish and pagan writers, who lived so near to the times that it was impossible for them to have been deceived. Josephus, a contemporary writer, speaks unequivocally of the person and extraordinary works of Christ, of the success of his labours, and of the sufferings of some of his disciples; and Pliny (A. D. 107), Tacitus (A. D. 110), Suetonius (A. D. 116), Celsus (same century), Porphyry (A. D. cir. 250), Julian (cir. A. D. 350), and several other early pagan writers, either distinctly speak of the life and death of Christ, and of the origin and manners of his disciples; or, by the references which they make to the sacred books, they admit them to have been genuine and authentic documents.

2. It is deserving of notice, that the three last-mentioned writers wrote expressly against the Christian religion, although they did not venture to say or insinuate any thing against the facts of the Scripture history. Now, if the truth of those facts had been in the least degree questionable, can there be a doubt that these its enemies would have assailed them with the same zeal and virulence which they directed against the religion with which these facts were identified? This would have been so obvious and short a method of proceeding, in the prosecution of their object, that they could not fail to have resorted to it; and the omission, therefore, warrants the inference, that the facts which attest the Christian system were admitted to be placed beyond cavil or dispute.

SECTION VI.

THE INTEGRITY OF THE BIBLICAL TEXT.

1. It is almost unnecessary, after what has been said in discussing the subject of various readings in the first part of this work, and of the genuineness and authenticity of the several books of Scripture in the present chapter, to enlarge upon a question pertaining to the integrity or uncorrupted preservation of the text; but a few additional remarks may seem to be called for.

2. That the books composing the Old and New Testaments are not only genuine and authentic, but have been preserved free from material accidental errors or wilful alterations since they left the hands of their respective authors, we have the most conclusive evidence that the nature of the case admits. Of the Old Testament, the original MSS. were long preserved by the Hebrews who were most sedulous, and almost superstitious, in their efforts to preserve them in all their original integrity. They repeatedly transcribed them, comparing the transcripts most carefully with the

* *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. xvi.

originals, and even numbering the words and letters.* That the Jews neither mutilated nor corrupted their sacred books, is evident from the silence of the prophets, as well as of Christ and his apostles, who, though they bring many heavy charges against them, never once accuse them of this sin; as also from the agreement, in every essential point, of all the Versions and MSS. (amounting to upwards of 1,100) now extant.† In fact, the constant reading of the sacred books (which constituted at once the rule of faith and the code of national law), in public and private; the numerous copies of the original, as well as of the Septuagint Version, which was widely spread over the world; the various sects and parties into which the Jews were divided after their canon of Scripture was closed, as well as their dispersion into every part of the globe, concurred to render any attempt at fabrication improbable and impossible before the time of our Saviour; and after that period, the same books being in the hands of the Christians, they would instantly have detected the fraud of the Jews, had they attempted such a thing; while the silence of the Jews (who would not have failed to notice the attempt, had it been made) is a clear proof that they were not corrupted by the Christians.

3. The evidence for the integrity of the New Testament is equally satisfactory. The multiplication of copies, both of the original and of translations into other languages, which were read, not only in private, but publicly in the religious assemblies of the Christians; ‡ the reverence of the whole body of the faithful for these writings; the variety of sects and heresies which arose at an early period in the Christian church, each party appealing to the Scriptures in support of its doctrines and rites;—all these things rendered any material alteration in the sacred books utterly impossible; while the silence of their acutest enemies, who would most assuredly have charged them with the attempt if it had been made, and the agreement of all the MSS. and Versions extant, are positive proofs of the integrity and incorruptness of the New Testament, which are further attested

* There is a very remarkable passage in *Josephus against Apion*, b. 1, § 8, where he asserts that such was the veneration among the Jews for the sacred books, that in the very long series of ages, no one, down to his time, had ever dared to add to or take away any thing from them, or even to make in them the least alteration.

† See Part I, chap. 2, sect. 5.

‡ It is notorious, too, that no book was permitted to be read in the primitive church but what was deemed canonical; a proof, not only of the divine authority of the sacred writings, but of their integrity also. They were ever before the eye, and sounding in the ear.

by the agreement with it of all the quotations which occur in the writings of the Christians, from the earliest age to the present time. In fact, so far from there having been any gross adulteration in the sacred volumes, the best and most able writers have proved that, even in lesser matters, the Holy Scriptures have suffered less from the injury of time and the errors of transcribers, than any other writings whatever; and that the very worst MS. extant would not misrepresent one article of faith, or destroy one moral precept. §

SECTION VII.

THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

HAVING now ascertained that the books composing the Old and New Testaments are in every particular true, as we now possess them, it follows that they comprise the subject-matter of a divine revelation. They assert this, and claim it as their distinguishing character. They rest the obligation to receive their testimony upon this ground: "For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompence of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?" Heb. ii. 2—4. This passage of the apostolic writings indicates not only the divine character of the substance of the biblical books, but also the specific proofs by which that divine character is attested and sustained. At these proofs it is now our business to glance. They are, miracles and prophecy—the qualities of the doctrines propounded—and their miraculous propagation through the world. A few words upon each of these topics shall close this chapter.

I. We have already said, when treating of the accumulated evidence of divine revelation, that MIRACLES—public, unequivocal miracles—exhibited, bring home to the very senses of men the intervention of a divine power; and that, competently witnessed and recorded, they transmit the conviction from age to age. Now such miracles—that is, unequivocal and publicly exhibited miracles—are the very credentials which are exhibited of the divine mission and authoritative teaching of the prophets, the Messiah, the apostles, and the

§ Pareau has some lucid remarks on the integrity of the books of the Old Testament, in his "Principles of Interpretation," P. 1, s. 1, chap. v., § 3.

evangelists, whose combined sayings and discourses form the subject-matter of the divine revelation. The plagues of Egypt, as they are usually denominated, consisted of a series of publicly exhibited and unequivocal miracles, wrought to attest the divine mission of Moses, and admitted even by the interested opponents of the Hebrew prophet and legislator, to have been performed by "the finger of God," *Exod. viii. 19.* Throughout the prophetic writings we meet with numerous similar occurrences, all performed with equal publicity, accompanied by the same unequivocal evidence, and extorting from the enemies of God's people similar self-condemnatory confessions. The life of our Saviour was a series of such miraculous works; and upon this ground he appealed to the Jewish people to admit his Messiahship, and embrace his doctrines: "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin; but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father," *John xv. 24.* "And many of the people believed on him, and said, When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" *chap. vii. 31.* See also *chap. x. 37, 38; xiv. 11.* To the miracles of the apostles and evangelists, including all the primitive preachers of the gospel, the same writings also bear the most unequivocal testimony, showing that in preaching the word "God bare them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will," *Heb. ii. 4.* The inference is irresistible. A miracle, being an event or occurrence out of the ordinary course of nature, is placed beyond the reach of any human agency, and therefore, when brought to pass according to previous notice, it cannot but be regarded as the testimony of God, borne to the character and mission of the person or persons by whom it is performed. This conclusion necessarily results from the perfect veracity of the Supreme Being, who never can give his testimony to any thing but truth.

2. The various proofs that we have shown to exist in favour of the authenticity of the sacred writings, are, of course, conclusive on behalf of the miracles which those writings describe to have been wrought in attestation of their truth. But we have not exhausted the indications of their divinity when we have shown the publicity with which they were performed, the scrutiny they underwent, the God-like end to which they stood in the relation of means, as also their unspeakable greatness as actions or events. These miracles were not isolated events; they are legitimately taken in combination with other data. Visible interventions on the part of the Eternal, they

appear in close relationship to that prescience which announced what Omnipotence was afterwards to perform. This is more emphatically true of the miracles of our Lord and Saviour, although the argument is not exclusively applicable to them.

3. The miracles of our Lord are, then, not only magnificent in their structure, but they correspond to predictions laid down hundreds of years before he had manifested forth his glory, in turning the water into wine at Cana in Galilee. An impostor had here a double difficulty; he was required, not merely to perform miraculous actions, but to preserve certain striking points of agreement between these and specific predictions, which were not only universally circulated among the people he desired to convince, but were also jealously guarded by them as their peculiar inheritance,—the last of all their glories. And when the nature of the miracles which he required officially to perform is taken into account, the difficulty becomes so insurmountable, that the most egregious impostor would have shrunk from encountering it. It was predicted of the Messiah, that he should declare the acceptable year of the Lord; and that declaration, in its proper sense, could only have been made by the true Messiah: such would have been a profitless, nay, a dangerous, annunciation to an impostor. But it may be said that it admitted of a forced interpretation; that he who could not legally use the prophecy, might illegally have accommodated it to his own sinister views; that the Antichrist might have declared the time of his own imposture to have been the season predicted; that he might have announced himself as the person sent from heaven to realize those oracles which ascribed to the Messiah the redemption of Israel. But suppose such an individual to be besieged by the lame, the blind, and the paralytic, asking his official assistance, and imploring the exertions of his curative powers; could he have acted as the Saviour of the world did in the case of the disciples of John, who were sent to interrogate him regarding his Messiahship, when in the same hour he fulfilled what ancient prophets had predicted of the Messiah, and sent his examiners to John to bear witness to the validity of his pretensions? Such an individual, like Mahomet, would have craftily evaded the exhibition of miraculous powers. He would, in accordance with the spirit of the times, have merged the worker of miracles in the turbulent demagogue—the teacher of righteousness in the fierce leader of banditti, and the prime agent of sedition.*

* The chief difficulty of infidelity (and we have a right to press it) must be to account for the consecutive dispensations of religion, and the successively-formed portions of Scripture,

4. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, then, and giving to each of them its due weight in the argument, it may be safely averred, that the miracles by which the divine revelation comprised in the Holy Scriptures is authenticated, stand upon more irrefragable ground than do any other historical facts.

II. Amongst the evidences of divine revelation THE FULFILMENT OF PROPHECY takes a foremost place. This is a standing miracle, exhibited to the senses of men, in every age of the world, and, in different degrees, commanding their attention and regard. If, long antecedent to its occurrence, a specific event, not resulting from the operation of ordinary causes, and altogether independent of human control, be clearly and circumstantially foretold, there is ground for a strong presumption that the source of that foreknowledge in which the prediction took its rise, is referable to omniscience. If the number of such predictions become multiplied, and the particularity of their character increased, the presumption of a divine interposition is, of course, proportionably augmented. To anticipate a general effect from the operation of known causes, is all that the power of man can attain to; and even in this, his calculations are not unfrequently marked by error. Even in relation to the commonest events, there is often a material discrepancy between the anticipation and the actual occurrence. There is no recorded instance in which unaided human reason was able to scan the future with certainty. In all human calculations, too, the conclusion results from some known data; but even with this advantage, nothing more than a general effect is attempted to be foretold; the precise mode of occurrence—excepting where the whole event depends upon well-known and immutable laws—is rarely foreseen. The Bible, on the contrary, as we have seen in a former section, contains innumerable predictions relating to very distant events, in no wise under the control of man, and resulting from no conceivable or known law of nature. To pass by those general predictions of the coming of the Messiah that are to be found scattered throughout the Old Testament from Genesis to Malachi, there are numerous other

prophecies, belonging to this class, of so circumstantial and minute a description, that they cannot fail to impress an ingenuous mind with a conviction of their having proceeded from God.

1. Thus, it was foretold that the Messiah should be born of a virgin (Isai. vii. 14), in the city of Bethlehem (Mic. v. 2), of the seed of Jesse (Isai. xi. 1—10); that he should lead a life of poverty and suffering (Ps. xxii.), inflicted upon him, not for himself (Dan. ix. 26), but for the sins of others (Isai. liii.); that after a short confinement in the grave he should rise again (Ps. xvi. 10); that he should sit upon the throne of David for ever, and be called the "Mighty God" (Isai. ix. 6, 7)—"the Lord our Righteousness" (Jer. xxxiii. 16)—"Immanuel" (Isai. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23)—and, by David himself, whose son he was, "Lord" (Ps. cx. 1; Matt. xxii. 44; Acts ii. 34). The time of his advent was to be before the sceptre should depart from Judah (Gen. xlix. 10), during the continuance of the second temple (Hag. iii. 7—9), and within seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years, from its erection (Dan. ix. 24). From these and many other prophecies, the coming of the Messiah was at all times the general expectation of the Jews; and that this expectation had ripened into full maturity at the time of his advent, may be inferred from the number of false Messiahs who about that period made their appearance. That he was also the expectation of the Gentiles (see Gen. xxix. 10; Hag. ii. 7), is evinced by the coming of the wise men from the East to pay their adoration to him (Matt. ii.). All over the East, indeed, there was a general tradition, that about that time a king would appear in Judea, who should govern the whole world. This expectation was so strongly excited at Rome, a few months before the birth of Augustus, that the senate made a decree to expose all the children who should be born during that year. Its execution, however, was eluded by a trick of some of the senators, who were induced to hope that they might become the fathers of the promised prince. The currency of the tradition is recorded with a remarkable identity of phrase, by Suetonius* and Tacitus†, two Roman historians of great eminence. Now, that in this there was no collusion between the Chaldeans, Romans, and Jews, is sufficiently proved by the desperate methods suggested, or carried into effect, for its discomfiture. Nor, in fact, is it practicable

which are such striking phenomena in the history of our religion. The notion of an imposture—a conspiracy for a thousand years—is too wild for even madness itself. But were we for a moment to give countenance to a supposition so unnatural—to try by probability what outrages common sense, experience, and analogy—we would ask, if it be likely that those who preferred the predictions regarding the Messiah would have shaped out for the coming impostor of their system a task in which he was sure to have been covered over with the disgrace of complete and merited failure?—Steele's Philosophy of the Evidences of Christianity, chap. iii., seq.

* "An ancient and settled persuasion prevailed throughout the East, that the Fates had decreed some one to proceed from Judea, who should obtain universal empire." Suet. Vesp. 4.

† "Many were persuaded that it was contained in the ancient books of their priests, that, at that very time, the East should prevail, and that some one should proceed from Judea, and possess the dominion." Tacit. Hist. v. 13.

for whole nations of contemporary, and still less, if possible, for those of successive, generations, to concert a story perfectly harmonious in all its minute accompaniments of time, place, manner, and other circumstances.

2. But there are several prophecies relative to the Messiah, of a still more minute and circumstantial nature than those which have been noticed. These prophecies foretel particular incidents in the gospel narrative, unparalleled in the whole range of history, and which could have been foreseen by God alone. They were certainly not foreseen by the agents in their accomplishment, or they would never have contributed to the fulfilment of prophecies referred even by themselves to the Messiah, and verifying the divine mission of him whom they crucified as an impostor.*

3. Then, there are the thousand predictions, circumstantial and remote, of other and divers strange events, the fulfilment of which has been seen by the whole world. According to some of these, the descendants of Shem and Japheth are "ruling" and "enlarged," while the wretched descendants of Ham are still "the servants of servants" (Gen. ix. 25—27); the posterity of Ishmael have "multiplied exceedingly," and become "a great nation," in the Arabians; yet living like "wild men," and shifting from place to place in the wilderness, "their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them," and still "dwelling," an independent and free people, "in the presence of all their brethren," and in the presence of all their enemies (Gen. xvi. 10—12; xvii. 20); the family of Esau has become extinct, "cut off for ever," so that there is none "remaining of the house of Esau" (Jer. xlix. 17; Ezek. xxv. 12; Joel iii. 19; Amos i. 11; Obad. x. 18); "the sceptre has departed from Judah" (Gen. xlix. 10), though the Jews still "dwell alone, and are not reckoned among the nations," while "the remembrance of Amalek is utterly put out from under heaven" (Numb. xiii. 9; xxiv. 10); Nineveh is so completely destroyed, that the place thereof cannot be known (Nab. i.—iii.); Babylon has been swept with the besom of destruction, and is made "a desolation for ever, a possession for the bittern and pools of water," "a dwelling-place for dragons, an astonishment and hissing, without an inhabitant (Isa. xiii. xiv.); Tyre has become "like the top of a rock, a place for fishers to spread their nets upon"

(Ezek. xxvi. 4, 5); Egypt, "a base kingdom, the basest of the kingdoms," still tributary and subject to strangers, so that it has never been able to "exalt itself above the nations" (Ezek. xxix. 14, 15); the fourth and last of the four great empires, which was greater and more powerful than any of the former, has been divided into ten lesser kingdoms; and among them has arisen a power "with a triple crown, diverse from the first," with "a mouth speaking very great things," and with "a look more stout than his fellows, speaking great things against the Most High, wearing out the saints of the Most High, and changing times and laws," which did "cast down the truth to the ground, and prosper, and practise, and destroy the holy people, not regarding the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor the regard of any god," but "honouring the god of forces," or Mauzzim, gods protectors, and causing the priests of Mauzzim "to rule over many, and to divide the land for gain" (Dan. xi. 37—39); for their disobedience and infidelity to their "great prophet, like unto Moses," the Hebrews have been "plucked from off their own land, and removed into all the kingdoms of the earth, and scattered among the heathen, among the nations, among all people, from one end of the earth even to the other, sifted "among all nations, like as corn is sifted in a sieve;" have been "left few in number among the heathen;" have "pined away in their iniquity in their enemies' lands;" have "become an astonishment, a proverb, and a bye-word among all nations," "a reproach, a taunt, and a curse;" have "found among these nations no ease, and the sole of their foot has had no rest; but the Lord has given them a trembling heart, and failing of eyes, and sorrow of mind, and sent a faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies, so that the sound of a shaken leaf has chased them, and they have been many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without a teraphim" (Lev. xxvi. 38, 39; Deut. xxix. 62—67; Ezek. v. 10—15; Hos. iii. 4); and yet, while their mighty conquerors are every where destroyed, they are miraculously preserved a distinct people.

4. In like manner, the predictions interwoven in the writings of the New Testament are conclusive of their divine character. The destruction of Jerusalem, with all its attendant and unusual circumstances; the series of ages during which the holy city has been trodden down by the Gentiles; the long-continued dispersion of the Jews, and the conversion of the Gentiles to the true religion; the apostasy of the western church; the division of the Roman empire into ten kingdoms;

* See Ps. lxxix. 21; Matt. xxvii. 34; Ps. xxii. 16—18; John xix. 23, 24; Zech. xi. 10; John xix. 34; Ps. xxii. 7, 8; Matt. xxvii. 39, 41, 43; Zech. xi. 13; Matt. xxvii. 6, 7; Zech. ix. 9; Matt. xxi. 9; Is. liii. 9; Matt. xxvii. 33, 57, 60.

their concurrence to support the assumptions of the Church of Rome, and several other events predicted by our Saviour or his apostles, afford the most convincing evidence that the books containing them, as well as the persons who uttered them, were possessed by a divine inspiration.

5. Amongst these predictions, those which relate to the overthrow of the holy city, and the termination of the Jewish polity, are the most remarkable and distinguished. At the time when our Lord uttered these prophecies, there was nothing to have suggested such a state of things as they include, to a mind not illuminated by the omniscience of God. The Jews, indeed, cherished a deep and bitter hostility towards their foreign oppressors; but the idea of a weak, and abject, and conquered people, proceeding to such a pitch of resistance as to require the legions of Rome and the generalship of Titus to subdue them; the notion that the degraded city of Jerusalem, then garrisoned by Roman soldiers, would put itself into a defensive posture against the military prowess of the mistress of the world; might have appeared wild and unreasonable to ordinary judgments: every thing rather omened a universal degeneracy among all ranks; that the loss of freedom would be succeeded by that of virtue, and that again by the dereliction of all public spirit; that rampant crimes would be found linked to a mean and cringing pusillanimity; and that the people, whose forefathers had formed the victorious hosts of Israel, would be degraded to the miserable and uncomplaining slaves of an irresistible despotism. Prophecy never appears so godlike as when it looks not merely through the vista of the natural but of the moral futurity; when it surveys the mechanism of minds which exist only in the presence of God, and takes cognizance of events beheld alone on the illuminated field of the divine foreknowledge. Were we to allow that our blessed Lord's predictions regarding the overthrow of Jerusalem, as a political event, might have been emitted by hoary statesmen, and the ruin of the Jews described by a far-sighted sagacity; to what shall we ascribe that wisdom in him which explores the human spirit, and grasps the whole complex futuration of men's contrivance? His predictions regarding the destruction of the Jewish polity extend themselves to minute contingencies, and embrace actions which apparently depended rather on caprice and wantonness, than on any general principles of conduct. These oracles of Jesus had, therefore, a peculiarly divine character; they indicate that they originated in the sublime wisdom of God, "who in times past spake to the fathers by the prophets," and to the

world, "in these latter days, by his Son," the great agent of his government in the church, under every dispensation of his "glorious gospel." The shortening of the days, for the elect's sake—the destruction of the temple, against the inclinations and command of Titus—the obstinacy of the Jews, within the precincts of that sacred edifice—the removal of the foundation-stones of the temple—and the passing a plough-share over the ground in which they were imbedded by the lieutenant of Titus, were events improbable indeed, but which enter in some way into the predictions which were uttered by our Saviour, to whom the apostle Peter justly ascribed a universal knowledge: "Lord, thou knowest all things!"*

III. The unexampled and perfect MORAL PURITY OF THE DOCTRINES propounded in the Scriptures, and their universal fitness to the exigencies of mankind, furnish another and unanswerable proof that they are the revelations of the Almighty. The scheme of doctrine and morality contained in the Bible, is so exalted, pure, and benevolent, that God only could either devise or appoint it. In the Scriptures alone, and in such books as make them their basis, the infinite God is introduced as speaking in a manner worthy of himself, with simplicity, majesty, and authority. His character, as there delineated, comprises all possible excellence, without any intermixture; his laws and ordinances accord with his perfections; his works and dispensations exhibit them; and all his dealings with his creatures bear the stamp of infinite wisdom, power, justice, purity, truth, goodness, and mercy, harmoniously displayed. While the Supreme Being is thus described as possessed of every perfection, unbounded and incomprehensible in his essence and nature, and as the creator, governor, and benefactor of his creatures, the Scriptures represent man in a lapsed state, a rebellious and fallen being, alienated from God and goodness, averse by nature to all that is good and amiable, and prone to every thing that is sinful and hateful, and consequently exposed to the eternal wrath of God. The Scriptures, however, do not leave us in this wretched state; they propose an adequate remedy for all our diseases, and an ample supply for all our wants. Laws of universal purity and benevolence are prescribed with an authority proper only to God, and extended to such a compass and degree as God alone can demand; and those sins are forbidden which God alone could either observe or prohibit. The most powerful motives to duty, and dissuasives from

* Steele's Philosophy of the Evidences of Christianity, pp. 115—117.

vice, are wisely proposed and powerfully urged—motives drawn from the nature and perfections, the promises and threatenings, the mercies and judgments of God; particularly from his overflowing benevolence and mercy in the work of our redemption, and from advantages and disadvantages, temporal, spiritual, and eternal. Now, these things were written at a time when all the rest of the world—even the wisest, and most learned, and most celebrated nations of the earth—were sunk in the grossest ignorance of God and religion; were worshipping idols and brute beasts, indulging themselves in the most abominable vices; living in envy, hatred, and strife; hateful, and hating one another. It is a most singular circumstance, that a people in a remote, obscure corner of the world, far inferior to several heathen nations in learning, in philosophy, in genius, in science, and in all the polite arts, should yet be so infinitely their superiors in their ideas of a Supreme Being, and of every thing relative to morality and religion. This cannot be accounted for on any other supposition, than that of their having been instructed in these things by God himself, or by persons commissioned or inspired by him.

IV. The rapid and extensive PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY affords another evidence of its divine character.

1. The success that immediately attended the personal ministry of Christ was extremely limited, if we merely regard the number of persons who attached themselves to him. His object seemed to be—after exhibiting sufficient proofs of his divine mission and character—to prepare the minds of men for the preaching of his *apostles*, when the dispensation of his kingdom should have been fully opened by the effusion of the Holy Spirit, rather than to surround *himself* with a large number of disciples during his personal ministry. Accordingly we find, from the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles, that almost immediately after our Saviour's ascension, that is, as soon as the apostles were endued with power from on high, the number of converts began rapidly to increase, and continued to do so in every place where the story of the Saviour's resurrection was declared. The first assembly of the disciples consisted of only one hundred and twenty persons, Acts i. 15. About a week after this, they added three thousand to their number in the course of one day (ch. ii. 41); and the number publicly baptized, and publicly associating together, was very soon augmented to five thousand, ch. iv. 4. This, it will be recollected, was in the very place where our Lord had made his appearance, discharged his public ministry, and suffered death. Within a very few years from

this time the converts so astonishingly increased, that multitudes, both of men and women, to the extent of myriads, tens of thousands (ch. xxi. 20) were members of the infant church. In the century following, Pliny informs us that he found the heathen temples in Achaia almost deserted;* and Tertullian subsequently declares, that if the Christians were to withdraw, whole cities and provinces would be dispeopled;† that the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phrygia, Cappadocia; the inhabitants of Pontus, Asia, and Pamphylia; they that dwell in Egypt and in Africa, beyond Cyrene; Romans and strangers; Jews and other people in Judea; the various sorts of people in Getulea, the countries of the Moors, all the borders of Spain, the different nations of Gaul, and those parts of Britain which the Romans could not reach; the Sarmatæ, also, with the Dacii, the Germans, the Scythians, and others, were all subject to Christ.‡

2. "It has been observed, with truth as well as propriety," says a writer who will not be suspected of much affection for Christianity, though his acquaintance with the laws of evidence forbade his contradicting the general veracity of the evangelical history, "that the conquests of Rome prepared and facilitated those of Christianity. The authentic histories of the actions of Christ were composed in the Greek language, after the Gentile converts were grown extremely numerous. As soon as those histories were translated into the Latin tongue, they were perfectly intelligible to all the subjects of Rome, excepting only to the peasants of Syria and Egypt, for whose benefit particular versions were afterwards made. The public highways, which had been constructed for the use of the legions, opened an easy passage for the Christian missionaries from Damascus to Corinth, and from Italy to the extremity of Spain or Britain. There is the strongest reason to believe, that before the reigns of Dioclesian and Constantine, the faith of Christ had been preached in every province, and in all the great cities of the empire. The rich provinces that extended from the Euphrates to the Ionian seas, were the principal theatre on which the apostle of the Gentiles displayed his zeal and piety. The seeds of the gospel which he had scattered in a fertile soil, were diligently cultivated by his disciples; and it should seem that, during the two first centuries, the most considerable body of Christians was contained within those limits. Among the societies which were instituted in Syria, none were more ancient or more illustrious

* Epist. x. 97.

† Cont. Jud. l. 1.

‡ Apol. xxxvii.

than those of Damascus, of Berea or Aleppo, and of Antioch. The prophetic introduction of the Apocalypse has described and immortalized the seven churches of Asia: Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Laodicea, and Philadelphia; and their colonies were soon diffused over that populous country. In a very early period, the islands of Cyprus and Crete, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, gave a favourable reception to the new religion; and Christian republics were soon founded in the cities of Corinth, of Sparta, and of Athens. To these domestic testimonies we may add the confession, the complaints, and the apprehensions of the Gentiles themselves. From the writings of Lucian, a philosopher who had studied mankind, and who describes their manners in the most lively colours, we may learn, that, under the reign of Commodus, his native country of Pontus was filled with the Epicureans and Christians. Within fourscore years after the death of Christ, the humane Pliny laments the magnitude of the evil which he vainly attempted to eradicate. In his very curious epistle to the emperor Trajan, he affirms, that the temples were almost deserted, that the sacred victims scarcely found any purchasers, and that the 'superstition' had not only infected the cities, but had even spread itself into the villages and the open country of Pontus and Bithynia.*

3. Thus we see, in the course of a few years, a new religion spread over all the principal parts of Asia and Europe, by the ministry of a few humble missionaries, and that at a time when paganism was in its highest repute, believed by the vulgar and supported by the great, the wisest men of the wisest nations assisting at its sacrifices, and consulting its oracles.

4. If Christianity had flattered the corrupt passions of mankind, and held out to them the prospects of power, wealth, rank, or pleasure; if it had soothed their vices, humoured their prejudices, and encouraged their ancient superstitions; if its preachers had been men of brilliant talents or of commanding eloquence; if they had first proposed it in times of darkness and ignorance, and among savage and barbarous nations; if they had been seconded by all the influence and authority of the great potentates of the earth, or propagated their doctrines at the head of a victorious army;—some reason might be assigned for its extraordinary success.

5. But the very reverse of all this was the case. It is notorious that the first preachers of the gospel declared open war against all the follies,

the vices, the interests, the inveterate prejudices, and the favourite superstitions of the world; that they were (with one or two exceptions) men of no great abilities or learning, or powers of persuasion; that their doctrines were promulgated in an enlightened age, and to the most polished nations, and had all the wit and learning, and eloquence and philosophy of the world to contend with; and that, instead of being aided by the authority and influence of the civil powers, they were opposed, and harassed, and persecuted by them, even to death, with the most unrelenting cruelty, and all who embraced their doctrines exposed to the same hardships and sufferings.

6. Is it credible, then, that under these circumstances, twelve men, most of them illiterate, and all of them without influence, should of themselves invent a system of theology the most sublime, and of ethics the most perfect, and opposed, therefore, to all the vicious propensities, lax morality, and licentious and impure religion of the times; and by their own unaided powers give it a dominion over so large a part of the world, and in so short a period of time, as even to excite the astonishment and call forth the admiration of its bitterest enemies? If any one can believe such a thing, contradictory as it is to experience, and also to the nature of things, he must possess a much larger measure of faith than he is called upon to exercise in the reception of the Christian system.

7. The force of this argument did not escape the penetrating and acute mind of Gibbon, one of the most subtle and specious among infidel writers. The historian therefore undertook the hopeless task of assigning reasons for this extraordinary occurrence, which he hoped might be deemed adequate to the purpose, without further resorting to a divine influence and superintendence. These reasons have been subjected to a rigid scrutiny by Mr. Faber,* among other writers, who has shown them to be totally inadequate to solve the phenomena; and further, that this cannot be done without the admission of a supernatural interposition.

V. The subsequent REVIVALS and TRIUMPHS of CHRISTIANITY furnish a proof of its divine constitution, almost equally cogent with that derived from its early progress and dominion.

1. Upon this topic, the acute and eloquent author of the *Natural History of Enthusiasm* has the following observations, which, if they do not convince the sceptic, cannot fail to charm and confirm the believer:—

* Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii., chap. xv., p. 357, 360.

* *Difficulties of Infidelity*, pp. 194–236.

2. "If there were room to imagine that the first spread of Christianity was owing rather to an accidental conjuncture of favouring circumstances than to its real power over the human mind; or if it might be thought that any such peculiar virtue was all spent and exhausted in its first expansive effort; then it is natural to look to the next occasion in which the opinions of mankind were put in fermentation, and to watch in what manner the system of the Bible rode over the high billows of political, religious, and intellectual commotion. It was a fair trial for Christianity, and a trial essentially different from its first, when in the fifteenth century, after having been corrupted in every part to a state of loathsome ulceration, it had to contend for existence, and to work its own renovation, at the moment of the most extraordinary expansion of the human intellect that has ever happened. At that moment when the splendid literature of the ancient world started from its tomb, and kindled a blaze of universal admiration; at that moment when the first beams of sound philosophy broke over the nations, and when the revival of the useful arts gave at once elasticity to the minds of the million, and a check of practical influence to the minds of the few; at the moment when the necromancy of the press came into play to expose and explode necromancy of every other kind; and when the discovery of new continents, and of a new path to the old, tended to supplant a taste for whatever is visionary, by imparting a vivid taste for what is substantial; at such a time, which seemed to leave no chance of continued existence to aught that was not in its nature vigorous, might it not confidently have been said, This must be the crisis of Christianity? If it be not inwardly sound; if it have not a true hold of human nature; if it be a thing of feebleness and dotage, fit only for cells, and crows, and the precincts of spiritual despotism; if it be not adapted to the world of action; if it have no sympathy with the feelings of men, and of freemen; nothing can save it: no power of princes, no devices of priests, will avail to rear it anew, and to replace it in the veneration of the people; at least not in any country where has been felt the freshening gale of intellectual life. The result of this crisis need not be narrated.

3. "It may even be doubted—had not Christianity been fraught with power—if all the influence of kings, and craft of priests, could have upheld it in any part of Europe, after the revival of learning; certainly not in those countries which received at the same time the invigoration of political liberty, and science, and commerce.

4. "With the history of the fifteenth and six-

teenth century in view, it is asked if Christianity is a system that must always lean upon ignorance, and craft, and despotism, and which, when those rotten stays are removed, must fail, and be seen no more?

5. "Yet another species of trial was in store to give proof of the indestructibility and victorious power of Christianity. It remained to be seen whether, when the agitations, political and moral, consequent upon the great schism which had taken place in Europe, had subsided, and when the season of slumber and exhaustion came on, and when human reason, strengthened and refined by physical science and elegant literature, should awake fully to the consciousness of its powers; whether then the religion of the Bible could retain its hold of the nations, or at least of those of them that enjoyed without limit the happy influences of political liberty and intellectual light. This was a sort of probation which Christianity had never before passed through.

6. "And what were the omens under which it entered upon the new trial of its strength? Were the friends of Christianity at that moment of portentous conflict awake, and vigilant, and stout-hearted, and thoroughly armed to repel assaults? The very reverse was the fact. For at the instant when the atheistical conspiracy made its long-concerted, and well-advised, and consentaneous, and furious attack, there was scarcely a pulse of life left in the Christian body, in any one of the Protestant states. The old superstitions had crawled back into many of their ancient corners. In other quarters the spirit of protestation against those superstitions had breathed itself away in trivial wranglings, or had given place to infidelity—infidelity aggravated by stalled hypocrisy. The church of England—the chief prop of modern Christianity—was then torpid, and fainting under the incubus of false doctrine and of a secular spirit, and seemed incapable of the effort which the peril of the time demanded; few indeed of her sons were panoplied, and sound hearted, as champions in such a cause should be. Within a part only of a small body of dissenters (for a part was smitten with the plague of heresy), and that part in great measure disqualified for free and energetic action by rigidities, and scruples, and divisions, was contained almost all the religious life and fervour any where to be found in Christendom.

7. "Meanwhile the infidel machinators had chosen their ground at leisure, and were wrought to the highest pitch of energy by a confident, and as it might well seem a well-founded, hope of success. They were backed by the secret wishes, or the

undissembled cheerings of almost the entire body of educated men throughout Europe. They used the only language then common to the civilized world, and a language which might be imagined to have been framed and finished designedly to accomplish the demolition of whatever was grave and venerated; a language, beyond any other, of raillery, of insinuation, and of sophistry; a language of polished missiles, whose temper could penetrate not only the cloak of imposture, but the shield of truth.

8. "At the same portentous moment the shocks and upheavings of political commotion opened a thousand fissures in the ancient structure of moral and religious sentiment, and the enemies of Christianity, surprised by unexpected success, rushed forward to achieve an easy triumph. The firmest and the wisest friends of old opinions desponded, and many believed that a few years would see Atheism the universal doctrine of the western nations, as well as military despotism the only form of government.

9. "It is hard to imagine a single advantage that was lacking to the promoters of infidelity, or a single circumstance of peril and ill omen that was not present to deepen the gloom of the friends of religion. The actual issue of that signal crisis is before our eyes in the freshness of a recent event. Christianity has triumphed. But shall it be said—or if said, believed—that the late resurrection of the religion of the Bible has been managed in the cabinets of monarchs? Have kings and emperors given this turn to public opinion, which now compels infidelity to hide its shame behind the very mask of hypocrisy that it had so lately torn from the face of the priest? To come home to facts with which all must be familiar. Has there not been heard, within the last few years, from the most enlightened, the most sober-minded, and the freest people of Europe, a firm, articulate, spontaneous, and cordial expression of preference, and of enhanced veneration, towards Christianity?

10. "The spread of the English stock, and language, and literature, over the North American continent, has afforded a distinct and very significant indication of the power of Christianity to retain its hold of the human mind, and of its aptness to run hand in hand with civilization, even when unaided by those secular succours to which its enemies in malice, and some of its friends in over-caution, are prone to attribute too much importance. The tendency of its republicanism, which obviously has some strong affinity with infidelity—and the con-

nexion of the colonies, at the moment of their revolt, with France—and the prevalence of a peculiarly eager and uncorrected commercial temper—and the absence, of every sort and semblance of restraint upon opinion—were concurrent circumstances, belonging to the infancy of the American Union, of a kind which put to the severest test the intrinsic power of Christianity, in retaining its hold of the human mind. Could infidel experimenters have wished for conditions more equitable under which to try the respective forces of the opposing systems?

11. "And what has been the issue? It is true that infidelity holds still its ground in the United States, as in Europe, and there, as in Europe, keeps company with whatever is debauched, sordid, oppressive, reckless, ruffian-like. But at the same time Christianity has gained rather than lost ground, and shows itself there in a style of as much fervour and zeal as in England; and, perhaps, even has the advantage in these respects. Wherever, on that continent, good order and intelligence are spreading, there also the religion of the Bible spreads. And if it be probable that the English race, and language, and institutions, will, in a century, pervade its deserts, all appearances favour the belief that the edifices of Christian worship will bless every landscape of the present wilderness that shall then 'blossom as the rose.'

VI. We have now taken a brief, and, necessarily, imperfect, view of the guarantees which we possess for the original divine character of the revelation comprised in the sacred Scriptures, and for the integrity and preservation of the text by which it has been handed down to us. These guarantees are of the most satisfactory description, each one of them possessing at least the highest degree of probability; and the combined strength of the whole furnishing an amount of moral demonstration which cannot be challenged for any other ancient writings, nor be resisted by any ingenuous mind, surrendered up to the deliberate and dispassionate investigation of its claims. The word of Jehovah is "a sure word;" it comes to men in the "demonstration of the Spirit," and with "power," "bringing down high imaginations, and everything which exalteth itself against God;" humbling man, that it may raise him to the dignity of "a son of God," and justifying to worlds—seen and unseen—the inscrutable providence of its beneficent and "only wise" Author.

CHAPTER IV.

SACRED INSTITUTIONS.

In the prosecution of that divine purpose which we have seen it to have been the great object of revelation to accomplish, the Supreme Being has, from time to time, prescribed various institutions, and enjoined various duties. The discussion of some of these pertains more to the science of theology than to the art of interpretation; but there are others of them, comprising details, both of ceremony and of import, that are so frequently spoken of or alluded to in the sacred writings, as to render the knowledge of them indispensable to the biblical interpreter. To these we shall now invite attention, adverting to the former class of institutions only in so far as they are expressly and incontrovertibly described in the Scriptures.

SECTION I.

THE CHURCH—PATRIARCHAL, JEWISH, AND CHRISTIAN.

Members of the Church—The Patriarchal Church—The Jewish Church; Members of the Jewish Church; Corrupt Judaism—Jewish Sects—the Christian Church; its Constitution; its Plurality; Equality of its Members; its Submission to Divine Authority.

§ 1.—Of the Church, generally.

THE truths of divine revelation were published and tendered to the acceptance of the world—of mankind at large; but they have been, in all ages, received only by a few out of the general mass, which few, thus distinguished from the rest, have constituted “the church of the living God,” or the assembly of believers and worshippers, Acts ii. 47, vii. 38; Heb. ii. 12. The Greek appellation *ἐκκλησία*, from *εκ*, out of, and *καλεω*, I call, is clearly derivable from *קָרָא* *kehl*, a calling, a gathering together, an assembly. It is applied to the general collection of the Israelitish people (Deut. xviii. 16); to the universal body of Christians (Matt. xvi. 18); and to any particular organized body or congregation (Acts xvi. 5; Rev. i., ii., iii.). Among the characteristics of this community, must especially be noted, the fidelity of the members to themselves, to each other, and to God (Gen. v. 24, vi. 8, 22; Exod. xx. 3—17; Psalm xv.; Matt. v., vi., vii.; Phil. iv. 8). But every thing is included in the spirit of hearty and habitual co-operation; “striving together,” or as the *συναθλοντες* *μῆτι* *ψυχῇ* of Phil. i. 27, reads, “jointly contending with one soul.” In numerous places of both Tes-

taments, this spirit and practice are impressively demanded, Psalm cxxxiii.; Isai. xi. 12—14; 1 Cor. xii. 31, xiii. 1—13. To increase their numbers, to proselyte from the world, to wait and wish for the accomplishment of sacred prophecy, to be united and unceasing in their exertions, is their imperative duty and highest joy.*

§ 2. Of the Patriarchal Church.

1. THE Patriarchal church was limited in its faith, and simple in its ritual and worship. The object of the dispensation under which it existed, was to inculcate the doctrine of redemption, through the piacular death of the woman's promised seed; with its necessary concomitant—the doctrine of a recovered happy immortality.† The church, at this period, therefore, comprised those who received and confided in these doctrines; as Abel, who obtained a witness from God that he was righteous (Heb. xi. 4); Enoch, who walked with God (Gen. v. 24; Heb. xi. 5); Noah, who was heir of the righteousness which is by faith (Heb. xi. 7); Abraham, who, taught the doctrine of redemption, through the interrupted sacrifice of Isaac, looked for a heavenly country, and died in the faith (Heb. xi. 8—19); Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, with many of their contemporaries and descendants, no doubt taught by their discourse and example, who by faith anticipated things to come, and obtained a good report (Heb. xi. 20—22, &c.).

2. The Patriarchal church consisted of two periods. The first, from Adam to the flood; during which the apostasy of Cain and his descendants took place, which consisted in the rejection of the atonement, and which at length spread amongst the descendants of Seth. The second period was from Noah to the establishment of the Levitical dispensation; the apostasy from which consisted in astronomical hero-worship; while the doctrine of the atonement was strenuously maintained. ‡

3. The priesthood, whose duty was to offer

* See “Outlines of a Biblical Cyclopædia,” in *Critica Biblica*, vol. ii., pp. 495, 496.

† On this interesting topic, Faber's *Treatise on the Genius of the three Dispensations* may be advantageously consulted.

‡ For the proofs of these statements the reader must be referred to Faber's *Treatise*, already spoken of.

sacrifices, instruct the people, and superintend the worship offered to Jehovah, under the patriarchal dispensation, originally belonged to the first-born, Cain; but he forfeited it by apostate infidelity and murder. It then devolved upon Seth and his posterity, and was handed down through Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—Esau having sold his birthright to his younger brother—and thence to the time of Moses.

4. Of what may be called the discipline of the patriarchal church, we know little or nothing; the notices comprised in the book of Genesis (which, with a few passages in the Epistles to the Galatians and Hebrews, constitute the only records we have of this period) being few in number, and scant of information.

§ 3.—Of the Jewish Church.

1. THE Jewish church retained the same great and fundamental article of faith as that which constituted the prime feature of the patriarchal theology, but with additions called for by the peculiar character of the times when it was constituted, and the awful apostasy from the pure faith which prevailed almost universally in the world. The law given to the Hebrews by Moses was not intended in any way to interfere with or set aside the covenant made with Abraham, but rather to preserve it intact, and insure its fulfilment. Such is the reasoning of Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, who appear to have mistaken this matter. The gospel, as he argues, was preached to Abraham, and the covenant of faith made with him was so confirmed as to be incapable of being annulled:—"And this I say, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law, which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect. For if the inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to Abraham by promise. Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made, and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator," Gal. iii.

2. Godwyn distinguishes the people of Israel into two sorts, Hebrews and Proselytes. Jennings advances a step higher, and divides the whole world, after the formation of the Hebrew commonwealth, into Jews and Gentiles.* The form of the Hebrew government being theocratic, each member of the state was also a member of the

church, and hence the whole nation is said to be sanctified or holy, Lev. xx. 8, xxi. 8, xxii. 9, 16, 32, &c. In the later period of their history the Jews were distinguished into two classes, viz., *Hebrew Jews*, and *Hellenistic Jews* or *Grecians*, as they are called in our translation, John xii. 20; Acts vi. 1, ix. 29, xi. 20. The former spoke and conducted their worship in the Hebrew, or rather Syro-Chaldaic language; and the latter in the Greek tongue. And although as members of the Jewish church they were considered as equally holy, the former were, nevertheless, considered as being the most honourable. Hence Paul boasts (Phil. iii. 5) that he was "a Hebrew of the Hebrews," i. e., a Hebrew speaking and worshipping God in his own tongue. But, notwithstanding that the Jewish religion was peculiarly adapted to the Jewish nation, leave was given for the admission of proselytes, who were invested with certain privileges on their abjuration of idolatry, and submission to the worship of the true God. Of these proselytes there were three kinds, viz., *slaves* who embraced Judaism without receiving their freedom, *proselytes of the gate*, and *proselytes of righteousness*.†

(1) Slaves who embraced Judaism without receiving their liberty were either foreigners, who had been by some means bought into Jewish families, or they were the children of these foreigners. Of this kind of proselytes was Eliezer of Damascus, the steward of Abraham's house (Gen. xv. 2, 3), and to this does God compare Israel when he says, in Jer. ii. 14, "Is he a home-born slave; why is he spoiled?"

(2) Proselytes of the gate were persons who, without undergoing circumcision, on observing the Mosaic ritual, engaged to worship the true God, and observe the seven precepts of Noah. Naaman the Syrian (2 Kings v. 18) and Cornelius the centurion (Acts x. 2) are thought to have belonged to this class.

(3) The proselytes of righteousness were more highly favoured than the proselytes of the gate, for they might trade with Jews, marry with Jews, enter within the sacred fence of the temple, and partake of the annual feasts.‡ There were several things, however, to which they were bound to submit, before they were entitled to these privileges; as, instruction in the principles of the Jewish religion, circumcision, baptism, the offer-

† It is right to observe here, that Jennings and other writers conceive this rabbinical distinction of proselytes to have had no existence in fact. See Jewish Antiq., b. i., chap. 3, at the end.

‡ Prideaux, Connex. A. A. C. 428.

* Jewish Antiquities, b. i., chap. 3.

ing a sacrifice to Jehovah, &c. After having submitted to the rites of circumcision and baptism, the scholars who had attended as witnesses gave the proselytes a certificate, which, when presented to any synagogue, constituted them church members while they resided within the bounds.* If the head of a family was in this way baptized, the infants and slaves were baptized at the same time, without asking their consent; the former, because they could not give it; and the latter, as being the master's property, and having no rights of their own. Sons arrived at years of maturity were not baptized unless they wished it.†

(4) The female proselytes were received by baptism and sacrifice.‡

(5) We must not omit to remark, that, after having submitted to the prescribed rites, the proselyte was considered as having been born again. Thus the Jews say, "When a man is made a proselyte he is like a new-born infant," and "he hath a new soul." They even went so far as to maintain that the bond of natural relation between him and his kindred was now dissolved. Some have supposed that there is an allusion to the proselyte's renunciation of his natural relations in Luke xiv. 26, where our Lord says, "If any man come unto me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife and children, and brethren and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple;" and that there is a like allusion in the following passage: "Hearken, O daughter, and incline thine ear: forget also thine own people, and thy father's house," Ps. xlv. 10. Tacitus, in his character of the Jews, having mentioned their custom of circumcision, as adopted by proselytes, adds, "They then quickly learn to despise the gods, to renounce their country, and to hold their parents, children, and brethren in the utmost contempt." It is probable this unnatural contempt, which the Jewish doctors taught proselytes to entertain of their nearest relations, might be one thing, on account of which they are said to have "made them two-fold more the children of hell than themselves," Matt. xxiii. 15.||

3. Among the sacred persons in the Jewish constitution, we may properly enumerate:—

(1) The **KINGS**, who were the vicegerents of God, as the supreme magistrate of the state, and whose persons were, consequently, considered to

be sacred and inviolable, 1 Sam. xxiv. 5—8; 2 Sam. i. 14.

(2) The **PROPHETS** formed another class of sacred persons, and were raised up by God himself, to be the ministers of his dispensation. The business of the prophets was not merely to reveal secret things, whether past, present, or future; but also to instruct the people, and interpret the law and will of God. According to St. Augustine,§ they were the philosophers, divines, instructors, and guides of the people; forming the bulwarks of religion, as witnesses of the Divine presence, and living monuments of his will. In the earliest ages of the world, some individuals were raised up to sustain this sacred office; but from Moses to Malachi there was an uninterrupted succession of these public teachers, who testified against the misdoings of the people, laboured to call them back to a sense of their duty, and comforted and animated the pious and sincere, by predictions of future blessings. Their mode of living was most frugal, and their apparel was generally very plain. Their fidelity and zeal in the service of Jehovah frequently exposed them to cruel persecutions, in which they chose rather to submit to death than to sully their sacred character. The gift of prophecy was not always annexed to the priesthood: there were prophets of all the tribes, and sometimes even among the Gentiles. Godwyn observes that, for the propagation of learning, colleges and schools were erected for the prophets. The first intimation we have of these is in 1 Sam. x. 5, where the company of prophets are supposed to have been students in a college of prophets at Gibeath. These students were called sons of the prophets, and are frequently mentioned in after-ages, even in the most degenerate times (see 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, iv. 38); and it seems from 1 Kings xviii. 4, that they were very numerous. They were educated under a proper master (who was commonly, if not invariably, a prophet) in the knowledge of religion and of sacred music (1 Sam. x. 5, xix. 20), and were thereby qualified to be public teachers of religion. It seems that the prophets were generally chosen out of these schools. (See Amos vii. 14, 15.) It was usual among the heathen to designate all such persons as were conversant with divine things by the name of *prophet*, in conformity with which Paul, when citing a passage from Epimenides, calls him *a prophet* (Tit. i. 12). Speaking of prophets in the Christian church, the same apostle clearly defines their character by saying, that "he who pro-

* Basmage, Relig. of Jews, b. v., chap. 6, 7.

† Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. Matt. iii. 6.

Brown's Jewish Antiquities, vol. ii., p. 8, sect. 5.

|| Jennings' Jewish Antiq., b. i., ch. 3.

§ De Civitate Dei, l. xviii., ch. 41.

phesieth, speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort" (1 Cor. xiv. 3).*

(3) NAZARITES were persons separated from the use of certain things, and peculiarly devoted or consecrated to the service of God. The law relative to the Nazareate is given in Numb. vi. The vow of the Nazarite consisted in the following particulars: (1) He consecrated himself in a very especial and extraordinary manner to God. (2) This was to continue for a certain time, eight days or a month, but perhaps seldom less than a year, that he might have a full growth of hair *to burn in the fire, which is under the sacrifice of the peace-offering*. (3) During the time of his separation he drank no wine nor strong drink, nor used any vinegar formed from an inebriating liquor, nor ate fresh or dried grapes, nor tasted even the kernels or husks of any thing that had grown upon the vine. (4) He never shaved his head, but let his hair grow, as the proof of his being in this separated state, and under vows of peculiar austerity. (5) He never touched any dead body, nor did any of the last offices, even to his nearest kin, but was considered as the priests, who were wholly taken up with the service of God, and regarded nothing else. (6) "All the days of his separation he was holy;" during the whole time he was to be incessantly employed in religious acts.† Perpetual Nazarites, as Sampson and John Baptist, were consecrated to their Nazariteship by their parents. Those who made a vow of Nazariteship out of Palestine, and could not come to the temple when their vow was expired, contented themselves with observing the abstinence required by the law, and cutting off their hair in the place where they were: the offerings and sacrifices prescribed by Moses, to be offered at the temple by themselves, or by others for them, they deferred till a convenient opportunity. Hence Paul, being in Achaia, having made the vow of a Nazarite, had his hair cut off at Cenchrea, a port of Corinth, but deferred the complete fulfilment of his vow till he came to Jerusalem, Acts xviii. 18. When a person found that he was not in a condition to make a vow of Nazariteship, or that he had not leisure fully to perform it, he contented himself with contributing to the expense of the sacrifices and offerings of those who had made and were fulfilling this vow. By this means he became a partaker of such

Nazariteship. Maimonides says, that he who would partake in the Nazariteship of another, went to the temple, and said to the priest, "In such a time such a one will finish his Nazariteship; I intend to defray the charge attending the shaving off his hair, either in part or in the whole." When Paul came to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 23, 24), James, with other brethren, advised that to quiet the minds of the converted Jews, he should unite with four persons, who had vows of Nazariteship, and contribute to their charges and ceremonies, by which the people would perceive that he did not disregard the law, as they had been led to suppose.‡

§ 4.—Of Corrupt Judaism.

1. It is impossible to take even a cursory survey of the Jewish religion, without being struck with its vast superiority over the most refined and exalted system adopted by the heathen nations of antiquity, even where these had borrowed most of their light from the Sun of righteousness, which shone with such resplendent glory in Judea. Its principles were so congenial with the nature and character of man, his obligations and duties, his wants and desires; its advantages so numerous and manifest; and its ritual so fascinating and engaging; that it would seem almost impossible that its subjects should ever abandon it in favour of the disgusting rites and degrading superstitions of idolatrous worship. Nevertheless, it is a lamentable fact, that the people who were favoured with this revelation, and destined to be the preservers and teachers of the knowledge of the true God, at various periods of their history abandoned their temple and oracle—their religion and their God—to mix with the surrounding nations in the impurities of their worship; and at others, engrafted upon their pure and hallowed system of doctrines sundry idolatrous rites.

2. To trace the rise and progress of idolatry among the Jewish people, or even to enumerate the idols and idolatrous customs adopted by them, during the period of their history prior to the captivity, would greatly exceed the limits of this work. We can only observe, therefore, that the first palpable exhibition of a desire to relapse into idolatrous practices was made under circumstances of the most aggravating character, in the well-known matter of the golden calf. Under the administration of the judges there was an awful

* See Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, b. i., chap. vi.; Jennings' *Antiq.* b. i., chap. vi.; Stillingfleet's *Orig. Sac.* p. 92, &c.; Lamy's *Appar. Bib.* b. i., chap. viii.; Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

† Dr. A. Clarke on Numb. vi. 5.

‡ Calmet's *Bib. Ency.*, art. "Nazarite."

degeneracy, from which they were to a considerable extent recovered during the government of Samuel and David. Towards the close of Solomon's reign, that monarch set a sad and a fatal example to his subjects, which soon spread through the whole length and breadth of the land, and ultimately subjected the two nations to a total deportation and captivity, which so far answered the design of God, in curing them of their idolatrous propensities, that in every subsequent period of their history they seem to have regarded it with the utmost abhorrence.

3. In various places of the Old Testament mention is made of the groves and high places dedicated to idolatrous purposes, and where the Israelites are said to have "burnt incense and wrought wickedness, to provoke the Lord, as did the heathen," 2 Kings xvii. 9, 13. For this reason no altar dedicated to Jehovah was allowed to be set up near them.*

4. At the time of our Saviour's appearance, errors of a most pernicious kind had affected the whole body of the people, and the more learned part of the nation was divided upon points of the highest importance. They regarded the whole of religion as consisting in the rites of the Mosaic law, and in the performance of some external acts of duty. They were unanimous in excluding from eternal life all other nations; and, as a consequence, they were treated with the utmost contempt and inhumanity. The multitude were sunk in the most deplorable ignorance of God and of divine things; and had no notion of any other way of rendering themselves acceptable to the Divine Being than by sacrifices and the other external rites of the Mosaic law. Hence proceeded the profligate wickedness which prevailed to so alarming an extent during the period of our Saviour's ministry. To this fact Josephus must be regarded as an unexceptionable witness. He states, that "both publicly and privately they were universally corrupt. They vied which should surpass each other in impiety against God, and injustice towards men. The great men harassed the people, and the people studied to ruin the great." "In one word, there never was a city that suffered such calamities, nor a race of men, from the foundation of the world, that ever was

more profligate and abandoned." In another place he says, "I cannot forbear declaring my opinion, though the declaration fills me with great emotion and regret, that if the Romans had delayed to come against these wretches, the city would either have been engulfed by an earthquake, overwhelmed by a deluge, or destroyed by fire from heaven, as Sodom was; for that generation was far more enormously wicked than those who suffered these calamities.†

5. If any part of the Jewish religion were less corrupt than the rest, it was the form of external worship, established by the law of Moses. And yet a variety of rites were introduced into the service of the temple, of which no traces are to be found in the sacred writings. The institution of these additional ceremonies was owing to those revolutions which rendered the Jews more conversant with adjacent nations than they had formerly been; for when they saw the sacred rites of the Greeks and Romans, notwithstanding the excellency and fulness of their own ritual, they were induced to adopt them in the service of the true God.

6. The Samaritans, who celebrated divine worship in the temple that was built on Mount Gerizzim, lay under the same evils that oppressed the Jews, with whom they lived in the bitterest enmity; and were also, like them, highly instrumental in increasing their own calamities. They suffered as much as the Jews from troubles and divisions, fomented by the intrigues of factious spirits. Their religion was also more corrupted than that of the Jews themselves, as Christ declares in his conversation with the woman of Samaria. For they mixed the errors of the Gentiles with the sacred doctrines of the Jews, and were excessively corrupted by the idolatrous customs of the pagan nations.‡

§ 5.—Of the Jewish Sects.

WE have no information concerning the existence of any religious sects in the Jewish church before the Babylonian captivity; it is thought by some writers, that in the time of the Maccabees, it was divided into two parties, the *Zadikim*, or righteous, who observed only the written law of Moses; and the *Charidim*, or *Asideans*, the pious, who superadded the constitutions and traditions of the elders. On this subject, however,

* Parkhurst has shown, that in several passages of Scripture where we read of these *groves*, an idol or idols are meant, and not a collection of *trees*. This idea has been seized upon by Mr. Landseer, who has made some considerable progress towards tracing the origin and identifying the form of these idols, in a very ingenious dissertation on an antique engraved cylinder, which has been obtained in Syria, representing, among other things, an armillary and astronomical machine.—See his *Sabean Researches*, Essay viii.

† Jewish Wars, b. v., c. 10—13, and b. vii.

‡ See Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Cent. I., chap. ii. Dr. Harwood has drawn a very animated picture of the depraved state of the Jews at this time, *Introduction*, vol. ii., pp. 58—66.

considerable diversity of opinion prevails among the learned. We shall not attempt to hazard a conjecture in a matter so doubtful and unimportant, but pass on to notice the religious sects which existed in the times of the New Testament history. Of these, the principal were the Sadducees, the Pharisees, and the Essenes.

I. THE SADDUCEES.—This sect derived its origin from Sadoc, who flourished in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, about 263 years before Christ, and was the pupil of Antigonus Sochæus, an eminent Jewish doctor and president of the Sanhedrin, who in his lectures inculcated the reasonableness of serving God from the innate and intrinsic excellence of the duty itself, and not from the servile principle of mercenary recompence. From this doctrine Sadoc inferred that there was no future state, and that rewards and punishments were confined to this life. Those who espoused his sentiments obtained the name of *Sadducees*. Their creed is thus concisely expressed: "They say that there is no resurrection [Campbell, *future life*], neither angel nor spirit." Hence that captious query concerning the woman who had survived seven husbands, which they addressed to our Lord for his solution, thinking to involve him in an inextricable dilemma. They disregarded all the traditions of the elders, and admitted, in our Saviour's time, only the five books of Moses, as proper to be read in the synagogues;* and considered that God did not interfere in human affairs. Their numbers were inconsiderable, but among them were some of the most eminent persons in the state. Josephus has thus described them: "The Sadducees maintain that the soul perishes with the body. They pay no regard to any prescriptions, except the injunctions of Scripture. They deem it a virtue to maintain disputes with the teachers of that wisdom which others espouse. Those who have adopted their tenets are but few, but those few are persons of the first distinction. Hardly any business of the state is transacted by them; for when they are invested with any civil office, it is entirely against their inclination, and solely through necessity; for then they conform to the measures of the Pharisees, otherwise the common people would never bear them."

II. THE PHARISEES.—This was the most distinguished and popular sect among the Jews, and first appeared about 140, B. C. The Pharisees affected great mortification and abstraction from the world, imposed on themselves frequent stated fasts, and made long prayers at the corners of the streets. In fact, they were most ostentatiously

religious, so far as outward observances went; but were inwardly consummate hypocrites. They believed in a future state of rewards and punishments, and therefore held the Sadducees in the highest abhorrence. Their notion of the resurrection, however, was nothing more than the Pythagorean transmigration. They held the doctrine of predestination, and that all things were under the government of an irreversible fatality.† In fine, the scrupulous performance of a thousand trifling minutenesses made up their religion; the love and acquisition of power, and the reputation of superior sanctity, were the end and aim of all their actions: they had a form of godliness, but were strangers to its power; for they were under the dominion of the most detestable of all vices, spiritual pride and hypocrisy.‡ Josephus has given the following account of their tenets:—"Now, the Pharisees live meanly, and despise delicacies in diet; and they follow the conduct of reason, and what that prescribes to them as good for them, they do. They also pay a respect to such as are in years, nor are they so bold as to contradict them in any thing they have introduced. And when they determine that all things are done by fate, they do not take away the freedom from men of doing as they think fit, since their notion is, that it hath pleased God to make a rule, whereby what he wills is done; but so that the will of man can act virtuously or viciously. They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that, under the earth, there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; that the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again. On account of which doctrines they are able to persuade the body of the people; and whatsoever these do about divine worship, prayers, and sacrifices, they perform according to their direction; insomuch, that the cities give great attestation to them, on account of their virtuous conduct, both in the actions of their lives and in their discourses."|| The most considerable part of the religion of the Pharisees consisted in a scrupulous observance of the traditional law, which was regarded by them as being of higher authority than the written law. "The words of the scribes," said they, "are lovely above the words of the law: for the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the scribes

† Joseph. Ant. b. xiii., c. 10.

‡ Harwood's *Introduct.* vol. i., p. 232.

|| Jewish Antiq. b. xviii., ch. 1. See further in Stackhouse's *Hist. of the Bible*, b. vii., ch. 4; and Lightfoot's *Harm. of the Evangel.*, sect. 23.

* Prideaux, *Connex.* pt. ii., b. 5. A. A. C. 107.

are all weighty." Hence it was that our Saviour so frequently charged them with rendering the word of God of none effect by their traditions.

III. THE *ESSENES* are not once mentioned in the sacred writings, though they formed a considerable community in the time of our Saviour. They studiously courted retirement, devoted themselves to agriculture, and affected great simplicity and innocence of manners. They had a community of goods, and were unusually strict in the observance of the Sabbath. They believed that all things were governed by fate; that the soul was immortal; and that there was a future state of retribution.*

IV. THE *SAMARITANS* are frequently mentioned in the books of the Old Testament. The following account of them is collected from Lampe and Kuinoel, by Bloomfield:—The Samaritans were descended from the remnant of the Israelites not carried away into captivity, and afterwards intermixed with Gentiles from the neighbouring parts of Assyria, especially the Cuthi, who had come to colonize and occupy the vacant situations of the former inhabitants. In this new colony idolatry was introduced and permitted from the very first; yet so as to worship Jehovah in conjunction with the false gods, 2 Kings xvii. 29. When afterwards Cyrus permitted the Jews to return from captivity and rebuild their temple, the Samaritans, who wished to form a union in religious matters with the Jews, requested that the temple might be erected at the common labour and expense of both nations. But Zerubabel, and other Jewish rulers, rejected their request, urging that Cyrus had committed the work to *them only*, and had charged the governors of Samaria to keep away from the place, and only assist the Jews out of the public revenues of the province. The Samaritans, however, said they were to *worship* there, since the temple had been erected for the worship of the Supreme Being by all the human race.† When the Samaritans had received this repulse from the Jews, they felt much mortified, and laid wait for revenge; they endeavoured to obstruct the restoration of the temple, and the increase and prosperity of the new Jewish state, by various methods.‡ Hence originated a mutual hatred between the nations, which was afterwards kept up and increased by the revolt of Manasseh, and the erection of a temple on Mount Gerizim. For Manasseh, a brother of Jaddus the high-

priest, had, contrary to the laws and customs of the nation, taken in marriage the daughter of Sanballat, the ruler of Samaria (Neh. xiii. 23, seq.); and when the Jews, indignant at this, had ordered that he should divorce her as an alien, or no longer approach to the altar and the sacred institutions, he fled to his father-in-law, a high-priest who alienated many from the religious worship of the Jews, and by gifts and promises drew over great numbers, and even some of the priests, to the Samaritan party. But now that the temple was erected on Mount Gerizim, still greater contentions arose between the Jews and Samaritans concerning the *place of divine worship*. For the Samaritans denied that the sacred rites at *Jerusalem* were pure and of divine ordination; but of the temple on *Mount Gerizim* they affirmed that it was holy, legitimate, and sanctioned by the presence of the Deity. The Samaritans, moreover, only received the books of Moses. The rest of the sacred books (since they vindicated the divine worship at Jerusalem) they rejected, as also the whole body of the traditions, keeping solely to the letter. From these causes the Jews were inflamed to the most rancorous hatred towards this rival nation; inasmuch that to many of them the Samaritans were objects of greater detestation than even the Gentiles. See Luke x. 33. It is no wonder, then, that there should have been such a constant reciprocation of injuries and calumnies as had served to keep up a perpetual exasperation between the two nations. The fault, however, was not all on the side of the Jews; for (as we learn from Bartenora ad Roschascana ii. 2, cited by Schoettgen) the Samaritans inflamed this enmity by taking every opportunity of injuring, or at least offering provocations to, the Jews. The following anecdote may serve as an example:—"When the time of the new moon was just at hand, the Jews had a fire kindled on the highest mountains, to warn those who were afar off of the exact time of the *novilunium*. What did the Samaritans do? Why, in order that they might lead the Jews into an error, they themselves, during the night-time, kindled fires on the mountains. Therefore, the Jews were obliged to send out trusty and creditable persons who should give out the time of the new moon, as observed by the Jerusalemish Sanhedrin, or defined by other persons to whom that office was committed." The Samaritans, however, did not entertain so much hatred towards the Jews, as the latter did towards the former: nor did they deny towards them the offices of humanity. See Luke ix. 53, x. 32. Jesus, however, disregarded, nay discountenanced, this hatred, and as he did not hesitate to eat with tax-gatherers, so neither did he avoid intercourse

* Prideaux has given a very full account of this sect, Consecr. A. A. C. 107.

† See Eodr. iv. 2; Jos. Ant. xi. 4.

‡ See Eodr. and Jos. Ant., just referred to.

with Samaritans.* In the estimation of a Jew, the very name of a Samaritan comprised madness, and malice, and drunkenness, and apostasy, and rebellion, and universal detestation. When they were instigated with rage against our blessed Lord, the first word their fury dictated was, *Samaritan*: "*Thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil!*" And it is remarkable that the amiable and benevolent son of Sirach uses this expression in his writings: "Two nations my soul hateth, the Samaritans and the Philistines" (Ecclus. i. 26), a signal and affecting proof, how far the wisest and best of men among the Jews were carried away with the national prejudices. The Samaritans, as it appears from the account of them by Origen, were, down to his day, deniers of a resurrection, and of the soul's immortality.† The Sadducean heresy is said to have taken its rise, or its avowed and public prevalence, from Samaria; and from this very principle of rejecting the authority of the prophets. ‡

V. The SCRIBES, though not forming any distinct sect, demand a notice, from the perpetual reference made to them in the New Testament. They were a profession of men, generally Pharisees, devoted to the ministry, and to the study of sacred literature. They were the literati among the Jews; they sat in Moses' seat, and their knowledge of the law, and of the theology which then prevailed, obtained for them a place in the Sanhedrin, or supreme council of the nation, and qualified them to be the public and stated teachers of the people. They obtained their name from their original employment, which was transcribing the law. But in process of time, they exalted themselves into its public ministers and expositors; authoritatively determined what doctrines were contained in Scripture, and what were not; taught the common people in what sense to understand the law and the prophets; and were the oracles consulted in all difficult points of doctrine and duty.

VI. The LAWYERS mentioned in the New Testament appear to have been the same order of men as the SCRIBES, and obtained this appellation from having devoted themselves to the study of the law, and the teaching of it to the people.

VII. The ELDERS. The only difference between these and the Scribes, consisted in this, that the former were laymen, while the latter were of the clergy. They were commonly chief men in the tribes, and their judgment had great weight.

§ 6.—Of the Christian Church.

1. UNLIKE the Jewish church—which embraced the whole nation, without reference to the vitality of the faith possessed by the individuals of which it was composed—the Christian church comprises only those who form part of the spiritual seed of Abraham. It predicates nothing of men as men; it knows of no rule but that of truth, of principle, of conscience. The apostolic churches were composed either of true Christians, or of those who, to human appearance, were such. They were saluted by inspired men, as "saints in Christ Jesus," as "partakers of precious faith," as "calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus," as "holy brethren, partakers of the heavenly calling." They were addressed, as "born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible," as "quickened together with Christ," as "saved by grace, through faith," as "the workmanship of God, created in Christ Jesus unto good works," as individuals, with reference to whom "old things had passed away, and all things had become new." From the first church at Jerusalem, down to the last that was formed in the provinces of the heathen world, all the apostolic communities were composed of members so designated, and whose association in church-fellowship was the result of their accredited conversion to the faith of the Lord Jesus. The apostles and first Christians never dreamed of creating a nominal territory for the display of the Christian faith. With them the limits of the church was the boundary line of belief, and of actual holiness. Beyond this, they saw no trace of the church of Christ; nor did they dare to make themselves the agents of imposing a deception upon the unenlightened mass of mankind, by constituting whole provinces Christians, by any summary or political act. Upon a principle the most voluntary that can be conceived of, were the first churches gathered together in the name of their common Lord and Redeemer. By the force of truth, by the power of conscience, by the influence of the message of reconciliation, by the renewing power of the Holy Ghost, by the agitating considerations of an impending eternity, by the resistless workings of gratitude and love, did they give themselves first to the Lord, and then to one another, in all the endearments of mutual Christian fellowship. ||

2. In speaking of THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, we speak of the collective body of believers, without reference to congregations, countries, or any other

* Recensio Synoptica Annot. Sac. pp. 110, 111.

† Comment. on Matt. p. 486.

‡ Tertullian, de Pras. Hær. p. 249.

|| Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge, vol. ii., pp. 8, 9.

localities; and used in this enlarged sense only, is the phrase a correct one. (See Eph. v. 23—25, &c.; Col. i. 18, 24, &c.) It is too evident from the New Testament to admit of controversy, that each organized and disciplined assembly of believers constituted a church of Christ, strictly independent of all other churches, as to its government and internal economy; though united with all others in one common bond of faith and love, and in every respect ready to promote the interests and welfare of the whole, by a reciprocal interchange of good offices.* See Acts viii. 1, v. 14, vi. 7, xi. 22; 1 Cor. i. 2, xvi. 19; Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 16; Rev. i. 4, 11, 20, ii. 1, 8, &c.

* See Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine, vol. i. 263—267. "Properly (says Dr. Campbell) there are, in the New Testament, but two original senses of the word *ἐκκλησία*, which can be called different, though related. One is, when it denotes a number of people actually assembled, or accustomed to assemble together, and is then properly rendered by the English terms, congregation, convention, assembly, and even sometimes crowd, as in Acts xix. 32, 40. The other sense is to denote a society united together by some common tie, though not convened, perhaps not convenable, in one place. And in this acceptance, as well as in the former, it sometimes occurs in classical writers, as signifying a state or commonwealth, and nearly corresponding to the Latin *civitas*. When the word is limited, or appropriated, as it generally is in the New Testament, by its regimen, as *τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου, τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, or by the scope of the place, it is always to be explained in one or other of the two senses following, corresponding to the two general senses above mentioned. It denotes either a single congregation of Christians, in correspondence to the first, or the whole Christian community, in correspondence to the second. We can hardly ever be at a loss to know from the context which of the two is implied. That it is in the former acceptance, is sometimes evident from the words in construction, as *τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῇ ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς, καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἐν Κορινθῶν*, and the like. In the latter sense it ought always to be understood when we find nothing in the expression, or in the scope of the passage, to determine us to limit it; for instance in the following, *Ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ περὶ αὐτοδόρησιν μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁ κύριος προσηγγίζει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*. In this last acceptance of the word, for the whole body of Christ's disciples, whenever dispersed, it came afterwards to be distinguished by the epithet *καθολικὴ*. They said *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἡ καθολικὴ*, the catholic or universal church.

But in any intermediate sense, between a single congregation and the whole community of Christians, not one instance can be brought of the application of the word in sacred writ. We speak now, indeed (and this has been the manner for ages), of the Gallican church, the Greek church, the church of England, the church of Scotland, as of societies independent and complete in themselves. Such a phraseology was never adopted in the days of the apostles. They did not say the church of Asia, or the church of Macedonia, or the church of Achaia, but the churches of God in Asia, the churches in Macedonia, the churches in Achaia. The plural number is invariably used when more congregations than one are spoken of, unless the subject be of the whole commonwealth of Christ. Nor is this the manner of the penmen of sacred writ only. It is the constant usage of the term in the writings of ecclesiastical authors for the first two centuries." Lectures on Eccl. Hist., Lect. vi.

3. In the primitive churches there was a perfect equality amongst the members, no one having greater power or authority than another, but the whole constituting one body, in which the general authority was lodged. Speaking of the constitution of the church at Jerusalem, Mosheim observes, "The power of enacting laws, of appointing teachers and ministers, and of determining controversies, was lodged in the people at large; nor did the apostles, although invested with divine authority, either resolve on or sanction any thing whatever, without the knowledge and concurrence of the general body of Christians of which the church was composed. See Acts xv., &c.†

4. The Christian churches were formed and maintained upon a purely voluntary principle. "The weapons of their warfare were not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds." The whole apparatus of Christian propagation was spiritual: the church at large was a grand missionary institution for the diffusion of truth and holiness. The idea of levying an involuntary contribution for the maintenance of the ministry, or for the purpose of erecting Christian temples, or for the aggrandizement of a particular sect, or for the support of a large system of ecclesiastical rule, in which the power of the civil magistrate should be thrown into the scale of the church, never entered into the heads of inspired apostles, save when under the divine afflatus of that Spirit by whom they were enabled to foretell the corruptions of succeeding ages.

5. The members of the church of Christ are rescued in spiritual matters from all thralldom to the doctrines and commandments of men. As, on the one hand, they are not to allow themselves to be called masters; so, on the other, they are not to call any man master upon earth. In every thing to be believed, in every thing to be practised, the New Testament is the all-perfect and the exclusive rule. From that inspired record the churches of Christ are not at liberty, by any rule of the master's suggestion, to make their own fallible and imperfect digest, and then to require the belief, *ex animo*, of those who unite themselves to their fellowship. This is to substitute the rule of human doctrine for the laws of the blessed and only Potentate. To demand subscription to mere human articles, though they may rest upon a scriptural basis, is to tarnish the spirituality of the Redeemer's kingdom, and to create submission to man, rather than to God.

* Commentaries, i. 203—210, 241, &c. King's Inquiry, pp. 106, 107, &c.

SECTION II.

SPIRITUAL DUTIES.

Divine Worship—Prayer—Thanksgiving—Singing.

1. To express the general idea of worship, the Hebrew and Greek writers of Scripture have employed the words *שח* and *προσκυνω*; the primary import of which is devout prostration. The obligation of this duty, which arises out of the relation in which man stands to his Maker, is enjoined in various parts of the Scriptures. See Ps. xcvi. 8, 9, xcv. 6; John iv. 23; Acts xvii. 24, 25; Phil. iii. 3.

2. Amongst the acts of divine worship must be primarily noticed that of *prayer*, or supplicatory addresses to the Most High. The Hebrew *תפלל*, *interposition*, *mediation*, *intercessory supplication*, is from *פלל*, which is said to denote the idea of judging, and, secondarily, that of petitioning. Ps. cix. 7, "his plea in court." * *Προσευχη* is of the same frequent occurrence in the New Testament, and signifies a prayer to God, whether petitioning good (Matt. xxi. 22) or deprecating evil, Acts xii. 5. The obligation of prayer is frequently enjoined and enforced; Phil. iv. 6; Luke xviii. 1; 1 Pet. iv. 7; Ps. l. 15, lxii. 8; Job v. 8; James i. 5—7; 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, xi. 3; Isai. lv. 6; Ps. cxlv. 18; Matt. vii. 7, xxi. 22; Ps. lxxv. 2, &c.

3. Grateful confession, or *thanksgiving*, is denoted in the Hebrew Scriptures by the term *הודיה*; and from this parent stock have sprung the several branches—*שמו, I celebrate*; *אדו and אודו, I sing*; and *אדו, an ode*. The well-known word *Hallelujah* is, literally, the English sound of *הללו יה* "Praise ye the Lord;" and to the same source must be traced the acclamation of the ancient Greeks, *Εὐλαλο Ἰη*, with which they opened and closed their hymns in honour of Apollo. Injunctions to this delightful and grateful duty may be found in Ps. lxxvii. 3; Isai. xlii. 10, 12; Ps. cvii. 8, 22; Eph. v. 20; Heb. xiii. 15; Ps. l. 14, 23, xcv. 1, 2.

4. The exercise of *singing* has formed a part of divine worship from the earliest ages. *שיר* is a song, ancient as the period of Israel's escape out of Egypt (Exod. xv.); but used also in after times as well as *זמר*, which is said to be a psalm or hymn, from its regular composition, both in regard to words and music. That "spiritual songs" of various descriptions were extant, and even popular, in the primitive churches, appears from several passages in the New Testament (Eph. v. 19; James v. 13; 1 Cor. xiv. 15, *& al.*); and that

"hymns were sung to Christ, as to a God," is explicitly stated by Pliny, in his 97th Epistle. In the Hebrew church the practice of singing, in offering thanksgivings to God, was common. See Ps. xcii. 1, 2, lxix. 30, 31, xxxiii. 2, 3, xcv. 1, 2; 2 Chron. v. 13, &c.

SECTION III.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES.

The Jewish Ritual—Objects and Uses of the Ceremonial Law—Christian Rites—Jewish Festivals: the Sabbath; the Passover; the Feast of Pentecost; the Feast of Tabernacles; the Feast of the New Moon; Feast of Trumpets; Fast of Expiation; the Sabbatical Year; the Jubilee.

§ 1.—The Jewish Ritual.

1. SOME writers on Jewish antiquities have thought that the *ceremonial laws* were merely arbitrary, and that the reasons of them were only to be sought for in the will of God, which he has not chosen to reveal; making them thereby to differ essentially from the Christian institutions, which are said to be "rational milk," and "a rational service," 1 Pet. ii. 2; Rom. xii. 1. But this is surely derogatory to the character of God, and hurtful to that obedience which he required. Let us attend, therefore, to the indications given of its purpose, and see what the intention of Jehovah was in giving it to the Jews. There are three ends which it evidently served. It taught the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner; it served as a fence against idolatry; and prepared the minds of its subjects for a brighter dispensation.*

2. It taught the Jews the leading doctrines of religion in a sensible and impressive manner. Thus, it taught the unity of God, by having only one presence; one most holy place, as the seat of that presence; one altar, at which all the priests were to minister, and all the sacrifices to be offered (Lev. xvii. 1—9); and only one tabernacle and temple dedicated to that one Jehovah, the Creator of all things, of what power or dignity soever they were conceived to be. And, as it taught the unity of God, so it also taught the doctrine of a general providence. The throne in the tabernacle and temple was only the figure of his throne in the heavens; and the daily sacrifices, the burnt-offerings appointed for the sabbaths every week, for the new moons every month, and

* Dr. Randolph's Comment. *in loco*.

* For the following exposition we are indebted to Dr. Brown, who has made a judicious abridgment of Lowman, with occasional selections from other writers of acknowledged celebrity. Jewish Antiquities, Part X., sect. 2.

for the feast of trumpets, on the first day of the civil year, were all intended to impress the Israelites with a deep sense of the superintending care of God, at all times and in all places. Nor did the ceremonial law inculcate a general providence only; it also taught the particular interest which Jehovah took in the works of his hands; for the whole of it encouraged the Hebrew to ask every blessing from Jehovah as his God, and to fear the evils denounced on disobedience as inflicted by him. Indeed, every sacrifice and offering were constant evidences of this truth, and encouragements to this hope; for they taught that, while God superintended the general affairs of the universe, he took a particular interest in the family of Abraham. The Hebrew worship also taught the necessity of holiness in every worshipper; for, if we consider the directions for consecrating the tabernacle and temple, for hallowing the sanctuary, for purifying and consecrating the priests and Levites, that they might be hallowed to minister before Jehovah, we shall easily observe that they all taught holiness to the Lord. Indeed, nothing unholy or unclean was allowed to approach the Presence, till cleansed by the washings and sacrifices it directed; and such purity in lesser matters inferred a holiness of a higher nature, and taught the importance of being holy as God is holy, as well as being holy because He is so. Let it only be remarked further, on this part of the subject, that the ceremonial law was sanctioned by rewards and punishments; temporal, indeed, in their nature, but well adapted to enforce their observance.

2. A second use of the ceremonial law was to preserve the Israelites from idolatry; and this it did in various ways.

(1) By removing the principles that supported it; viz., ignorance of the true character of God, and ascription of divine honours to inferior intelligences. From the just notions it gave the Israelites of God and his government, it taught them that all other gods besides him were false, vain idols, the works of men's hands. It showed that those beings whom the heathen worshipped, of whatever nature or character, were but the creatures of the one Jehovah, and subject to him. It taught that God was the fountain of all their blessings, and that he alone gave rains and fruitful seasons; and, by so doing, it prevented them from falling into the error of worshipping inferior intelligences, as the guardians and benefactors of mankind. It allowed of no such thing as inferior divine worship, but represented God as a jealous God, who would not give his glory to another, nor his praise to graven images. In these ways, then,

it removed the principles which served to support the practice of idolatry.

(2) By giving them a ritual of their own, every way fitted to their circumstances. At the time it was promulged, they were in such circumstances (the nations around them having all sensible objects of worship), that, if it had not then pleased God to appoint them a ritual, and by that to make them a separate nation and people, it seems morally impossible to have kept them from idolatry; and then the knowledge and worship of the true God must have been lost in the world. The same reasons which made a ritual convenient, and in their circumstances even necessary, made a full ritual as convenient and necessary; such as should reach to every part of worship, as it was intended to be a hedge against idolatry every way. The numberless variety of ceremonies has often been remarked; and to a superficial observer, all, or at least the most of them, appear to no purpose. But let him reflect on the consequences of one less minute. They would have supplied its defects by amendments of their own, and, notwithstanding their own law, would have borrowed from their neighbours what they imagined had not been sufficiently provided for by their own lawgiver. Thus the law would have failed in one of its designs—to prevent their falling into idolatry. A people so fond of ceremonies as the Jews were would have been uneasy and impatient without them; and when they saw that their neighbours had rites for every occasion, they would either have adopted them for their own use, or have invented others of their own imagination, of equal danger, or of worse consequence. Another circumstance respecting the Hebrew ritual was, that it was uniformly held out as preferable to every other. From their long abode in Egypt, it is easy to conceive the Jews well acquainted with, and even fond of, Egyptian ceremonies. Their reputation, antiquity, and confirmation by miracles, esteemed true, would all add some weight to this assertion. It became, therefore, any rule, if it was to guard them against its influence, to come recommended by a higher authority than the considerations of antiquity, the use of the wisest people, or even the oracles of demons. Accordingly, we find it recommended as the law of God himself, and given to them as his peculiar people. Hence the common preface to each of its laws—"The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, and say unto them;" and hence a proper answer to the objection of its being unbecoming the wisdom of God to ratify, in so solemn a manner, a bare system of rites and ceremonies. Nor should we overlook even the burdensome nature

of the Jewish ceremonial, as a means of preserving them from idolatry; for while it was burdensome by the number of its precepts, extending from the greatest things to the most minute; by their rigour in demanding obedience, and punishing disobedience; by their comparative inutility, since they could neither obtain the pardon of moral guilt, nor impart virtue, nor procure admittance into heaven by their expense; by the constant attention they required, to prevent contracting ceremonial guilt, and the expense of removing it; and by the length of time which was requisite before they could be distinctly understood, and readily acted upon; yet this very burdensomeness, which attended the ceremonial institute, served as a means to keep them from idolatry. For they could never forget that it was imposed by the Almighty, as a punishment for their making and worshipping the golden calf; and that, to the conscientious observer, it left little time or inclination for searching after and adopting the rites of the heathen.* Nor should it be forgotten, that it was strictly enjoined them to add nothing to it, and to take nothing from it. In the Hebrew government, the sole authority of making laws was in Jehovah, as their king. Hence the true reason of the temporal rewards and punishments which were attached to the ceremonial ritual. They were suited to the rude state of the Jewish mind after a long period of bondage: they came from God, and not from the heathen deities: they were suited to his character as their king under the theocracy. Nations can only be punished as nations in the present life; and it would have been raising the value of ceremonial obedience too high, to have sanctioned it with eternal rewards, or eternal punishments.

(3) The ritual law promoted the same end, by appointing certain public marks to distinguish them from idolaters. The whole ritual was a distinctive mark; but there were some parts of it more so than others. Thus circumcision, while it was a seal of the covenant of grace, was also a sign of the covenant of peculiarity. For as the worshippers of idols had often some distinguishing mark on their bodies, to show their attachment to the idols they worshipped; so did God cause this to be imprinted on the bodies of the Israelites, to teach them, that as the lusts of the flesh prevailed among the heathen, and around their temples, so they should mortify these lusts, and carry on their bodies the distinctive mark of their own God. The sabbath, also, was another mark to distinguish

the Israelites from idolaters. For as the heathens believed in the eternity of the world, and disregarded the observance of the sabbath; so God gave this institution to the Israelites, as commemorative of his having created the world, and consequently of its not being eternal. Nor should it be forgotten, that the great strictness that was commanded on the sabbath, evidently had two ends in view; the solemnization of the mind for sacred purposes, and striking against the leading violations of it among idolaters. The three public festivals were also public marks which distinguished the Jews from idolaters. For the pass-over, among other ends, showed God's judgment against the gods and idols of Egypt; Pentecost tended to root out idolatry, as being commemorative of the giving of the law; and the Feast of Tabernacles contributed to the same end, by leading them to acknowledge Jehovah as the God of seasons. Nor should we overlook that public and particular mark—the appointment of meats and animals into clean and unclean, as articles of food or destined for sacrifice. Various reasons have been assigned for this; but the true reasons, according to Spencer, seem to have been, that they might be a peculiar people, as it is expressed in Lev. xx. 24—26; that the observance of that law might be a lesson of sanctity, that they were dedicated to the Lord (Lev. xi. 43—45, xx. 24—26); that it might mystically signify that the Jews were clean, and the Gentiles unclean, Acts x. 11—16; and especially that it might keep them from following the practices of the heathen. For the Israelites were acquainted with the superstitious opinions and practices of the Egyptians in this respect, many of whom abstained from all flesh whatever, from a notion of its unlawfulness; and had they been left in uncertainty, they might have adopted the superstitious opinions relative to the holiness or impurity of animals which prevailed in Egypt. God therefore appointed a distinction of meats under certain limitations; and those animals were prohibited, among others, which were used among the heathen in purifications, sacrifices, magical rites, at festivals, and in the ratification of covenants.†

(4) Another defence which the ceremonial law afforded against idolatry, was the confining of most of the sacred things to certain places, persons, and times. Before the giving of the law they worshipped where they pleased, but after the giving of the law that liberty was withdrawn. The tabernacle, and afterwards the temple, were en-

* Spencer, de Leg. Heb. Ritual, lib. i., chap. 14.

† Spencer, lib. i., chap. 7.

joined as the only places for offerings and worship (Lev. xvii. 3—5; Deut. xii. 5—13). This regard to place was certainly a means of preventing idolatry: for, since they might not sacrifice but at Jerusalem, they were hindered, even when at a distance from that place, from frequenting the idols and altars of the heathen. But if binding their sacred rites to the tabernacle or temple was a defence against idolatry, so also was the confining the priesthood to particular persons. In no nation was there a priesthood like that of the Jews. Others were called individually by the people, or recommended by accidental circumstances; but theirs was from birth, and confined to the tribe of Levi. They were chosen in place of the first-born of Israel, and had their office confirmed to them by the blossoming of Aaron's rod (Numb. xvii. 8—11); and by the infliction of leprosy on Uzziah the king, when he attempted to encroach upon it (2 Chron. xxvi. 18—20). Before the law, the heads of families were the priests; but this choice of the tribe of Levi excluded all others, and was productive to Israel of many advantages. For it prevented sacrifices any where else than at the temple, since they were accountable; it created a host to fight for the glory of God, and the honour of their order, against idolatry; it acted both on a regard for principle, and the *esprit de corps*; whilst the instructions they communicated, and the example they exhibited, would naturally tend to check their countrymen in their desire for idolatry. The confining of many of their sacred things to certain times, was also a means to promote the same end. Thus, all their feasts depending on the appearance of the moon, tended to show that she was only a creature; since, whilst idolaters paid her homage, *they* were worshipping the only true God. The beginning of the civil year, likewise, was much employed in heathen rites; and to counteract this, God appointed the feast of trumpets on the first day; the tenth was the day of annual expiation; and from the fifteenth to the twenty-third was the feast of tabernacles. The Jews had, therefore, more feasts in this month to the true God, than the heathen had to their false deities. Perhaps even their morning and evening sacrifices were, among other reasons, appointed in opposition to those heathen sacrifices in the night, to the dead and the *dei inferni*, which were not always the most chaste. One thing is certain, that by this limitation of sacred rites to particular persons, places, and times, the Jews were greatly prevented from imitating the practices of their heathen neighbours. They had a splendour in their worship which struck the senses; an order which pleased the mind; and a purity becoming the Being they

were called upon to address; which was very different from the obscene rites of other nations.*

(5) Another defence which the ceremonial law afforded the Jews against idolatry was, the prohibition of too familiar an intercourse with heathen nations. It was impossible for them to avoid the common intercourse of life, when business required; but that was different from making heathens their bosom friends, or connecting themselves with them by marriage. Accordingly such intimate connexions were expressly forbidden, lest they should be led after their idols; and a national antipathy was created against all strangers, which was noticed and condemned by heathen writers, who were ignorant of the cause. And Paul says, that they were "contrary to all men," 1 Thess. ii. 15.

(6) Lastly, their ritual preserved the Jews from idolatry, by the prohibition of every idolatrous rite. Thus, in Lev. xvii. 7, they were forbidden to offer sacrifices to devils, the hirci-footed deities of Egypt, because it was most debasing to human nature, and dishonouring to God. They were forbidden to make their children pass through the fire to Moloch (Lev. xviii. 21), because some burnt them alive in honour of the sun; and others shook them over, or threw them through, the flames, by way of lustration, to insure the favour of the pretended divinity, and devote them to his service. But besides this visible countenance which they were forbidden to give to idolatry, we find God also providing against the approaches to it, by prohibiting every kind of divination and magic. Both were known among the heathens, and prohibited to the Jews (Lev. xix. 26, &c). They were also prohibited from observing "times." Indeed, in the law they are joined together (see the last-cited passage), as being near akin; for in beginning journeys, contracting marriages, engaging in war, &c., the heathen nations, from the earliest times, appear to have used divination by birds, serpents, clouds, the viscera of animals, and staves, to learn whether they would be successful or not. Such a conduct engendered superstition, prevented often the transaction of public and private business, and was a virtual want of acknowledgment of and dependance on God, as the sovereign of the universe. The Jews, therefore, were forbidden to imitate the nations in these respects (Deut. xviii. 14). They were further forbidden, in conjunction with the above-mentioned practices, to eat with the blood, or rather, "at the blood." For the Zabians, or worshippers of the host of heaven,

* Spencer, lib. i., chap. 8, 10.

among the Chaldeans and Egyptians, when they sacrificed an animal to their demons, poured out the blood, and ate a part of the flesh at the place where the blood was poured out, and sometimes a part of the blood also, believing that they hereby held communion with the demon.* To this Jehovah alludes, when he says, "Ye eat with (at) the blood, and lift up your eyes towards your idols; and shed (or pour out) blood (into a vessel or ditch for their food); and shall ye possess this land?" And to this does the apostle refer, when he says, "I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils (or demons). Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils" (1 Cor. x. 20, 21). There were times, indeed, when they were commanded to pour out the blood of the animals they slew; but it was either to be like water, that is, as a common thing, when they killed animals for food (Deut. xii. 15, 16, 24); or to be covered with dust, when they killed venison, in opposition to the heathen sportsmen, who left it exposed, as food for the god of the chase (Lev. xvii. 13). Various other prohibitions are to be found in the law; such as boiling a kid in its mother's milk—rounding the corners of the head and beard—cutting the flesh for the dead—confounding or interchanging the dresses of the sexes—sowing the fields with divers seeds—ploughing with an ox and an ass together—making garments of linen and woollen interwoven—all of which have been quoted with ridicule by the thoughtless, and variously explained by commentators.† But the true reason doubtless was, that these practices were common among idolaters; and the object of the law was, to make an obvious difference between them and the worshippers of the true God. The words of Tacitus, therefore, are strictly true, if, instead of Moses, we substitute God. "Moses, that he might attach the nation of the Jews for ever to himself, instituted new rites, and contrary to the rest of men. For all things are profane to them, which are accounted sacred by us; and all things are permitted to them, which are prohibited to us."‡

3. Hitherto we have been considering the two ends of the ceremonial law, viz., that it was intended to teach the Jews the leading doctrines of religion, in a sensible and impressive manner; and

to be a defence against idolatry: let us now attend to the *third* end for which it was given; viz., to prepare their minds for a brighter dispensation. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, calls the Jewish ritual the shadow of good things to come" (chap. x. 1), "figures," or antitypes, "of the true" (chap. ix. 24), "an example and shadow of heavenly things" (chap. viii. 5); "a parable of the time to come" (chap. ix. 9); the whole law "a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ" (Gal. iii. 24); and its institutes "the elements of the world" (chap. iv. 3), or rudiments to teach men the first principles of piety and of the gospel, in a manner adapted to the childhood of the world. Nor are there wanting sufficient reasons why God delivered gospel truths in this mysterious manner. It suited the state of the Jews, to whom, as to an early and rude people, types, symbols, fables, and parables were the common modes of instruction. It was consonant to the education of Moses, who was taught in all the hieroglyphics of Egypt. It was fitted to the intermediate nature of the Jewish dispensation; giving it more light than the patriarchal, but less than the Christian. It was placing the old covenant and its mediator below the new covenant and its mediator. And as the Jewish law was given to the whole Jewish nation, learned and unlearned, it was proper that there should be truths for the carnal, and truths for the spiritual-minded (2 Esdr. xiv. 26, 44—48). Hence has the ceremonial law often been termed the Jewish gospel, because it exhibited to those who were exercised to godliness the leading doctrines of the covenant of grace: faith in the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world—acceptance with God through the blood of atonement—holiness of heart, and holiness of life, through the gracious aids of the Holy Spirit—and a future state of rewards and punishments. On all these points the Epistle to the Hebrews forms a beautiful commentary. A religion, then, that had such advantages as these to boast of, ought not to be too hastily decried. It was perfect, in that it was suited to the situation and circumstances of the people to whom it was given; it was only imperfect when compared with the more complete economy of the gospel.

4. One cannot contemplate the ceremonial law without also reflecting on its gradual abolition. For it was positively binding on every Jew till the death of Christ, in whom its spiritual meaning was fulfilled. Its observance became a matter of indifference between the death of Christ and the destruction of Jerusalem, and hence those prudential maxims and regulations which are to be found in the Acts of the Apostles, and the several

* Dr. James Townley has an interesting account of the Zebians, in his *Essays on Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 1—22.

† The reasonableness and utility of these laws are clearly in Brown's *Jewish Antiq.* vol. ii., pp. 165—182.

‡ Hist. lib. v., sub. init.

epistles, with respect to those converts from Judaism to Christianity, who had still an attachment to it. But it became criminal after the destruction of Jerusalem, because it could not then be legally observed, the temple and the altar having been destroyed.

§ 2.—*Christian Rites.*

THE Christian system is one of pure and perfect worship. It is a spiritual service, and is freed, therefore, from those ceremonial observances which constituted the body of the Jewish economy. See John iv. 20—24, &c. There are but two rites—one initiatory, and the other commemorative—introduced into the church of Christ; these are *baptism* (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20; Acts ii. 38—41; 1 Cor. i. 16), and the *Lord's supper* (1 Cor. xi. 20). Each of these sacred obligations has long been the theme of controversy, in respect to its subjects, mode, and object; but it does not comport with our purpose to enter into a discussion of the question here.

§ 3.—*Jewish Festivals.*

THE Jewish festivals, which were of divine appointment, were either weekly, as the Sabbath; monthly, as the new moons; or annual, as the passover, the pentecost, the feast of ingathering or of tabernacles, and the feast of trumpets; to which may be added, the annual fast, or day of expiation. Besides these, there were the sabbatical year and the jubilee, which returned after a certain number of years. Independently of the advantages derivable from these institutions in a civil and political point of view, their influence on the religious character of the nation must have been of a most powerful kind. As often as they returned, the people were reminded of the numerous and stupendous miracles which had been wrought by the Creator in their behalf, and of the consequent obligations to virtue and holiness which devolved upon them. Viewed in this light, they also became incontestable vouchers for the occurrences to which we allude, and consequent evidences of the divine origin of the Mosaic economy. We must offer a few remarks upon each of these institutions.

I. THE SABBATH.

1. Every seventh day was appointed a holy festival, which was to be held sacred as a day of worship, in commemoration of the creation of the world by JEHOVAH, and also to perpetuate the remembrance of the deliverance of the Israelites from the land of their bondage. Critics are not agreed as to the time when this festival was ori-

ginally instituted; some being of opinion that it was in the beginning of the world, and that the passage in the second chapter of Genesis is to be understood as determining this; while others conceive that it was not given until the time of Moses, and that this passage is prospective; the Sabbath being only mentioned there as it was connected with the subject of which the inspired historian was writing. To discuss the subject here would be greatly to exceed the limits we have proposed. The reader who wishes to investigate the matter may consult a work by the Rev. George Holden, in which he will find a fair view of the controversy, with almost all that can be said on either side of the question. It is but right, however, to add, that the "*Critica Biblica*" contains an extended review of this work, in which the writer controverts many of Mr. Holden's positions.

2. The Jews, reckoning their day from evening to evening, were commanded to begin their sabbaths in the same manner: "From even until even shall ye celebrate your sabbath," Lev. xxiii. 32. This direction is rather obscure, as the Jews reckoned two evenings, the former beginning about the ninth hour of the natural day, and the other about the eleventh hour. We shall see that they were required to sacrifice the paschal lamb "between the evenings;" but in one place the time is specified, "at even, at the going down of the sun" (Deut. xvi. 6), whence it appears that the whole time comprehended between the two evenings was also called simply "the evening."* The law requiring the computation of the sabbath "from even to even," implies, therefore, that the commencement of the sabbath was to be reckoned from the termination of the whole time called "the evening;" and "between the evenings;" consequently the sacred rest began after sunset on Friday evening, and ended at the same time on Saturday evening.

3. The eve of the Sabbath commenced with the first of the two Jewish evenings, about three o'clock in the afternoon, which was the time of the evening sacrifice, and lasted till sunset. This is also called the *preparation*, because the people then ceased from their ordinary labour, cooked their victuals, and prepared whatever was necessary for the due observance of the sabbatical rest. Some, indeed, are of opinion that the *preparation* included the whole of Friday, and the subject is confessedly involved in some degree of uncertainty. It is probable that the *preparation*, properly so called, commenced at three o'clock on

* Hales's Analysis of Chronology, i. 114.

the afternoon of Friday; but the whole day was sometimes so denominated.

4. Among the services and duties required on this day, none are so conspicuous as the strictness of the rest which it enjoined. The command is: "In it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates," Ex. xx. 10. This strict and entire rest is enjoined with a frequency which shows the importance attached to it (Ex. xxxiii. 12; xxxiv. 21; Deut. v. 14); and the severest penalties are denounced against its violation, Ex. xxxi. 15; xxxv. 2. Nor is the severity of this prohibition mitigated by any subsequent law in the Old Testament; it is rather sanctioned and enforced. Thus we find in the sacred writings prohibitions against

Buying and selling, Neh. x. 18—21, xiii. 15—22. *Kindling fires*, Ex. xxxv. 3.—This, however, must be understood with some limitation; for fire was absolutely necessary for the sabbatic sacrifices, and it would have been a breach of the divine law of mercy not to kindle a fire for the sick and infirm. The meaning of the precept, therefore, is, that no fire was to be kindled on the sabbath-day for cooking meat, which is elsewhere forbidden, or for any other servile purpose. *Cooking victuals*, Ex. xvi. 23.—This and the former law were, as Michaëlis observes, especially calculated for the climate of Palestine. As the sabbath began at sun-set (and in Palestine the sun in the shortest days never sets before five o'clock, nor in the longest before seven), the Jews there might have their principal meal prepared in the afternoon of Friday; for between the summer and winter months there would only be a difference of about two hours. By lighting good fires on the Friday afternoon, they might also be very comfortable till the sabbath evening. But in our northern climate these would be very grievous prohibitions.* *Menial work*.—Besides the general law against all manner of work, there is a further direction given in Jer. xvii. 21, 22; and reference may be given to Numb. xv. 32—36. *The employment of beasts*, Ex. xx. 10; xxiii. 12; Deut. v. 13, 14.—These, no more than man, were to be deprived of rest, or to be tortured with unremitting toil. *Travelling*, Ex. xvi. 29.—This statute, which was given in the wilderness, was only intended to restrain the Jews from going out on the sabbath to gather in manna, or to do any servile work. But the Hebrew doctors have built many fanciful notions on the prohibition, such as, that it was unlawful for a man to go from any town or

village where he resided, further than 1000 cubits, or about an English mile, and that in whatever posture a person might be on the sabbath morning, he or she were to continue in it during the remainder of the day. Hence we read of a sabbath-day's journey in Acts i. 12; and our Lord doubtless referred to this superstitious notion in Matt. xxiv. 20. These conceits, however, are foreign from the meaning of the law, which merely forbids such travelling as is inconsistent with the rest and duties of the festival. It has been maintained, that war is classed among works prohibited on the sabbath; but Michaëlis has successfully controverted this notion.†

5. Notwithstanding the strictness of the sabbatical law, it would be unreasonable to suppose it designed to exclude works of necessity and charity. It cannot be believed that a Being of infinite benignity would ever consider his laws violated by actions proceeding from motives of pure benevolence, and which at the same time administered to the good of a fellow-creature. Our Saviour performed many works of this kind on the sabbath day.

6. The sabbath was designed to be a day of refreshing repose, and of joy and gladness (Isai. xxx. 29, &c.); and hence we find, in the time of our Saviour, notwithstanding the gloom and sadness with which the Scribes and Pharisees invested it, that the Jews were wont to make entertainments upon the seventh day (Luke xiv. 1); and both Josephus and Philo consider feasting and rejoicing as essential to its celebration. The modern Jews have converted it into a day of festive entertainments, and often of unseemly revelry and merriment.

7. But the sabbath was also to be a day of devotion: it was to be *sanctified* (Exod. xx. 8; Deut. v. 12); that is, to be separated from common to sacred purposes. Hence there were on the sabbath, in addition to the daily offerings, some sacrifices peculiar to itself. A double burnt-offering was commanded (Numb. xxviii. 9, 10; see 2 Chron. ii. 4, viii. 13, xxxi. 3; Neh. x. 33; Ezek. xiv. 17). On every sabbath-day there were four lambs sacrificed, two in the morning and two in the evening; and the meat-offerings and drink-offerings which accompanied the sacrifices were to be doubled. It is difficult to determine whether the Levitical law enjoined the practice of public worship on this day. The only thing that appears to sanction the opinion is, that it is in several places said to be "an holy convocation," which denotes an assembly or convention. The phrase, however, is too doubtful in its signification

* Comment. on the Laws of Moses, art. 195.

† Comment. on the Laws of Moses, art. 196.

to warrant us in affirming this to have been the case. If it were permitted to infer the ancient practice from that which obtained in the Jewish church in the time of our Saviour, the matter might be easily decided. It was then usual to assemble in stated places on the sabbath-day, for sacred and religious purposes, Acts xvi. 13, xviii. 4. It was the day set apart for teaching and admonishing the people (Mark i. 21, vi. 2; Luke iv. 16, &c.; Acts xiv. 13, &c.); and we are told that the law was read and expounded, Acts xiii. 27, xv. 21. But these practices at the Christian era leave it undecided whether they were always observed, much less whether they were enjoined by the law.*

8. The sabbath has been considered by some writers as a type of the future state of the saints in heaven; and its perpetual obligation has been thence deduced. The only passage, however, that at all seems to countenance this opinion is Heb. iv. 1—11; and the whole text is by far too difficult of interpretation to warrant a confident conclusion.

II. THE PASSOVER.

1. This was the first instituted and most solemn of all the Jewish festivals. It was founded on the eve of the Israelites' departure from Egypt, for the purpose of commemorating their signal deliverance from that "furnace of affliction," and their exemption from those calamities with which their oppressors were universally visited. In consequence of the attempts which Moses had made to obtain for his distressed countrymen a relaxation of their labours and sufferings, the jealousy of Pharaoh was roused, and his anger so far excited that their condition was rendered by far more insupportable than before. The plagues which had been sent into the midst of Egypt had, indeed, produced in the haughty monarch's breast a momentary repentance; but their more lasting effect had been to exasperate and harden him in the highest degree. It therefore only remained that God should pour out upon him the last dregs of "the cup of his indignation," and render him a striking monument of his offended justice. "And the LORD said unto Moses, Yet will I bring one plague more upon Pharaoh and upon Egypt; afterwards he will let you go hence: when he shall let you go, he shall surely thrust you out hence altogether," Exod. xi. 1. "And Moses said, Thus saith the LORD, about midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt; and all the first-born in the land of Egypt shall die." "But against any of

the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the Lord doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel," ver. 4—7. It was therefore enjoined, that on the eve of this promised deliverance, a spotless victim of the first year, "from the sheep or from the goats," should be sacrificed by each Israelitish family, who were to eat its flesh with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. If the family were too small to eat a whole lamb, then two families were to unite together. The blood of the paschal lamb was ordered to be sprinkled on the lintel and on the door-posts of the houses of Israel, by dipping in it a bunch of hyssop (Exod. xii. 7, 13), as a token, to the destroying angel, that the houses bearing this mark, and all in them, were under the protection of God.

2. The manner of eating the passover was most significant. By eating it with unleavened bread and bitter herbs, the Israelites were reminded of the rigour of that servitude which rendered their lives bitter; whence this bread is called "the bread of affliction," Deut. xvi. 3. They were also commanded to eat it standing, in the posture of travellers who were in haste, and had no time to lose, that faith in the promise of their speedy deliverance might be kept alive and confirmed; and as it was designed that they should commence their march immediately after supper, they were to have their loins girded, and their staves in their hands, that there might be no delay when the signal was given.

3. The appellation "passover" was by a metonymy given to the lamb that was sacrificed on the occasion (Ezra vi. 20; Matt. xxvi. 17); whence the expressions "to eat the passover" (Mark xiv. 12—14), and to "sacrifice the passover," 1 Cor. v. 7. Hence, also, Christ is called "our Passover," or true paschal Lamb. The whole continuance of the feast is, in a lax sense, styled the passover (John xviii. 39; Luke xxii. 1); yet, strictly speaking, the passover was kept only on the fourteenth day of the month Nisan, which was the first of the ecclesiastical or sacred year, and the ensuing seven days were the feast of unleavened bread; so called, because during its continuance the people were to eat unleavened bread, and allow no other to remain in their dwellings. Sacrifices peculiar to the festival were to be offered on each of the seven days; but the first and the last were to be sanctified above all the rest, as sabbaths, by abstaining from all servile labour, and holding a holy convocation, Exod. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7, 8. The time appointed for sacrificing the paschal lamb was on the evening of the fourteenth day of the month; or, as it is in the

* See Holden on the Christian Sabbath, ch. 3.

Hebrew, "between the two evenings," i. e., just at sun-set (Deut. xvi. 6), or, as some critics understand it, about three o'clock in the afternoon.

4. The manner of celebrating the passover, after the establishment of the Hebrews in the land of promise, differed in some measure from the original observance of the festival. The qualities of the paschal victim remained the same, but it was to be separated from the flock four days before the time for its being killed. The first passover-victim was slain in the private dwellings of the Jews; but when they left the land of their captivity, it was to be sacrificed "in the place which Jehovah should choose to place his name there," Deut. xvi. 2. Every particular person, or a delegate from every paschal society, slew his own victim. The lamb being killed, one of the priests received its blood into a vessel, which was handed from one priest to another, until it reached him who stood beside the altar, by whom it was sprinkled at its foot. The lamb was then flayed, and the fat taken out and consumed; after which the owner took it to his home, where it was roasted whole, and eaten by the paschal society, with unleavened bread and bitter herbs. It was enjoined upon the Hebrews not to break the bones of the victim (Exod. xii. 46), as a further indication of the haste in which they first partook of the feast, not leaving time to break the bones and suck out the marrow. It also had a typical reference which we shall consider presently. Nor was any part of the lamb to remain till the morning: if it were not all eaten it was to be consumed by fire, ver. 10. The same law was extended to all eucharistical sacrifices (Lev. xxii. 30); no part of which was to be left or set by, lest it should be corrupted, or converted to any profane or common use; an injunction which was designed, no doubt, to maintain the honour of sacrifices, and teach the Jews to treat with reverence whatever was consecrated more especially to the service of God.* After the Israelites were established in their own land, that part of the institution which required them to eat the passover standing, and equipped as travellers, was dispensed with: they partook of the sacrificial meal like men at rest and ease.

5. The guests placed themselves in a reclining posture on couches around the table, their left arms leaning thereon, and their feet extending outward and backwards. This shows the meaning of the evangelist's expression, of the beloved disciple leaning on the bosom of Jesus (John xiii. 23), and on his breast (ver. 25, xxi. 20);

that is, our Lord was leaning on the table on his left elbow, and so turning his breast and face away from the table on one side, and John sitting in the same posture next to him, with his back towards Jesus' breast, so that whenever our Saviour put up his arm, the disciple was within his embrace. It also explains how the woman who was a sinner, and had brought an alabaster box of ointment, could *stand at Christ's feet behind him*, while she anointed them with the ointment, and wiped them with the hair of her head, Luke vii. 38. Being thus seated, a cup of wine was mingled with water, over which the master of the family, or "the rehearser of the office of the passover," offered thanks, at the conclusion of which the whole company drank of the cup. The ceremony of washing hands was then introduced, after which the table was furnished with the paschal lamb, cakes of unleavened bread, bitter herbs, a part of the fourteenth day's offerings, and a dish of thick sauce, compounded of bruised dates, figs, or raisins, steeped in vinegar till it was of the consistence of clay, to remind them of the clay in which their fathers wrought while in Egypt. The table being thus furnished, the president took a small piece of salad, and having blessed God for having created the fruit of the ground, he ate it, as did also the other guests; after which the president explained the import of the paschal lamb, the bitter herbs, and the unleavened bread; and, repeating Psalms cxiii., cxiv., he concluded with the following prayer: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, king everlasting, who hast redeemed us, and redeemed our fathers out of Egypt, and brought us to this night, to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbs." At the conclusion of this, all the company drank off the second cup of wine and water, and the hands were again washed, accompanied with an ejaculatory prayer. After the basons were removed, the president took the two cakes of unleavened bread, broke one of them into two pieces, laid the broken cake upon that which was entire, and gave thanks to the Lord, who brought bread out of the earth. The two cakes were then divided among the company, who ate them with bitter herbs, and the thick sauce; after which the president pronounced the following prayer: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, king everlasting, who hast sanctified us by the commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the eating of the unleavened bread." It will be observed, that our Lord, at his appointment of the supper, reversed the order of blessing and breaking the bread—he first giving thanks, and then breaking the bread. It is to that part of the feast just noticed, that our Lord's words relative

* Jennings' Jewish Antiq., b. iii. c. 4.

to Judas refer: "He that dippeth his hand with me in the dish, the same shall betray me." He also pointed out the traitor, by giving him the sop, or piece of unleavened bread and bitter herbs, which had been dipped in the thick sauce before mentioned. The meat of the peace-offerings was next eaten, with an appropriate prayer; and then the flesh of the paschal lamb, which was the concluding dish; after which they washed a third time. A third cup of wine was then filled, which was emphatically called "the cup of blessing," because over it the president returned thanks. Paul uses the same phrase for denoting the sacramental cup in the Lord's supper; and it is generally supposed that it was from this third cup, and a part of the unleavened bread remaining from the passover, that our Lord took the elements for the Christian communion. Lastly, a fourth cup of wine was set on the table, called the cup of the Hallel, because over it the president completed the Hallel which he had begun over the second cup. Over that he had repeated Psalms cxliii. and cxiv., and he now proceeded to repeat from Psalm cxv. to cxviii., after which he concluded with "the blessing of the song."*

6. These particulars will materially illustrate the evangelical histories, concerning the celebration of the last passover by our Saviour, and the institution of the Lord's supper. The paschal society on this occasion consisted of the Redeemer and his twelve disciples. We have already remarked, that the manner in which they reclined at this feast explains the meaning of the evangelist, who says, the beloved disciple was leaning on his Master's bosom. In like manner, as the Jewish passover was made the occasion of discoursing on the mercy of God in the deliverance of the people from their bitter servitude, our Saviour makes use of it for expatiating on that mercy, as more conspicuously manifested in the gift of his Son, and the redemption of the world through his death. As the president distributed among the guests the consecrated bread, so our Saviour brake the bread, after having given thanks, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat; this is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me." Hence Paul declares that, in celebrating this feast, we "do show forth the Lord's death until he come again." In conformity with the custom of concluding the feast by chanting or singing "the blessing of the song," our Saviour and his disciples concluded by singing a hymn, or song of thanksgiving.†

7. Before concluding the description of the paschal solemnity, we must remark that it was customary, on this occasion, for the inhabitants of Jerusalem to give the free use of their rooms and furniture to strangers who came up to keep the feast. For this reason Jerusalem is called "the common city:" it was common to all the tribes at the time of the great festivals. This will explain the otherwise inexplicable conduct of our Saviour, in sending his disciples to a man in the city, saying, "The Master saith, My time is at hand; I will keep the passover at thy house with my disciples." It was also the custom, in the latter period of the Jewish history, to liberate some criminal on this occasion, which explains Matt. xxvii. 15, &c.

8. Such was the manner of celebrating the passover of the first month, on the 14th day of *Abib* or *Nisan*, which every Israelite was required to observe, except on particular occasions, enumerated in Numb. ix. 1—13, on pain of death. It should not be forgotten, however, that there was also a passover of the second month, observed on the 14th day of *Jair* or *Zif*, by those individuals who were precluded from attending the former. The regulations for both were alike (Numb. ix. 6—15), except that in the second month they might have leaven in their houses, for the use of their families, and that the singing of the Hallel was dispensed with during the time they were eating the paschal supper.‡

9. That the passover had a typical reference to Christ, appears from the apostle calling him "our passover," in 1 Cor. v. 7; but concerning the points of resemblance between the type and the antitype, there is, as might be expected, some difference of opinion amongst the commentators. The reader who may wish to see the question discussed, is referred to Jennings's *Jewish Antiquities*, or to Witsius's *Œconomia Fœderis*.

10. The ceremonies connected with this festival closed on the 16th of the month, when the sheaf of the first-fruits of the barley-harvest was offered, as a grateful acknowledgment of the goodness of God in bestowing the former and the latter rains, and producing the fruits of the earth. The sacrifice and thanksgiving to be offered on this occasion are prescribed in Lev. xxiii. 9—14.

III. THE FEAST OF PENTECOST.

1. This was the second of the three grand Hebrew festivals, and derives its name from the circumstance of being kept fifty days after the first day of unleavened bread. See Lev. xxii. 15, 16; Deut. xvi. 9—12. From the same circumstance it is called "the feast of weeks," being cele-

* Lightfoot. Temple Service, chap. xii., xiii.

† See Dr. A. Clarke on the Eucharist.

‡ Lightfoot, Heb. and Tal. Exer. on Mark xiv. 26.

brated seven weeks, or a week of weeks, after the celebration of the former feast. It was also called "the feast of harvest," and "the day of first-fruits," because the Jews then offered thanks to God for the bounties of the harvest, in bread baked of the new corn, Exod. xxiii. 16; Lev. xxiii.; Numb. xxviii. Its object was to commemorate the giving of the law on Mount Sinai.

2. The day on which the feast of Pentecost was celebrated was separated from a common to a sacred use. All the males of Judea were ordered to attend at Jerusalem; two wheaten cakes were presented as the first-fruits of the wheat-harvest, for the whole nation; and every individual laid his first-fruits on the altar, as a token of gratitude for the bounties of Providence. Another thing was the burnt-offering for the day, consisting of seven lambs of the first year, without blemish, one young bullock, and two rams, and their accompanying meat and drink-offerings. After this, a kid of the goats was offered for a sin-offering, and two lambs of the first year for a peace-offering. The Hallel, or the whole of the Psalms, from cxiii. to cxviii. inclusive, was then sung, which terminated the duties of the day.*

3. The Christian church also celebrates the feast of Pentecost fifty days, or seven weeks, after the Passover, or the resurrection of our Saviour. There is little doubt but that the Pentecost after our Saviour's death fell on a Sunday.† The tradition among the Fathers is express, that on this day the church has always celebrated this festival. There seems to be a remarkable correspondence between the giving of the law on Sinai, and the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost. The former was accompanied with thunderings and lightnings, and the latter with a mighty rushing wind and the appearance of tongues of fire.

IV. THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

1. This was the last of the three great festivals, and, like the passover, lasted for a week, during which time the people left their ordinary dwellings to abide in booths, or arbours, made of "the fruits of goodly trees, branches of palm-trees, boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook," Lev. xxiii. 40. Hence it is called by the evangelist, *scenopogia*, or the "feast of tents," John vii. 2. The booths were erected in the temple, in the public places, in courts, and on the flat roofs of the houses. The time appointed for the celebration of this feast was the 15th of the month *Tisri*; its design being (1) to remind

the Hebrews of their fathers dwelling in tents in the wilderness, Lev. xxiii. 40—43; and (2) to be a yearly thanksgiving after the ingathering of the harvest, Exod. xxxiv. 22, &c.

2. The mode of celebrating this festival was as follows. On the first day of the feast, which was accounted a sabbath, the people abstained from all servile work, that they might have time to construct their booths. These being erected, they attended the public worship of the several days, and offered in their order the appropriate sacrifices, which were remarkable in the decrease which took place on each successive day. Besides the daily morning and evening sacrifices, which were indispensable, they offered on the first day thirteen bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs, and a kid of the goats, with their meat and drink-offerings, Numb. xxix. 12—16. These offerings the six successive days were regularly decreased one bullock on each day. But on the eighth day, which was accounted a sabbath, there were only one bullock, one ram, seven lambs, and a kid of the goats, with their meat and drink-offerings,† Numb. xxix. 17—38.

3. In the time of our Saviour some variations had been effected in the manner of observing this feast, through the traditions of the Pharisees. The first thing they did on the first day of the feast was to procure some palm and myrtle branches, and then go to a place a little below Jerusalem, on the brook of Kedron, for two willow branches each; one for his *luleb*, or bunch of palms and myrtle, bound up by means of a twig, a cord, a silver or golden thread, according to the taste of the individual; the other to place at the side of the altar. Their *lulebs* they constantly carried in their right hands during the first day of the feast, and in their left a branch of the citron, with its fruit. The first place they resorted to was the temple, to attend the morning sacrifice. When the parts of the sacrifice were laid on the altar, the singular ceremony of pouring out the water commenced, the manner of doing which was as follows:—One of the priests, with a golden flagon, of three logs (or eighteen egg-shells full), went to the pool of Siloam, where, filling it with water, he returned to the court of the priests, by the gate on the south side of the court of Israel, thence called the water-gate. The trumpets sounded on his entering the court, and he ascended to the top of the altar, where were placed two basins, the one with wine, for the ordinary drink-offering, and the other for the water which he had procured. Pouring the water into the

* Lightfoot's Temple Service, ch. xiv., sect. 3.

† See Holden on the Sabbath, p. 233, &c.

† Lightfoot's Temple Service, chap. xvi., sect. 1.

empty bason, he mixed the wine and the water together, for the libation. When he raised the bason for the purpose of pouring forth its contents, the people cried, "Hold up thy hand:" this was for the purpose of seeing whether he did it in a proper manner; for a Sadducee, in contempt of their traditions, instead of pouring it over the altar, had once poured it upon his own feet. At the time of this libation they sang the Hallel (Ps. cxiii.—cxviii. inclusive); and when they came to the beginning of Ps. cxviii., "O give thanks unto the Lord," the people expressed the ardour of their feelings by shaking their branches.

4. Immediately after this part of the service was concluded, the people joined in the peculiar service of the day, while the burnt-offering, which we have before described, was consuming, the Levites sung the one hundred and fiftieth psalm. The offering for the prince was next presented, and the people were allowed to return home. As they departed from the temple, they went in succession round the altar; set one of their willow branches against it, repeating aloud, "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity" (Ps. cxviii. 25); and returning through the gates in the court of Israel, nearest the altar, they exclaimed, "Beauty be to thee, O altar: beauty be to thee, O altar." At the time of the evening sacrifice they again assembled in the temple; after which, and near night, they observed "the rejoicing for the pouring out of the water." The manner of performing the ceremony was this: They all met in the court of the women; the women in the balconies which surrounded the three sides of the court, and the men below, on the ground. The court was lighted by a large golden candlestick with four lamps, one on each side, which were raised to a great height. Every thing being arranged, the pipe of the temple began to play; the Levites, with their instruments, took their seats on the steps which led from the court of the women up to the gate of Nicanor; while those who could join in the vocal department also took their stations. They then sang the "Psalms of degrees, from cxx.—cxxxiv. inclusive, while all the people of rank and piety leaped and danced, with torches in their hands, for a great part of the night; while the women and common people looked on. At the time appointed for concluding this rejoicing, two priests appeared in the gate Nicanor, with trumpets in their hands, which they sounded. They then descended to the tenth step, and sounded a second time; then to the court of the women, and sounded a third time; after which they advanced towards the east, or beautiful gate, sounding as they went. The people then retired before them, and when they had reached the east

gate, the priests turned themselves round to the temple, and uttered the following words: "Our fathers which were in this place turned their backs upon the temple of the Lord, and their faces towards the east, towards the sun; but as for us, we are towards him, and our eyes are towards him." They then returned to the court of Israel, by the court of the women, and entered the court of the priests by the gate Nicanor.

5. It is difficult to account for the excessive joy manifested on the occasion of pouring out the water, as above related. There is, however, one remarkable passage in the Talmud: "Rabbi Levi saith, why is the name of it called *the drawing of water*? Because of the drawing or pouring out of the Holy Ghost: according to what is said, 'With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation,' Isai. xii. 3." This will serve to illustrate John vii. 37, 38, which plainly alludes to the custom. On the last and great day of the feast, when they had for seven days rejoiced over the drawing and libation of water, which they referred to the pouring out of the Holy Spirit, our Saviour "stood and cried, 'If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink: he that believeth on me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water.' But this spake he of the Spirit," &c.*

6. The learned Joseph Mede is of opinion, that this feast was celebrated at the time of the year in which the Saviour was to appear, and that the dwelling in tabernacles was designed as a type of his incarnation. In support of his opinion the evangelist John is cited, who, speaking of the incarnation of the Son of God, says, "The word was made flesh, and dwelt (*καὶ ἡσκησεν ἐν ἡμῶν*) —*tabernacled* in or among us," John i. 14.

V. THE FEAST OF THE NEW MOON.

Although Moses appointed particular sacrifices to be offered on the first day of every month (Numb. xxviii. 11, 12), he gave no directions for its consecration as a holy day, on which the people were to abstain from servile labour. That it at length obtained this character, however, is evident from Amos viii. 5, where the avaricious man is represented as waiting for the termination of the day, that he may sell corn. Of this festival there is frequent mention made in the Old Testament, where it is called "the beginning of months," and on which it seems to have been customary for the people to resort to the prophets, for the purpose of hearing the word of God (2 Kings iv. 2), and also to hold some kind of entertainment. See 2 Sam. xx. 5, 18. The new moon

* Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. xvi.; Calmet's Bib. Eney.; Jennings's Jewish Antiq. b. iii., c. 6.

mentioned in Ps. lxxxi. 3, was probably that at the beginning of the month *Tizri*, which was distinguished from the rest by peculiar rites, of which we shall presently speak.

VI. THE FEAST OF TRUMPETS.

This feast was held on the new moon which began the month *Tizri*, the first of the civil year, and was so called from the blowing of trumpets, which lasted during its continuance, Lev. xxiii. 24; Numb. xxix. 1. On this festival all servile work was prohibited, and a holy convocation of the people for religious purposes was held. The peculiar sacrifices for the day are enumerated in Numb. xxix. 2—5. The Scriptures nowhere assign the reason of this festival, and the learned are much divided upon it. Maimonides conceives that it was designed to awaken and arouse the people to repentance against the great day of expiation, which occurred nine days afterwards. Others affirm that the blowing of the trumpets was a commemoration of the substitution of the ram in the place of Isaac, for a sacrifice on Moriah. Some of the Christian Fathers, particularly Basil and Theodoret, consider the sounding of the trumpets to have been a memorial of the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, which was accompanied with the sound of a trumpet. But the more general opinion is, that the festival was designed as a commemoration of the creation of the world, which is supposed to have taken place at this season of the year. So that the feast of trumpets was the new year's day, on which the people were solemnly called to rejoice in a grateful remembrance of all God's benefits to them through the past year, as well as to implore his blessing for the one ensuing.*

VII. THE FAST OF EXPIATION, OR DAY OF ATONEMENT.

1. This fast was celebrated on the tenth day of the month *Tizri*, according to Lev. xvi. It was to be observed as a strict fast; the people abstaining from all servile work, taking no food, and afflicting their souls, ver. 29. This is thought to be the *fast* mentioned in Acts xxvii. 9. Of all the sacrifices ordained in the Mosaic ritual, the sacrifice of the atonement was the most important. On this day the high-priest was to perform the most solemn part of his ministry, for which he was prepared by a number of significant ceremonies.†

2. The victims offered on this day, including the daily burnt-offerings, were fifteen: of these we can notice only the most remarkable, viz.,

the sin-offering for the high-priest and his family, and the two goats which the priest was to receive from the congregation; one of which he was to offer for their sins, and the other to send by the hands of a fit man into the wilderness. The manner of selecting the goat for the sacrifice does not appear in Scripture; but according to the rabbins, it was by the casting of lots. When this was done, the high-priest offered the prescribed sacrifice as a sin-offering for himself and his family, taking some of the blood into the most holy place, and sprinkling it with his finger upon the mercy-seat, and before it, seven times (Lev. xvi. 12, 13), for the purpose of purifying it from the pollution which it may have contracted from his sins during the preceding year.‡ It should be observed, that the most holy place had been previously filled with the smoke of the incense, for the purpose of preventing a sight of the mercy-seat. The high-priest then returned into the court of the priests, to fetch the blood of the goat which was appointed for the sin-offering of the congregation, to do with it as he had done with the blood of the bullock (Lev. xvi. 7—9, 15, 16). The next thing was to make an atonement, in like manner, for the tabernacle of the congregation, or court of the priests, and for the altar. This being done, the scape-goat was to be sent away into the wilderness; which was done in the following manner: the high-priest and the stationary men who represented Israel, laid their hands upon its head,|| and confessed over it all the iniquities of the people, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them on the head of the goat (Lev. xvi. 20, 21); after which it was delivered to the person appointed to lead it away, that it might bear all their iniquities to a land of separation, where they should be remembered no more, ver. 22.

3. The whole of this solemn proceeding afforded a lively representation of the atonement which was to be made for the sins of men, by the blood of Jesus Christ; and a remarkable analogy to it may be traced in the course of our Lord's ministry. He began it with personal purification at his baptism, to fulfil all legal righteousness,

‡ This was the only time during the course of the year in which the high-priest was permitted to enter the sanctuary. He was not to be dressed in his pontifical garments, but in the simple sacerdotal vestments, because it was a day of humiliation and contrition.

|| By this ceremony the sinner deprecated the wrath of God, and prayed that it might fall on the head of that victim, which he put in his own stead. Witsius on the Covenants, vol. ii. p. 217.

* Jennings's Jewish Antiq. b. iii., ch. 7.

† See Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. 15.

Matt. iii. 13—15. Immediately after his baptism, he was led, by the impulse of the HOLY SPIRIT, into the wilderness, as the true scape-goat, who bore away our infirmities, and carried off our diseases, Isai. liii. 4—6; Matt. viii. 17. Immediately before his crucifixion, he was afflicted, and his soul was exceeding sorrowful unto death, when he was to be made a sin-offering, like the allotted goat (Ps. xl. 12; Isai. liii. 7; Matt. xxvi. 38; 2 Cor. v. 21; Heb. i. 3); and his sweat, as great drops of blood falling to the ground, corresponded to the sprinkling of the mercy-seat (Luke xxii. 44); and when, to prepare for his own sacrifice, he consecrated himself in prayer to God (John xvii. 1—5; Matt. xxvi. 39—46), and then prayed for his household, his apostles, and his disciples (John xvii. 6—9), and for all future believers, ver. 20—26. He put off his garments at his crucifixion, when he became the sin-offering (Ps. xxii. 18; John xix. 23, 24); and as our spiritual high-priest he entered once for all into the most holy place, heaven, to make intercession with God for all his faithful followers, Heb. vii. 24—28; ix. 7—15: *Who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification*, Rom. iv. 25. It is observable that the two goats seem to make only one sacrifice, yet only one of them was slain. Thus they pointed out both the divine and human natures of Christ, and showed both his death and resurrection. The goat that was slain prefigured his human nature and his death, and the scape-goat pointed out his resurrection; the one represented the atonement made for the sins of the world, as the ground of justification; the other, Christ's victory, and the removal of sin, in the sanctification of the soul. The divine and human natures in the person of the Saviour were essential to make an expiation or atonement for the sins of mankind; yet the human nature alone suffered; for the divine could not suffer; but its presence in the human nature made the sacrifice and death of Christ to be a full, perfect, and sufficient oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.*

VIII. THE SABBATICAL YEAR.

1. The statute relative to this extraordinary festival is as follows: "Six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still, that the poor of thy people may eat; and what they leave, the beasts of the field shall eat. In

like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard, and with thy olive-yard," Exod. xxiii. 10, 11. During this period, therefore, the land was to lie fallow, and "enjoy its sabbath." Michaëlis will not allow that this institution was designed to teach the doctrine of a special providence towards the inhabitants of the land: but that it was so, seems clear from Lev. xxv. 20, 21: "And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? Behold, we shall not sow nor gather in our increase; then will I command my blessing on you upon the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years." As long, therefore, as the sabbatic year should be kept by the inhabitants of Judea, God would be performing a perpetual miracle, which none of them could mistake. The seventh year was the year of release from personal slavery (Exod. xxi. 2), and of the remission of debts (Deut. xv. 1, 2). It was also during this year that the law was read to the people at the feast of tabernacles, Deut. xxxi. 10—13.

2. It is observable that there is no express mention of the observance of this institution in the sacred writings; and it is probable, therefore, that the faithlessness of the people led them to distrust the promise of God, and to sow and gather during the seventh, as well as other years. Moses, indeed, seems to have anticipated this; for when, in Lev. xxvi., he threatens the Israelites, among other judgments for disobedience, with the desolation of their land, he says (ver. 34), "Then shall the land hold the sabbaths which it had not held before." And the breach of this law is specified as one of the national sins which brought on the captivity, *that the land might enjoy her sabbaths*, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21. After the return to Judea, they are known to have observed this institution; and Alexander the Great granted an exemption from taxes in the sabbatical years,† 1 Macc. vi. 49, 53.

IX. THE JUBILEE.

1. This was the grand sabbatical year, celebrated every forty-ninth and fiftieth year; and was ushered in with trumpets, throughout all the land of Israel, on the tenth day of the month Tisri, or the day of annual expiation, Lev. xxv. 9. All debts were now to be cancelled, and all slaves and captives to be set at liberty; for the Hebrews were to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, and to all the inhabitants thereof," Lev. xxv. 10. Such estates as had been mortgaged, or otherwise pledged, now reverted back to their original pro-

* See Hales' Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. b. 1, p. 274, &c.; Godwyn's Moses and Aaron, b. iii., chap. 8; Lamy's App. Bib., b. i., chap. 6; Jennings' Jewish Antiq., b. iii., ch. 8; Wainess on the Covenants, vol. ii., b. iv., chap. 6, § 48; Beausobre and L'Enfant's Introd., p. 143, &c., 4to.

† Josephus, Antiq., b. xi., ch. 8, xii. 9, xiii. 8, xiv. 16. See also Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i., pp. 387, &c.; and Jennings' Jewish Antiq., b. iii., chap. 9.

prietors, except houses in walled towns, to which this privilege did not extend, Lev. v. 30.

2. The reason and design of the law of jubilee, says Dr. Jennings, was partly *political*, and partly *typical*. It was *political*, to prevent the two great oppression of the poor, as well as their being liable to perpetual slavery. By this means the rich were prevented from accumulating lands upon lands, and a kind of equality was preserved through all their families. Never was there any people whose liberty and property were so effectually secured as the Israelites. God not only engaged to protect those invaluable blessings by his providence, that they should not be despoiled of them by others; but provided in a particular manner, by this law, that they should not be thrown away through their own folly; since the property which every man or family had in their dividend in the land of Canaan, could not be sold or in any way alienated for more than half a century. By this means, also, was the distinction of tribes preserved, in respect both to their families and possessions; for this law rendered it necessary for them to keep genealogies of their families, that they might be able, when there was occasion, in the jubilee year to prove their right to the inheritance of their ancestors. By this means it was known to a certainty of what tribe and family the Messiah sprung. Upon this Dr. Allix observes, that God did not suffer them to continue in captivity out of their own land for the space of two jubilees, lest by that means their genealogies should be lost or confounded. A further *civil* use of the jubilee might be, for the readier computation of time. For, as the Greeks computed by olympiads, the Romans by lustra, and we by centuries; the Jews probably reckoned by jubilees; and it might be one design of this institution to mark out these large portions of time for the readier computation of successive years of ages.

3. The *typical* use and design of the jubilee is pointed out by the prophet Isaiah, when he says, in reference to the Messiah, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord," Isai. lxi. 1, 2. Here, "the acceptable year of the Lord," when "liberty was proclaimed to the captives," and "the opening of the prison to them that were bound," evidently refers to the Jubilee; but, in the prophetic sense, it means the gospel state and dispensation, which proclaims spiritual liberty from the bondage of sin and Satan, and

the liberty of returning to our own possession, to which, having incurred a forfeiture by sin, we had lost all right and claim.*

4. What was remarked concerning the non-observance of the sabbatical year by the Jewish people, may also be extended to the year of jubilee. Nowhere in history is its celebration either mentioned or insinuated. Nowhere do the sacred writers reckon by years of jubilee, which would have been a much more convenient chronology than to date by the reign of their kings. From 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, Michaëlis infers that the celebration of the sabbatical year was intermitted for seventy times in succession; and the jubilee, of consequence, for ten times. He remarks, "after it is there said, that for seventy years *the land had*, during the Babylonian captivity, *kept sabbath*, that is, lain fallow, it is related, *even until she should comfort herself for her disturbed sabbaths, and be as it were satisfied*;" or, as he proposes to render it, "until she had numbered her unkept sabbaths." Here there is a manifest reference to Lev. xxvi. 34, 35: "Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye be in your enemy's land; even then shall the land rest, and enjoy her sabbaths: as long as it lieth desolate it shall rest; because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it."†

X. Besides the festivals appointed by the Mosaic law, we find intimations of the observance of other festivals and fasts by the Jewish people, in various parts of Scripture. Thus Jeremiah speaks of the fast of the fourth month, on account of the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans (chap. lii. 6, 7); and of the tenth month, when the Babylonian army began the siege of Jerusalem, ver. 4. We also read of the fast of the fifth month, on account of the burning of the city and temple by the Chaldeans (2 Kings xxv. 8), and of the seventh month, in memory of the murder of Gedaliah, ver. 25. These fasts are all mentioned together in Zech. viii. 19, to which we may, perhaps, add the feast *Xylophoria*, or of the wood-offering, when the people brought great store of wood to the temple for the use of the altar. This is said to be grounded on the following passage in Nehemiah: "We cast the lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people, for the wood-offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after the house of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the altar of the Lord our God, as it is written in the law,"

* Godwyn's Moses and Aaron, b. iii., chap. 10; Jennings Jewish Antiquities, b. iii., chap. 10.

† Michaëlis on the Law of Moses, vol. i., p. 415.

chap. x. 34. See also chap. xiii. 30, 31.* In addition to these fasts and festivals, the modern Jewish calendar is crowded with a multitude of others; but as there is no mention of them in Scripture, it is no part of our business to notice them. There are two festivals, however, which we have not enumerated in those above mentioned, that demand a specific notice, viz., *the Feast of the Dedication, and the Feast of Purim.*

1. THE FEAST OF THE DEDICATION, which was appointed by Judas Maccabeus, as a new dedication of the temple and altar, after they had been polluted by Antiochus Epiphanes, on the 25th of the ninth month (*Chisleu*), B. C. 170,† lasted for eight days. From the general illumination which took place during the continuance of this festival, it obtained the name of "the Feast of Lights." The greatest religious countenance which was given to it while the temple stood, was the singing the Hallel there every day, as long as the solemnity lasted.‡ It is but once mentioned in Scripture, viz., in John x. 22, where Jesus is said to have been present at it.

2. THE FEAST OF PURIM, or OF LOTS, which commemorated the deliverance of the Jews from the plot laid against them by Haman, under the reign of Artaxerxes, was celebrated on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of the twelfth month *Adar*. The 13th was held as a fast, being the day on which they were to have been destroyed; and the two following days as a feast, for their glorious and providential deliverance. We know not whether any particular sacrifices were offered at the temple on this occasion; but it is probable that the Book of Esther was read through by some of the priests, in the court of the women. Calmet has collected from Basnage, and Leo of Modena, a number of particulars relative to the manner of observing this Jewish feast, the chief of which follow. On the eve of the feast they give alms liberally to the poor, that these also may enjoy the feast of Lots; and on the feast-day they send a share of what they have at table to those who need. On the evening of the 13th, they assemble in the synagogue, and light the lamps; and as soon as the stars begin to appear, they begin to read the book of Esther, which they go through. There are five places in the text in which the reader raises his voice with all his might, and makes such a dreadful howling as to frighten the women and children. When he comes to the place which

mentions the ten sons of Haman, he repeats them rapidly, without taking breath, to show that these ten persons were destroyed in a moment. Whenever the name of Haman is pronounced, the children furiously strike the benches with mallets, or stones, and make lamentable cries. It is said that they used to bring into the Synagogue a great stone, with HAMAN written on it, and that all the while the book of Esther was reading, they struck it with other stones, till they had beaten it to pieces. After the reading is concluded, they return home, where they make a meal rather of milk-meats than of flesh. Early on the following morning, they again repair to the Synagogue, where, after reading the account of the war of Amalek (Exod. xvii.), they again read the book of Esther, with a repetition of the ceremonies we have noticed. After quitting the Synagogue, they make good cheer at home, and pass the rest of the day in sports and dissolute mirth; the men dressing themselves in women's clothes, and the women in men's, contrary to the express prohibition of Deut. xxii. 5. Their doctors have decided that they may drink wine till they cannot distinguish between "cursed be Haman" and "cursed be Mordecai," because it was by compelling Ahasuerus to drink, that Mordecai obtained the deliverance of the Jews. They compel all—men, women, children, and servants—to be present at the Synagogue; because all shared in the deliverance, as all were exposed to the danger.

SECTION IV.

SACRED PLACES.

The Land of Israel—The Tabernacle—The Temples of Solomon, Zerubbabel, and Herod—Synagogues.

BEFORE we notice the sacred buildings of the Jewish people, it may be necessary to remark, that the whole land was by them considered as sacred, and was thence termed *the Holy Land*. They divided the whole world into two general parts, the land of Israel and the land out of Israel, the latter being considered as profane and unclean. The whole land of Israel was holy, not excepting Samaria; nor even Idumea, after its inhabitants had embraced the Jewish religion. As for Syria, they considered it between the two; that is, neither quite holy, nor altogether profane. Besides the holiness ascribed in Scripture to the land of Israel in general, as it was the inheritance of God's people, and the place appointed for His worship, the Jews were pleased to attribute different degrees of holiness to its several parts, according to their different situations. Those parts, for in-

* Jennings' Jewish Antiq., book iii., chap. 11.

† Pridenax, Connex. A. A. C. 170.

‡ Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. xvi., sect. 5

stance, which lay beyond Jordan, were reputed less holy than those that were on this side; because the sanctity of a place was in proportion to its contiguity to the temple.* Walled towns were also considered as being more clean and holy than other places, because lepers were excluded from them, and the dead were not buried there. Even the very dust of Israel was esteemed to be pure, while that of other nations was considered as polluted and profane. This will perhaps explain the direction given by our Saviour to his apostles, that when they departed out of any house or city that would not receive them, they should shake off the dust of their feet, as a testimony against the inhabitants, and as an intimation that they were now on a level with heathens and idolaters.†

§ 1.—*The Tabernacle.*

1. WE have an account of three public tabernacles among the Jews, prior to the building of Solomon's temple. The *first*, which Moses erected for himself, is called "the tabernacle of the congregation." In this he gave audience, heard causes, and inquired of God. Perhaps the public offices of religious worship were also performed in it for some time, and hence its designation. The *second* tabernacle was that which Moses built for God, by his express command, partly to be the place of his residence as king of Israel (Exod. xl. 34, 35), and partly to be the medium of that solemn worship which the people were to render to him, ver. 26—29. The *third* public tabernacle was that which David erected in his own city, for the reception of the ark, when he received it from the house of Obed-edom, 2 Sam. vi. 17; 1 Chron. xvi. 1. But it is of the second of these tabernacles that we have to treat, which was called *THE* Tabernacle, by way of distinction.‡

2. Moses, having been instructed by God to rear this structure according to the pattern shown to him in the mount, called the people together, and informed them of his purpose, with a view to afford them an opportunity of contributing towards so noble and honourable a work (Exod. xxv. 2; xxxv. 5). And so liberally did the people bring their offerings, that he was obliged to restrain them in so doing (ver. 21—xxxvi. 7). The building we are now about to describe was constructed with extraordinary magnificence, and at

a prodigious expense, so that it might be in some measure suitable to the dignity of the Great King, for whose palace it was designed; and to the value of those spiritual and eternal blessings, of which it was also designed as a type or emblem.

3. The value of the gold and silver only, used for the work, and of which we have an account in Exod. xxxviii. 24, 25, amounted, according to Bishop Cumberland's reduction of the Jewish talent and shekel to English coin, to upwards of £182,568. If we add to this the vast quantity of brass or copper that was also used; the shittim-wood, of which the boards of the tabernacle, as well as the pillars which surrounded the court, and sacred utensils, were made; as also the rich embroidered curtains and canopies that covered the tabernacle, divided the parts of it, and surrounded the court; and if we further add the jewels that were set in the high-priest's ephod and breast-plate, which are to be considered as part of the furniture of the tabernacle; the value of the whole materials, exclusive of workmanship, must have amounted to an immense sum. This was raised partly by voluntary contributions and presents, and partly by a poll-tax of half a shekel a-head for every male Israelite above twenty years old (ch. xxx. 11—16), which amounted to 100 talents, and 1775 shekels, that is, £35,359 7s. 6d. sterling, ch. xxxviii. 25.

4. The learned Spencer|| imagined that Moses borrowed his design of the tabernacle from Egypt. But this notion, as Jennings has shown, is directly at variance with matter of fact, the structure of Moses differing most essentially from those used in the heathen worship, in situation and form, as well as in typical design and use, as pointed out by the apostle in the ninth chapter of the Hebrews.§

5. The building itself was of an oblong rectangular form, thirty cubits long, ten broad, and ten in height (Exod. xxvi. 18—29, xxxvi. 23—34); that is, according to Bishop Cumberland, fifty-five feet long, eighteen broad, and eighteen high. The two sides and the western end were formed of boards of shittim-wood, overlaid with thin plates of gold, and fixed in solid sockets, or vases of silver. Above, they were secured by bars of the same wood, overlaid with gold, passing through rings of gold, which were fixed to the boards. On the east end, which was the entrance, there were no boards, but only five pillars of shittim-wood, whose chapters and fillets were overlaid with gold, having hooks of gold, standing on five sockets of

* See Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, chap. i.

† Reland. *Palestina*, chap. iv., &c.; Beauvoire and L'Enfant, *Introd.* p. 45, quarto.

‡ Jennings's *Jewish Antiq.*, b. ii., ch. 1.

|| Legibus de Hebræorum, lib. iii., dis. 1, c. 3; vi. 1.

§ *Jewish Antiquities*, b. ii., ch. 1.

brass. The tabernacle, thus erected, was covered with four different kinds of curtains. The first and inner curtain was composed of fine linen, magnificently embroidered with figures of cherubim, in shades of blue, purple, and scarlet: this formed the beautiful ceiling. The next covering was made of goats' hair; the third, of rams' skins, dyed red; and the fourth and outward covering was made of badgers' skins, as our translators have it, but which is not quite certain; the original denotes only skins of some description, dyed of a particular colour.* We have already said, that the east end of the tabernacle had no boards, but only five pillars of shittim-wood; it was therefore enclosed with a richly embroidered curtain, suspended from these pillars, Exod. xxvii. 16.

6. Such was the external appearance of the sacred tent, which was divided into two apartments, by means of four pillars of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold, like the pillars before described, two cubits and a half distant from each other; only they stood on sockets of silver, instead of sockets of brass (Exod. xxvi. 32, xxxvi. 36); and on these pillars was hung a veil, formed of the same materials as the one placed at the east end, Exod. xxvi. 31—33, xxxvi. 35. We are not informed in what proportions the interior of the tabernacle was thus divided; but it is generally thought to have been divided in the same proportion as the temple afterwards built according to its model; that is, two thirds of the whole length being allotted to the first room, or the holy place, and one third to the second, or most holy place. Thus the former would be twenty cubits long, ten wide, and ten high; and the latter ten cubits every way. It is observable that neither the holy nor the most holy place had any window. Hence the need of the candlestick in the one, for the service that was performed therein: the darkness of the other would create reverence, and might, perhaps, have suggested the similar contrivance of the Adyta in the heathen temples.

7. The tabernacle, thus described, stood in an open space, of an oblong form, 100 cubits in length and 50 in breadth, situated due east and west (Exod. xxvii. 18); and surrounded by pillars of brass, filleted with silver, at the distance of five cubits from each other. The sockets of these pillars were of brass; and they were fastened to the earth by pins of the same metal, Exod. xxxviii. 10, 17, 20. Their height is not stated, but it was probably five cubits, that being the length of the curtains that were suspended on them (Exod. xxxviii. 18), and which formed an inclosure round

the court, of fine twined white linen yarn (Exod. xxvii. 9, xxxviii. 8, 16); except that at the entrance on the east end, which was of blue, and purple, and scarlet, and fine white twined linen, with cords to draw it either up or aside, when the priests entered the court, Exod. xxxix. 40.

8. Within this area stood the altar of burnt-offerings,† and the laver and its foot. The former was placed in a line between the door of the court and the door of the tabernacle, but nearer the former (Exod. xl. 6, 29); the latter stood between the altar of burnt-offering and the door of the tabernacle, Exod. xxxviii. 8.

9. We now proceed to describe the furniture which the tabernacle contained.

(1) In the *holy place* were three objects worthy of notice, viz., the altar of incense, the table for the shew-bread, and the candlestick for the lights. 1. *The altar of incense* was made of shittim-wood, and completely covered with plates of gold. It was a cubit square, and two cubits in height; the horns at its corners being also of the same materials. The crown or ornamental cornice was of gold; and under this were placed four rings of the same precious metal, for the purpose of receiving the staves of shittim-wood and gold, by which it was to be carried from place to place, Exod. xxx. 1—5, xxxvii. 25—28. The position of this altar was in the middle of the sanctuary, before the veil (Exod. xxx. 6—10, xl. 26, 27), and on it the incense was burned morning and evening, Exod. xxx. 34—38. On the north side of the altar of incense, that is, on the right hand of the priest as he entered, stood, 2. *The table for the shew-bread*, Exod. xxvi. 35, xl. 22, 23. This was made of the same materials as the altar, and was two cubits in length, a cubit in breadth, and a cubit and a half in height, having a crown or ornamental cornice round about, and a border and a second crown above this, Exod. xxv. 23—25, xxxvii. 10—12. The staves and rings belonging to it were of the same description as those belonging to the altar; and its dishes, spoons, covers, and bowls were all of pure gold, Exod. xxv. 26—30, xxxvii. 13—17. 3. *The golden candlestick* stood on the south side of the holy place, and was of beaten gold, consisting of seven branches for lights, Exod. xxv. 23—30. These, with their snuffers and snuff-dishes, were made of a talent, or 125 pounds troy, of pure gold (ver. 31—39, xxxvii. 17—24; Numb. viii. 2—4), which, at

† The fire on this altar was regarded as sacred, having first descended from heaven: it was therefore to be kept constantly burning, and never to go out, Lev. ix. 24, vi. 23. It was carefully preserved till the time of Solomon, when it was renewed, and thence continued till the captivity.

* See Dr. A. Clarke, Comment. on Exod. xxi.

four pounds sterling the ounce, would have been worth six thousand pounds sterling. The lamps were kept burning with pure beaten olive oil, morning and evening, Exod. xxvii. 20, 21; Numb. viii. 1—4.

(2) *In the most holy place* there were also three things claiming attention; viz. the ark, the mercy-seat, and the cherubim. 1. *The ark* was a chest of shittim-wood, overlaid within and without with pure gold. It was two cubits and a half in length, a cubit and a half in breadth, and a cubit and a half in height, having an ornamental cornice of gold round the top, and four rings for the staves, to carry it; which were of shittim-wood, overlaid with gold. These staves always remained, but drawn so far towards the veil, as to allow the ark to stand at the wall of the apartment (Exod. xxv. 10—15, xxxvii. 1—5.) Into the ark were put, by divine appointment, the testimony, or tables of the covenant (Exod. xxv. 16—21; Deut. x. 1—5); a golden pot, containing an omer of the manna with which the Israelites were fed in the wilderness, to be kept as a testimony of that wonderful event (Exod. xvi. 32—34; Heb. ix. 4); and Aaron's rod that budded (Numb. xvii. 6—11; Heb. ix. 4).^{*} In the side of the ark was a place where Moses enjoined that a copy of the law should be kept (Deut. xxxi. 24—26). 2. *The mercy-seat* was a covering to the ark, made of pure gold (Exod. xxv. 17—21, xxvi. 34, xxxvii. 6); and upon this were placed, 3. *The cherubim*, two figures of a singular appearance, each having four faces, viz., the face of a lion, the face of a man, the face of a calf, and the face of an eagle—all attached to a human body with four wings, and four hands under the wings, and standing on feet resembling those of a calf or an ox (Ezek. i. 5—14). They were of pure beaten gold; two of their wings covered their bodies, and the other two were extended over the mercy-seat, while their faces looked inward and downward upon it. It was from between these that Jehovah promised to meet the Israelites as their lawgiver and covenant God, and to deliver the commandments which he might think proper to give them, Exod. xxv. 18—22, xxxvii. 7—9.[†] Nothing, perhaps, has afforded a greater scope for the ingenuity of commentators than these cherubic emblems. Without adverting to the opinions of ancient theologians, we find sufficiently discordant ones among those of the most eminent modern writers. Hutchinson, Bate, and Parkhurst maintain that they were representations of

the blessed Trinity, with the human nature taken into the divine essence, for the work of human redemption; making the work of creation and providence evidently subservient to that end.[‡] Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Wesley, and Bishop Mant consider them as hieroglyphics of the angelic nature. Dr. Priestley imagines them to have been representatives of all nature. Mr. Scott supposes them to have been emblems of the true ministers of the gospel. Dr. A. Clarke regards them as the representatives of the ALL MIGHTY, and those creatures by whom he produced the great effects of his power, to whatever order of beings they may belong; while Pyle, Hall, and Faber consider them as emblematical representations of the body of true believers, of both dispensations, legal and evangelical.|| It is observable that one leading idea runs through most of the interpretations, which refers them to the plan of redemption, either in its authors, its agents, its subjects, or its general history.

10. This remarkable and costly structure was erected in the wilderness of Sinai, on the first day of the first month of the second year, after the Israelites left Egypt (Exod. xl. 17); and when erected, was anointed, together with its furniture, with holy oil (ver. 9—11), and sanctified by blood (Exod. xxiv. 6, 8; Heb. ix. 21). The altar of burnt-offering, especially, was sanctified by sacrifices during seven days (Exod. xxix. 37), while rich donations were given by the princes of the tribes, for the service of the sanctuary, Numb. vii.

11. We must not omit to notice, that the tabernacle was so constructed as to be taken to pieces and put together again, as occasion required. This was indispensable; it being designed to accompany the Israelites during their travels in the wilderness, till their arrival in the promised land. As often as they removed, therefore, the tabernacle was taken down, and borne in regular order by the Levites (Numb. iv.). Whenever they encamped, the tabernacle was pitched in the midst, the tribes taking their stations around in a quadrangular form, under their respective standards, at the distance of two thousand cubits; while Moses and Aaron, with the priests and Levites, occupied a place between the camp and the sacred structure.§

‡ See Hutchinson's works; Bates's *Inquiry into the occasional and standing similitudes of the Lord*; Parkhurst's *Heb. Lex.* כרוב, &c.

|| See their respective commentaries; Hales's *Analysis*; and Faber's *Horæ Mos.* For a well-written paper in support of the last-mentioned opinion, see *Gentleman's Mag.* vol. xciii. pp. 118—122, or *Critica Biblica* vol. i., pp. 293—301.

§ Lamy's *App. Bib.*, b. i, chap. 4.

* The two latter had been removed from the ark before the time of Solomon. See 1 Kings viii. 9.

† Brown's *Antiq.*, vol. i, p. 22.

12. Before we close this section, we may advert to the spiritual reflections which the tabernacle and its furniture might excite in the minds of pious Israelites; for the apostle instructs us, that they were "a shadow of good things to come" (Heb. ix. 9, x. 1). The curtains, then, around the tent, might teach them a holy reverence for divine things; the altar of burnt-offering pointed to the perfection of the Messiah's sacrifice; and the laver taught them the necessity of regeneration, and of daily application to that fountain which was opened in the house of David, and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness. The tabernacle in general, where Jehovah condescended to reside, was a type of the body of Christ, in which, as in a tent, he tabernacled while on earth. The silver sockets, forming the foundation, might remind them of those important doctrines on which all evangelical religion is founded; and, by being made of the half shekels exacted of every male in Israel, they were calculated to show the personal interest that *each* should take in religion and its worship. The outer covering of goats' hair might point out the unattractive appearance of religion to the men of the world; the beautiful under-covering might indicate its glory as seen by the saints; the covering of rams' skins, dyed red, might remind them of the efficacy of the Messiah's blood, as a hiding-place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; while the covering of badgers' skins, which the Jewish traditions say was blue, might point out to them that true tabernacle which God had pitched, and not man. Nor was spiritual instruction to be less derived from entering the sacred tent. For, in the holy place, the table of shew-bread was a constant acknowledgment of God, as the giver of every temporal blessing; the candlestick, with the lamps, pointed to the seven spirits of God, whence all spiritual illumination proceeded; and the altar of incense taught them the efficacy of prayer, when offered up from a pure heart, and perfumed with the incense of the Messiah's merits. Nor were the instructions which might be derived from the most holy place less important; for the veil, that separated the two apartments, not only indicated the partition wall which divided the Jews from the rest of the world, and was taken away by the death of Christ, but also that veil which still conceals from mortal view the place of God's peculiar residence; the tables of the law were an instance of God's condescension to his chosen people; the rod that budded was emblematical of the unrivalled honour and unfading glory of a greater than Aaron; and the pot of manna, deposited in the ark, typified the hidden manna, of which all the saints are partakers, while travelling

through the wilderness of this world. Nor could they overlook the mercy-seat, as pointing out the divine goodness to offending sinners;* and the cherubim of glory, which, by looking down to that propitiatory, represented the delight of the Trinity in this their work of mercy and love.†

§ 2.—The Temple.

I. HAVING surveyed the tabernacle, we proceed to the temple at Jerusalem, which was formed upon the model of the former edifice, but built upon a much more extended and magnificent scale. It has been thought that there were three different temples: the first being built by David and Solomon; the second, by Zerubbabel and Joshua the high-priest; and the third, by Herod, a little before the birth of Christ. The Jews, however, acknowledge but two, not allowing the third to be a new temple, but only the second one repaired and beautified. And this is thought best to agree with the prophecy of Haggai (chap. ii. 9), "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former;" which is generally interpreted with reference to the Messiah's honouring it with his personal presence and ministry.‡

* The Heb. *caphoreth* is derived from a word which signifies *to cover* or *overspread*, because, by an act of pardon, sins are represented as being *covered*, so that they no longer appear in the eye of divine justice, to displease and call for punishment; and the person of the offender is *covered*, or protected from the stroke of the broken law. In the Septuagint, the word *hilasterion* is used, which signifies a *propitiatory*, and is the name used by the apostle, Heb. ix. 5. As the word *hilasterion*, *mercy-seat* or *propitiatory*, is applied to Christ (Rom. iii. 25), "whom God hath set forth to be a PROPTIATION (*hilasterion*) through faith in his blood—for the remission of sins that are past," we learn that Christ was the true mercy-seat, the thing signified by the *caphoreth*, to the ancient believers. And we learn further, that it was by *his blood* that an atonement was to be made for the sins of the world. And as God showed himself between the cherubim, over this propitiatory or mercy-seat, so it is said, "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," 2 Cor. v. 19, &c. See Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. xxv. 17.

† Brown's Antiq. vol. i., p. 33, &c

‡ Jennings' Jewish Antiq., b. ii., chap. 1. It is difficult to reconcile this with the fact of Herod's *rebuilding* the temple of Zerubbabel, as he is stated to have done by Josephus, Ant., b. xv., c. 11. For if he pulled down the old temple to its foundations, and erected a new one, it is plain that this was a building as totally distinct from that of Zerubbabel, as that of Zerubbabel was from the temple of Solomon. How then are we to reconcile the prophecy above cited, with the fact that our Saviour did not appear while the second temple was standing? for we can hardly suppose that the Jewish historian has erred in the statement which he has here made, corroborated as that statement is by the evangelist in John ii. 20. Dr. Blaney has attempted to do this by a different rendering. "In the Hebrew," he remarks, "the words will be found to stand precisely thus: Great shall be the glory of this house, the latter more

II. The first temple was that of Solomon, for which materials were provided by David before his death.

1. It occupied one of the three eminences on which the city of Jerusalem was built, and which is well known to the Scripture reader as Mount Moriah. This name is differently explained by commentators. Its most literal meaning is "the myrrh of Jehovah," or, "the bitterness of Jehovah;" but how to explain it of the mountains around Jerusalem is not so easy. Perhaps it referred to the productions for which the country around Jerusalem was famed, "the myrrh of Jehovah" meaning, in the Hebrew idiom, excellent myrrh. Be this as it may, the fact is certain, that the bitterness of Jehovah, God-man the mediator, was afterwards experienced on these very mountains; for the garden of Gethsemane, in which he suffered such dreadful agony, was on one of them; the places where he was mocked, scourged, and condemned, were on another; and Calvary, where (while crucifying him) they offered him wine mingled with myrrh (Mark xv. 23), was on a third. For though the term Moriah was afterwards confined to the particular hill on which

the temple was built, it originally comprehended the several mountains round about Jerusalem. Hence, God said to Abraham, "Take thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah, and offer him there for a burnt-offering, upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of," Gen. xxii. 12.

2. At the division of Judea among the twelve tribes, it so happened that, small as the space on the top of Moriah was, it became the property of two tribes; for the greatest part of the temple courts was in the portion of Judah; and the altar, porch, holy and most holy places, were in the portion of Benjamin. In its original state the summit of Moriah was unequal, and its sides irregular; but it was a part of the ambition of the Jewish kings to have it levelled and extended;* insomuch that, during the second temple, it formed a square of 500 cubits, or 304 yards on each side, allowing, as is commonly done, 21,888 inches to the cubit. Almost the whole of this space was arched under ground, to prevent the possibility of pollution from secret graves;† and it was surrounded by a wall of excellent stone 25 cubits, or 47 feet 7 inches high; without which lay a considerable extent of flat and gently-sloping ground, which was occupied by the buildings of the tower of Antonia, the gardens, and the public walks.‡

3. The plan and the whole model of this structure was laid by the same divine architect as that of the tabernacle, viz., God himself; and it was built much in the same form as the tabernacle, only of much larger dimensions. The utensils for the sacred service were also the same as those used in the tabernacle, only several of them were larger, in proportion to the more spacious edifice to which they belonged. The foundations of this magnificent edifice were laid by Solomon, in the year of the world 2992; and it was finished A. M. 3000, having occupied seven years and six months in the building. It was dedicated A. M. 3001, with peculiar solemnity, to the worship of Jehovah, who condescended to make it the place for the special manifestation of his glory, 2 Chron. v., vi., vii.

4. We have already said that the front or entrance to the temple was on the eastern side, and consequently facing the mount of Olives, which commanded a noble prospect of the building: the holy of holies, therefore, stood towards the west.¶

than the former.' So that the words *latter* and *former* may as well be construed with *the glory* as with *this house*. Accordingly, the Seventy have adopted this construction; and the context seems evidently to justify the propriety of their translation; for in the introductory part of this prophecy, the word *first* or *former* is manifestly applied to *glory*, and not to *this house*: "Who is left among you, that saw this house in her *first glory*? And how do you see it now? Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?" Hag. ii. 3. It is manifest, too, that in this passage, the term *this house* is not confined in its application to the house the Jews were then building, but is undeniably meant of Solomon's temple. Nor, indeed, is it generally necessary to render a house identically the same, according to the common acceptance of language, that it be built at one and the same time, and exactly of the same form and materials; it is sufficient, though it should have been rebuilt at different times successively, if it be erected still on the same site, and devoted to the same purpose. It is the house of God, the temple appropriated to divine worship at Jerusalem, which was intended by *this house*, whether built by Solomon, by the Jews under Zerubbabel, or by Herod. Were it otherwise, how could Solomon's temple be called *this house*, as it is in the passage just now cited? or how are we to understand the words (Ezek. v. 11—13) which the Jews are said to have spoken to the Persian officers, who demanded their authority for rebuilding the temple? "We are," say they, "the servants of the God of heaven and earth, and *build* the house that was builded these many years ago, which a great king of Israel builded and set up. But after that our fathers had provoked the God of heaven to wrath, he gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, the Chaldean, who destroyed *this house*. But Cyrus made a decree to build *this house* of God." Here it is plain that the words *this house* are alternately applied to the temple of Solomon and that built under Zerubbabel, and may certainly as well be extended to that of Herod.—Discourse preached before the University of Oxford, Nov. 9th, 1788, 4to., and reprinted in the Methodist Magazine, vol. v., third series, p. 515, &c.

* Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, chap. 1.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., chap. ii. Brown's Jewish Antiq., vol. i., pp. 37—40.

¶ This, it will be perceived, was directly the reverse of the plan on which the heathen temples were built; these being so constructed that the worshippers should have their faces to the east.

The temple itself, strictly so called, which comprised the portico, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies, formed only a small part of the sacred edifice, being surrounded by spacious courts, chambers, and other apartments, much more extensive than the temple itself, which was never designed to hold a concourse of people—it was for the service of the Lord, and the priests were the only people employed in it.

5. As we possess only verbal descriptions of the temple of Solomon, it is impossible to obtain a very accurate idea of its relative parts and their respective proportions. Hence we must not feel surprised that no two writers who have undertaken to describe it, agree in their descriptions. The following account, which has been compiled with great care, may be sufficient to give us a general notion of the building.

(1) The temple itself was seventy cubits long; the porch being ten cubits (1 Kings vi. 3), the holy place forty cubits (ver. 17), and the most holy place twenty cubits,* 2 Chron. iii. 8. The width of the porch, holy and most holy places, was twenty cubits (2 Chron. iii. 3); and the height over the holy and most holy places was thirty cubits (1 Kings vi. 2). The height of the porch was much greater than this, being no less than one hundred and twenty cubits (2 Chron. iii. 4), or four times the height of the rest of the building. To the north and south sides, and the west end of the holy and most holy places, or all round the edifice, from the back of the porch on the one side, to the back of the porch on the other side, certain buildings were attached, called side chambers, and consisting of three stories, each five cubits high (1 Kings vi. 10), and joined to the wall of the temple without. But what may seem singular is, that the lowest of these stories was five cubits broad on the floor; the second, six cubits; and the third, seven cubits; and yet the outer wall of the whole was upright, ver. 6. The reason of this was, that the wall of the temple, against which they leaned, had always a scarcement of a cubit at the height of every five cubits, to prevent the joists of these side chambers from being fixed in it. Thus the three stories of side chambers, when taken together, were fifteen cubits high, and consequently reached exactly to half the height of the side walls, and end of the temple; so that there was abundance of space, above these, for the windows which gave light to the temple, ver. 4. Josephus

differs very materially from this in his account of the temple;† for which we know not how to account, but by supposing that he has confounded the Scripture account of Solomon's temple with that of the temple after the captivity and of Herod.‡

(2) In noticing the several courts of the temple, we naturally begin with the outer one, which was called,

(a) *The court of the Gentiles*, and into which persons of all nations were permitted to enter. The most common approach to this was by the east gate, which was the principal gate of the temple. It was by far the largest of all the courts pertaining to the sacred building, and comprised a space of 188,991 superficial cubits, or 14 English acres, 1 rood, 29 poles, and 13 yards; of which above two-thirds lay to the south of the temple. It was separated from the court of the women by a wall of three cubits high, of lattice-work, so that persons walking here might see through as well as over it.|| This wall, however, was not on a level with the court of which we are speaking, but was cut out of the rock six cubits above it, the ascent to which was by twelve steps. On pillars placed at equal distances in this wall, were inscriptions in Greek and Latin, to warn strangers, and such as were unclean, not to proceed further, on pain of death.§ It was from this court that our Saviour drove the persons who had established a cattle-market, for the purpose of supplying those with sacrifices who came from a distance, Matt. xxi. 12, 13. We must not overlook the beautiful pavement of variegated marble, and the piazzas, or covered walks, with which this court was surrounded. Those on the east, west, and north sides were of the same dimensions; but that on the south was much larger.¶ The porch called *Solomon's* (John x. 23, Acts iii. 11) was on the south side or front of the temple, and was so called because it was built by this prince, upon a high wall of 400 cubits from the valley of Kedron.**

(b) *The court of the women*, called in Scripture *the new court* (2 Chron. xx. 5), and *the outer court* (Ezek. xlvi. 21), was so designated by the Jews, not because none but women were permitted to enter it, but because it was their appointed place of worship, beyond which they might not

† Antiquities, b. viii., c. 3.

‡ See Brown's Antiq., vol. i., pp. 149—152.

|| Josephus, Wars, b. v., c. 5.

§ Ibid.

¶ Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, c. viii.

** Josephus, Antiq., b. xx., c. 9.

* We have designedly omitted to notice the furniture of the temple, it having been already described in the account of the tabernacle.

go ; unless when they brought a sacrifice, in which case they went forward to the court of Israel. The gate which led into this court, from that of the Gentiles, was *the beautiful gate* of the temple, mentioned Acts iii. 2; so called because the folding-doors, lintel, and side-posts were all overlaid with Corinthian brass.* The court itself was 135 cubits square, having four gates, one on each side ; and on three of its sides were piazzas, with galleries above them, whence could be seen what was passing in the great court.† At the four corners of this court were four rooms, appropriated to different purposes, Ezek. xli. 21—24. In the *first*, the lepers purified themselves after they were healed ; in the *second*, the wood for the sacrifices was laid up ; the Nazarites prepared their oblations, and shaved their heads in the *third* ; and in the *fourth*, the wine and oil for the sacrifices were kept. There were also two rooms more, where the Levites' musical instruments were laid up ; and also thirteen treasure chests, two of which were for the half-shekel, which was paid yearly by every Israelite ; and the rest for the money for the purchase of sacrifices and other oblations.‡ It was in this court of the women, called the treasury, that our Saviour delivered his striking discourse to the Jews, related in John viii. 1—20. It was into this court, also, that the Pharisee and publican went to pray (Luke xviii. 10—13), and into which the lame man followed Peter and John after he was cured ; the court of the women being the ordinary place of worship for those who brought no sacrifice, Acts iii. 8. From thence, after prayers, he went back with them, through the *beautiful gate* of the temple, where he had been lying, and through the sacred fence into the court of the Gentiles, where, under the eastern piazza, or *Solomon's porch*, Peter delivered that sermon which converted five thousand. It was in the same court of the women that the Jews laid hold on Paul, when they judged him a violator of the temple, by taking Gentiles within the sacred fence, Acts xxi. 26, &c. In this court the high-priest, at the feast of expiation, read a portion of the law. Here also the king, on the sabbatical year, did the same at the feast of tabernacles.||

(c) *The court of Israel* was separated from the court of the women by a wall thirty-two cubits and a half high on that side, but on the other only twenty-five ; the reason of the difference

being, that as the rock on which the temple stood always became higher on advancing westward, the several courts naturally became elevated in proportion. The ascent into the court was by a flight of fifteen steps, of a semicircular form, on which the Levites stood and sung the "Psalms of degrees" (cxx.—cxxxiv.) at the feast of tabernacles. This gate is spoken of under several appellations in the Old Testament ; but in the time of our Saviour it was known as the gate Nicanor. It was here that the leper stood, to have his stonement made, and his cleansing completed. It was here they tried the suspected wife, by making her drink of the bitter water ; and it was here also that women appeared after childbirth for purification. The whole length of the court, from east to west, was 187 cubits, and the breadth, from north to south, 135 cubits. This was divided into two parts ; one of which was the court of the Israelites, and the other, the court of the priests. The former was a kind of piazza surrounding the latter, under which the Israelites stood, while their sacrifices were burning in the court of the priests. It had thirteen gates, with chambers above them, each of which had its particular name and use.§ The space comprised in the court of the priests was 165 cubits long and 119 cubits wide, and was raised two cubits and a half above the surrounding court, from which it was separated by the pillars which supported the piazza, and the railing which was placed between them, 2 Kings xi. 8, 10. Within this court stood the brazen altar on which the sacrifices were consumed, the molten sea in which the priests washed, and the ten brazen lavers¶ for washing the sacrifices ; also the various utensils and instruments for sacrificing, and which are enumerated in 2 Chron. iv.

(d) It is necessary to observe here, that although the court of the priests was not accessible to all Israelites, as that of Israel was to all the priests, yet they might enter it on three several occasions, viz., to lay their hands on the animals which they offered, or to kill them, or to wave some part of them. Their entrance, however, was not by the east gate, and through the place where the priests stood ; but ordinarily by the north or south side of the court, according as the sacrifices were to be slain on the north or south sides of the altar. In general, it was a rule, that they never returned

* Josephus, Ant., b. xv., c. 11; Wars, b. v., c. 5, 14.

† Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, chap. xviii.

‡ Ibid., chap. xix.

|| Antiquities, b. xv., c. 11. Brown's Antiq., vol. i., sect. iv.

§ For a description of these, see Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, chap. xxiii., or Brown's Antiq., vol. i., s. v.

¶ Both the sea and the lavers were removed by Ahas, 2 Kings xvi. 17, 18.

from this court by the same door that they entered, Exod. xlv. 9.*

(3) From the court of the priests the ascent to the temple was by a flight of twelve steps, each half a cubit in height, which led into the sacred porch. Of the dimensions of this, as also of the sanctuary and holy of holies, we have already spoken. We shall therefore only observe here, that it was within the door of the porch, and in the sight of those who stood in the courts immediately before it, that the two pillars, Jachin and Boaz, were placed, 2 Chron. iii. 17; Ezek. xl. 49.

5. The temple, thus described, retained its pristine splendour but 33 years, when it was plundered by Shishak, king of Egypt, 1 Kings xiv. 25, 26; 2 Chron. xii. 9. After this period, it underwent sundry profanations and pillages, and was at length utterly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, A. M. 3416, B. C. 588, after having stood, according to Usher, 424 years, three months, and eight days.

III. After this sacred building had lain in ruins for fifty-two years, the foundations of the second temple were laid by Zerubbabel, and the Jews who had availed themselves of the privilege granted by Cyrus, returned to Jerusalem, Ezra i. 1—4, ii. 1, iii. 8—10. They had not proceeded far, however, before they were obliged to desist, on account of an order from Artaxerxes, king of Persia, which had been procured through the misrepresentations of the Samaritans and others, chap. iv. 1. During fifteen years the work stood still (ver. 24), but in the second year of Darius it was recommenced; and on the third day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of Darius, it was finished and dedicated (Ezra vi. 15, 16), twenty-one years after it was begun, B. C. 515.† The dimensions of this temple in breadth and height were double those of Solomon's. The weeping of the people at the laying of the foundation, therefore (Ezra iii. 12, 13), and the diminutive manner in which they spoke of it, when compared with the first one (Hag. ii. 3), were not occasioned by its inferiority in size, but in glory. It wanted the five principal things of the former, viz., the ark and mercy-seat—the Divine Presence, or visible glory of the shechinah—the holy fire on the altar—the Urim and Thummim—and the spirit of prophecy. In the year A. M. 3837, this temple was plundered and profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes, who ordered the discontinuance of the daily sacrifice,

offered swine's flesh upon the altar, and completely suspended the worship of Jehovah, 1 Mac. i. 62. Thus it continued for three years, when it was repaired and purified by Judas Maccabeus, who restored the divine worship, and dedicated it anew.

IV. Herod, having slain all the Sanhedrin except two, in the first year of his reign, or thirty-seven years before Christ, resolved to atone for it, by rebuilding and beautifying the temple.‡ This he was the more inclined to do, both from the peace which he enjoyed, and the decayed state of the edifice. For, besides the common ravages of time, it had suffered considerably by the hands of enemies; since that part of Jerusalem was the strongest, and consequently the last resort of the inhabitants in times of extremity. After employing two years in preparing the materials for the work, in which a thousand wagons and ten thousand artificers were employed, besides a thousand priests to direct the works, the temple of Zerubbabel was pulled down, seventeen years before Christ, and forty-six years before the first passover of his ministry.¶ Herod's temple was fit for divine service in nine years and a half; but a great number of labourers and artificers were still employed in carrying on the out-buildings, all the time of our Saviour's abode on earth, and even till the appointment of Gessius Florus as governor of Judea.§

2. The temple of Herod was considerably larger than that of Zerubbabel, as that of Zerubbabel was larger than Solomon's. For whereas the second temple was 70 cubits long, 60 broad, and 60 high; this was 100 cubits long, 70 broad, and 100 high. The porch was raised to the height of 100 cubits, and was extended 15 cubits beyond each side of the rest of the building. All the Jewish writers praise this temple exceedingly for its beauty, and the costliness of its workmanship; for it was built of white marble, exquisitely wrought, and with stones of large dimensions, some of them 25 cubits long, 8 cubits high, and 12 cubits thick.¶ To these there is no doubt a reference in Mark xii. 1; Luke xxi. 5: "And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples saith unto him, Master, see what manner (Luke, *goodly*) of stones, and what buildings are here!"

3. Of the several parts and courts of this temple it is unnecessary that we should here speak. They have been already described, with some little

‡ Josephus, Antiq., b. xv., chap. i., xi.; Prideaux, A. A. C. 37.

¶ Ibid., b. xv., 11; Prideaux, A. A. C. 17; John ii. 20.

§ Josephus, Wars, b. vi., chap. iv.

¶ Josephus, Antiq. b. xv., chap. xi.

* Lightfoot, Prospect of the Temple, chap. xxiii. Brown's Antiquities, vol. i., sect. vi.

† Lightfoot, Chronicle, *in loco*.

variation, in our account of the temple of Solomon. We may add, however, that the vast sums which Herod laid out in adorning this structure gave it the most magnificent and imposing form. "Its appearance," says Josephus, "had every thing that could strike the mind, and astonish the sight. For it was on every side covered with solid plates of gold, so that when the sun rose upon it, it reflected such a strong and dazzling effulgence, that the eye of the beholder was obliged to turn away from it, being no more able to sustain its radiance than the splendour of the sun." To strangers who approached the capital, it appeared at a distance like a huge mountain covered with snow; for where it was not decorated with plates of gold, it was extremely white and glistening.* The historian, indeed, says that the temple of Herod was the most astonishing structure he had ever seen or heard of, as well on account of its architecture as its magnitude, and likewise the richness and magnificence of its various parts, and the fame and reputation of its sacred appurtenances. And Tacitus calls it *immensa opulentia templum*—a temple of immense opulence. Its external glory, indeed, consisted not only in the opulence and magnificence of the building, but also in the rich gifts with which it was adorned,† and which excited the admiration of those who beheld them, Luke xxi. 5.

4. This splendid building, however, which was once the admiration and envy of the world, has for ever passed away. According to our blessed Lord's prediction, that "there should not be left one stone upon another that should not be thrown down" (Mark xiii. 2), it was completely demolished by the Roman soldiers, under Titus, A. D. 70, on the same month, and on the same day of the month, on which Solomon's temple was destroyed by the Babylonians.‡

V. Of the high veneration which the Jews cherished for their temple, Dr. Harwood has collected some interesting particulars from Philo, Josephus, and the writings of Luke. Their reverence for the sacred edifice was such, that, rather than witness its defilement, they would cheerfully submit to death.¶ They could not bear the least disrespectful or dishonourable thing to be said of it. The least injurious slight of it, real or apprehended, instantly awakened all the choler of a Jew, and was an affront never to be forgiven. Our Saviour, in the course of his public

instructions, happened to say, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again" (John ii. 19); it was construed into a contemptuous disrespect, designedly thrown out against the temple; his words instantly descended into the heart of a Jew, and kept rankling there for several years; for upon his trial, this declaration, which it was impossible for a Jew ever to forget or to forgive, was alleged against him, as big with the most atrocious guilt and impiety, Matt. xxvi. 61. Nor was the rancour and virulence which this expression had occasioned, at all softened by all the affecting circumstances of that excruciating and wretched death they saw him die; even as he hung upon the cross, with infinite triumph, scorn, and exultation, they upbraided him with it, contemptuously shaking their heads, and saying, "O thou, who couldst *demolish our TEMPLE*, and rear it up again, in all its splendour, in the space of *three days*, do now *save thyself*, and descend from the cross!" Matt. xxvii. 40. Their superstitious veneration for the temple further appears from the account of Stephen. When his adversaries were baffled and confounded by that superior wisdom and those distinguished gifts he possessed, they were so exasperated at the victory he had gained over them, that they went and suborned persons to swear that they had heard him speak blasphemy against Moses and against God. These inflaming the populace, the magistrates, and the Jewish clergy, he was seized, dragged away, and brought before the Sanhedrin. Here the false witnesses, whom they had procured, stood up, and said, "This person before you is continually uttering the most reproachful expressions against this SACRED PLACE" (Acts vi. 13), meaning the temple. This was *blasphemy* not to be pardoned. A judicature composed of high-priests and scribes would never forgive *such* impiety.§ We witness the same thing in the case of Paul, when they imagined that he had taken Trophimus, an Ephesian, with him into the temple, and for which insult they had determined to imbrue their hands in his blood, Acts xxi. 28, &c.

VI. We have only to add, that from several passages of Scripture it appears that the Jews had a body of soldiers who guarded the temple, to prevent any disturbance during the ministration of such an immense number of priests and Levites. To this body of men, whose office it was to guard the temple, Pilate probably referred, when he said to the chief-priests and Pharisees who waited on him to desire he would make the sepulchre

* Wars, b. v., chap. v.

† Josephus, Antiq. b. xv., chap. xi.

‡ Josephus, Wars, b. vi., chap. iv.

¶ Philo and Josephus, in several places.

§ Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 163-173

secure, "You have a watch: go your way, and make it as secure as you can," Matt. xxvii. 65. Over these guards *one* person had the supreme command, who in several places is called the captain of the temple, or officer of the temple guards, Acts iv. 1; v. 25, 26; xviii. 12. Josephus mentions such an officer, Antiq. b. xx., § 2; Wars, c. 17, § 2.*

VI. A few remarks on the daily service of the temple may properly close this section.

1. The first thing we notice is the *morning* service. After having enjoyed their repose, the priests bathed themselves in the rooms provided for that purpose, and waited the arrival of the president of the lots. This officer having arrived, they divided themselves into two companies, each of which was provided with lamps or torches, and made a circuit of the temple, going in different directions, and meeting at the pastryman's chamber, on the south side of the gate Nicanor. Having summoned him to prepare the cakes for the high-priest's meat-offering, they retired with the president to the south-east corner of the court, and cast lots for the duties connected with the altar. The priest being chosen to remove the ashes from the altar, he again washed his feet at the laver, and then, with the silver shovel, proceeded to his work. As soon as he had removed one shovelful of the ashes, the other priests retired to wash their hands and feet, and then joined him in cleaning the altar and renewing the fires. The next duty was to cast lots for the thirteen particular duties connected with offering the sacrifice, which being settled, the president ordered one of them to fetch the lamb for the morning sacrifice. While the priests on this duty were engaged in fetching and examining the victim, those who carried the keys were opening the seven gates of the court of Israel, and the two doors that separated between the porch and the holy place. When the last of the seven gates was opened, the silver trumpets gave a flourish, to call the Levites to their desks for the music, and the stationary men to their places, as the representatives of the people.† The opening of the folding-doors of the temple was the established signal for killing the sacrifice, which was cut in pieces and carried to the top of the altar, where it was salted and left, while the priests once more retired to the room Gazith to join in prayer. While the sacrifice was being slain in the court of the priests, the two priests appointed to trim the lamps and cleanse the altar of incense

were attending to their duties in the holy place. After the conclusion of their prayer, and a rehearsal of the ten commandments and their phylacteries, the priests again cast lots, to choose two to offer incense on the golden altar, and another to lay the pieces of the sacrifice on the fire or the brazen altar. The lot being determined, the two who were to offer the incense proceeded to discharge their duty, the time for which was between the sprinkling of the blood and the laying the pieces upon the altar, in the morning; and in the evening, between the laying of the pieces upon the altar and the drink-offering. As they proceeded to the temple they rang the *megamphita*, or great bell, to warn the absent priests to come to worship; the absent Levites to come to sing; and the stationary men to bring to the gate Nicanor those whose purification was not perfected. The priest who carried the censer of coals, which had been taken from one of the three fires on the great altar, after kindling the fire on the incense altar, worshipped and came out into the porch, leaving the priest who had the incense alone in the holy place. As soon as the signal was given by the president, the incense was kindled, the holy place was filled with perfume, and the congregation without joined in the prayers.‡ These being ended, the priest, whose lot it was to lay the pieces of the sacrifice upon the altar, threw them into the fire, and then, taking the tongs, disposed them in somewhat of their natural order. The four priests who had been in the holy place now appeared upon the steps that led to the porch, and extending their arms, so as to raise their hands higher than their heads, one of them pronounced the solemn blessing, Numb. vi. 24—26. After this benediction, the daily meat-offering was offered; then the meat-offering of the high-priest; and last of all the drink-offering; at the conclusion of which the Levites began the song of praise, and, at every pause in the music, the trumpets sounded and the people worshipped. This was the termination of the morning service.|| It should be stated, that the morning service of the priests began with the dawn of day, except in the great festivals, when it began much earlier: the sacrifice was offered immediately after sunrise.

2. During the middle of the day the priests held themselves in readiness to offer the sacrifices that might be presented by any of the Israelites, either of a voluntary or an expiatory nature. Their duties would therefore vary according to the number and nature of the offerings they might have to present.

* Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 169, 170.

† The whole congregation was divided into twenty-four classes, each of which sent a representative.

‡ See Luke i. 9, &c.

|| Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. ix.

3. The *evening service* varied in a very trifling measure from that of the morning, and the same priests ministered, except when there was one in the house of their father who had never burned incense, in which case that office was assigned to him; or if there were more than one, they cast lots who should be employed.*

VII. The holiness of the place, and the injunction of Lev. xix. 3: "Ye shall reverence my sanctuary," laid the people under an obligation to maintain a solemn and holy behaviour when they came to worship in the temple. We have already seen that such as were ceremonially unclean were forbidden to enter the sacred court on pain of death; but in the course of time there were several prohibitions enforced by the Sanhedrin which the law had not named. The following have been collected by Lightfoot out of the rabbinical writings. (1) "No man might enter the mountain of the house with his staff."—(2) "None might enter in thither with his shoes on his feet," though he might with his sandals. (3) "Nor might any man enter the mountain of the house with his scrip on." (4) "Nor might he come in with the dust on his feet," but he must wash or wipe them, "and look to his feet when he entered into the house of God;" to remind him, perhaps, that he should then shake off all worldly thoughts and affections. (5) "Nor with money in his purse." He might bring it in his *hand*, however, and in this way it was brought in for various purposes. If this had not been the case it would seem strange that the cripple should have been placed at the gate of the temple, to ask *alms* of those who entered therein. See Acts iii. 2. (6) "None might spit in the temple: if he were necessitated to spit, it must be done in some corner of his garment." (7) "He might not use any irreverent gesture, especially before the gate of Nicanor," that being exactly in front of the temple. (8) "He might not make the mountain of the house a thoroughfare," for the purpose of reaching a place by a nearer way: for it was devoted to the purposes of religion. (9) "He that went into the court must go leisurely and gravely into his place; and there he must demean himself as in the presence of the Lord God, in all reverence and fear." (10) "He must worship standing, with his feet close to each other, his eyes directed to the ground, his hands upon his breast, with the right one above the left." See Luke xviii. 13. (11) "No one, however weary, might sit down in the court." The only exception was in favour of the kings of the house of David. (12) "None

might pray with his head uncovered. And the wise men and their scholars never prayed without a veil." This custom is alluded to in 1 Cor. xi. 4, where the apostle directs the men to reverse the practice adopted in the Jewish temple. (13) Their bodily gesture in bowing before the Lord, was either "bending of the knees," "bowing the head," or "falling prostrate on the ground." (14) Having performed the service, and being about to retire, "they might not turn their backs upon the altar." They therefore went backward till they were out of the court.†

§ 3.—The Synagogues.

1. The term synagogue primarily signifies an assembly; but, like the word church, it came at length to be applied to places in which any assemblies, especially those for the worship of God, met or were convened. From the silence of the Old Testament with reference to these places of worship, most commentators and writers on biblical antiquities are of opinion that they were not in use till after the Babylonish captivity. Prior to that time the Jews seem to have held their social meetings for religious worship either in the open air, or in the houses of the prophets. See 2 Kings iv. 23. Afterwards, synagogues could only be erected in those places where ten men of age, learning, piety, and easy circumstances could be found to attend to the service which was enjoined in them. Large towns had several synagogues; and soon after the captivity, their utility became so obvious, that they were scattered over the land, and became the parish churches of the Jewish nation. Their number appears to have been very considerable; and when the erection of a synagogue was considered as a mark of piety (Luke vii. 5) or passport to heaven, we need not be surprised to hear that they were multiplied beyond all necessity, so that in Jerusalem alone there were not fewer than 460 or 480.‡ They were generally built on the most elevated ground,|| and consisted of two parts. The one on the most westerly part of the building contained the ark, or chest, in which the book of the law and the sections of the

† Lightfoot, Temple Service, ch. x.

‡ Lightfoot, Chorog. Cent., ch. xxxvi.

|| Luke says (vi. 12) that our Lord went up into a mountain to pray, and continued all night in a *proseucha*, or oratory dedicated to God. These *proseuchæ* are several times mentioned in the New Testament, and are considered by some persons, but we think improperly, as being different places from the synagogues. See Jennings's Jewish Antiq., b. ii., chap. 11, and Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., p. 174.

* Lightfoot, Temple Service, ch. ix.

prophets were deposited, and was called the temple, by way of eminence. The other, in which the congregation assembled, was termed the body of the church. The people sat with their faces towards the temple, and the elders in the contrary direction, and opposite to the people; the space between them being occupied by the pulpit or reading desk. The seats of the elders were considered as more holy than the others, and are spoken of as "the chief seats in the synagogue," Matt. xxiii. 6.

2. The stated office-bearers in every synagogue were ten, though in rank they were but six. Their names and duties are given by Lightfoot, to whom the reader is referred. But we must notice the *Archisynagogos*, or ruler of the synagogue, who regulated all its concerns, and granted permission to preach. Of these there were three in each synagogue. Dr. Lightfoot believes them to have possessed a civil power, and to have constituted the lowest civil tribunal, commonly known as "the council of three;" whose office it was to decide the differences that arose between any members of the synagogue, and to judge of money matters, thefts, losses, &c.* To these officers there is probably an allusion in 1 Cor. vi. 9. The second office-bearer was "the angel of the church," or minister of the congregation, who prayed and preached. In allusion to these the pastors of the Asiatic churches are called *angels*, Rev. ii., iii.

3. The service of the synagogue was as follows: The people being seated, the minister, or angel of the church, ascended the pulpit and offered up the public prayers; the people rising from their seats, and standing in a posture of deep devotion (Matt. vi. 5; Mark xi. 25; Luke xviii. 11, 13). The prayers were nineteen in number, and were closed by reading the execration. The next thing was the repetition of their phylacteries; after which came the reading of the law and the prophets. The former was divided into fifty-four sections, with which were united corresponding portions† from the prophets (see Acts xv. 21, xiii. 27); and these were read through once in the course of the year. After the return from the captivity an interpreter was employed in reading the law and the prophets (see Neh. viii. 2—10), who interpreted them into the Syro-Chaldaic dialect, which was then spoken by the people. The last part of the service was the expounding of the Scriptures, and preaching from them to the people. This was done either by one of the officers, or by

some distinguished person who happened to be present. The reader will recollect one memorable occasion on which our Saviour availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded to address his countrymen (Luke iv. 20), and there are several other instances recorded of himself and his disciples teaching in the synagogues. See Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2; John xviii. 20; Acts xiii. 5, 15, 44, xiv. 1, xvii. 2—4, 10—12, 17, xviii. 4, 25, xix. 8. The whole service was concluded with a short prayer or benediction. ‡

4. The Jewish synagogues were used not only for the purposes of divine worship, but also for courts of judicature, in such matters as fell under the cognizance of the *council of three*, of which we have already spoken. On such occasions the sentence given against the offender was sometimes carried into effect in the place where the council was assembled. Hence we read of persons being *beaten in the synagogue*, and *scourged in the synagogue*, Matt. x. 17; Mark xiii. 9.

SECTION V.

MINISTERS OF THE JEWISH SANCTUARY.

- I. The HIGH-PRIEST—His qualifications and functions—His consecration to the office, and his dress—His duties—Typical nature of his character. II. THE SUPERIOR OFFICERS OF THE TEMPLE—1. The Sagan—2. The Kathelikin—3. The Amerkelin—4. The Genberin—5. The heads of the course—6. The heads of the houses of their fathers—7. Overseers. III. THE ORDINARY PRIESTS—Qualifications for the discharge of the priestly office—The dress of the priests—Their duties—Their maintenance—Their numbers and divisions. IV. THE LEVITES—Their rank—Their classes and duties—Their consecration—Their dress—Their support—Their numbers. V. THE NETHINIM AND STATIONARY MEN.

In treating of those persons who sustained sacred functions in the Jewish church, we shall follow the order in which they are enumerated and classed by the indefatigable Lightfoot||; viz., the High-priest—the Superior Officers of the Temple—the Priests—the Levites—the Stationary men, and the Nethinim.

§ 1.—The High-priest.

1. In the Aaronic priesthood, the law established two orders or degrees; of which the superior was allotted to Aaron himself, and to his successors in the pontifical dignity; and the inferior, to the other priests. Hence it appears, that those functions which the Scriptures attribute to Aaron, as pecu-

* Lightfoot, Harm., Luke iv. 15; Hor. Heb., Matt. iv. 23.

† These may be seen in Lightfoot, Harm., Luke i. 5. Dr. A. Clarke, in his commentary on Deut. xxxiv., has given them as read in the different Jewish synagogues.

‡ See Jennings's Jewish Antiq. b. ii., c. 11; Prideaux, Connect. A. A. C. 444, &c. For an account of the synagogue service of the modern Jews, see Allen's Modern Judaism, p. 319, &c.

|| Temple Service, chap. ii.—vii.

liar to himself, belonged exclusively to the high-priests, while the rest of the offices might be legitimately performed by the other priests.

2. In addition to the splendour of his dress and the dignity of his office, of which we shall presently speak, there were certain things of a civil nature in which the high-priest differed from other men. It was necessary, for instance, that he should be free from bodily defect, Lev. xxi. 17—21. He could neither marry a widow, nor a woman that had been divorced, nor a profane woman; but only a virgin, ver. 7—15. He might not be defiled for the dead, or mourn, except for his nearest relations, ver. 1—3. He might not be veiled if others were, or unveiled if they happened to be so; and while others sat on the ground, he sat on a seat. In short, the Jewish policy seems to have been, never to allow that principal functionary to forget that he was the priest of God, and solemnly separated from the rest of men. Yet, high as his character was, in a sacred point of view, he was not raised above the law; for there were circumstances which show that, in civil matters, the crown was always superior to the mitre. Thus, he might be a witness in a civil cause, and, if necessary, evidence might be given against him. He might act as a judge occasionally; and, when guilty, could himself be judged. If he so far forgot the sanctity of his character, as to do any thing that required whipping, he was suspended from his office, punished by the Sanhedrin, and then deposed. His shoe might be pulled off, for not raising seed unto his brother (Deut. xxv. 5), although he was not permitted to marry a widow, Lev. xxi. 13, 14. These, and several other things which might be mentioned, serve to show that the sanctity of his character did not raise him above civil control.*

3. That no species of sanctity or honour might be wanting to the priesthood, the Aaronic priests were consecrated to their office by various rites and ceremonies, in the following manner:—The first part of the consecration commenced with ablution (Exod. xxix. 4; Lev. viii. 6), to teach them the necessity of holiness to the proper discharge of so sacred an office. As soon as the lustrations had been duly performed on Aaron and his sons, Aaron himself was arrayed in the pontifical attire; the splendour and magnificence of which were proportioned to the dignity of the priesthood, and of the services to be performed. Hence they are said to have been made “for glory and for beauty,” Exod. xxviii. 2. The vestments

of the high-priests were the coat, the drawers or breeches, the girdle, the robe, the ephod, the breast-plate, the mitre, and the crown; all which, being very beautiful, and some of them made of gold, have been called by the Jews *golden vestments*, Exod. xxviii. These were put upon Aaron, and used to be worn by every high-priest in the performance of all the sacred functions, except only on the day of annual atonement. In the services of that day no others were worn than the coat, the drawers, the girdle, and the mitre; these were made of linen, and are called by the Jews *white vestments*. Grief became that day, and pompous attire is unsuitable to grief. When arrayed with these vestments, Aaron was further dignified by being anointed with the holy oil (Exod. xxix. 7, xxx. 25; Lev. viii. 12), which the Jewish writers say was profusely poured over his head, and thence drawn over his forehead, so as to describe on it, according to some, the Greek X, according to others the K, or according to others the Hebrew כ, which is the first letter of the word priest in that language; for there is nothing which the Jews leave uninvolved in their subtleties. The holy unction, however, was significant of honour and joy, as well as of sanctity and divine inspiration. In allusion to this, David says, “Thou lovest righteousness and hatest iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,” Ps. xlv. 7. Hence it is, also, that the Son of God, being endued with the Holy Spirit without measure (John iii. 34), is called Messiah, Christ, the anointed. Hence, likewise, Christians themselves, who are made spiritual kings and priests (Rev. i. 6), are said to be “anointed,” and to have “received an unction,” 2 Cor. i. 21. And hence, in the last place, among the ancient Christians unction was connected with baptism.†

4. These rites having been performed upon Aaron, his sons were next enrobed with the vestments appointed for them, and then the oblation of three sacrifices for the whole of them followed. First, a *sin-offering*, as a kind of expiation by which they were to be purified. Secondly, a *burnt-offering*, as a gift or present to recommend them to their Lord; and, lastly, a *peace-offering*, as a sacred feast by which they were introduced into the family of God. For even the offerers themselves were permitted to feed upon peace-offerings; and those who rightly fed upon them were considered as God’s domestics, Exod. xxix.; Lev. viii. With the blood of the ram, which was immolated as a peace-offering, the right ears of all the priests were then imbued, and the thumbs

* Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. iii. See also Brown’s Jewish Antiq., vol. i., pp. 248, 249.

† Tertullian de Baptism, chap. vii.

of their right hands, and the great toes of their right feet, Exod. xxix. 20; Lev. viii. 23, 24. By this ceremony every priest was admonished what great attention he was required to give to the study of the law, to the sacred services, and to his ways—a term by which the Hebrews denote the general conduct. Abarbanel observes, that these ceremonies were performed on the right ear, right hand, and right foot, to teach the priest that his hearing, his actions, and his manners ought always to have a right tendency: for the *right* denotes perfection.* After these things were done, Moses, who was appointed to officiate as a priest in these solemnities, “took of the ram” last mentioned, “the fat and the rump, and all the fat that covereth the inwards, and the caul above the liver, and the two kidneys and their fat, and the right shoulder; and one loaf of bread, and one cake of oiled bread, and one unleavened wafer, and put all in the hands of Aaron and his sons;” and placing his hands under their hands, he “waved them” all to and fro, and presented them to God, the possessor of all things; and having thus presented them, he “took them from off their hands,” and proceeded to “burn them upon the altar,” Lev. viii. 25—28; Exod. xxix. 22—25. The breast of this ram he waved in the same manner, and took for himself, that being his share, as he had done the duty of a priest. He then sprinkled Aaron and his sons, and all their garments, with blood taken from the altar, and with the holy oil. In this manner he consecrated both the priests themselves and the sacerdotal vestments, Lev. viii. 29, 30.

5. By these rites and ceremonies, repeated for seven successive days, the whole family of Aaron was originally invested with the priesthood, Lev. viii. 33, 34. But as long as any of the holy oil remained, all his successors in the priesthood, when about to enter on their office, were anointed and arrayed with the pontifical vestments, for the same number of days, Exod. xxix. 29, 30. Hence the high-priest is sometimes designated in the Scripture as “the priest that is anointed,” Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16. But after the consumption of the sacred oil made by Moses, which the Jews affirm was never made again, it was a sufficient investment in the high-priesthood to be arrayed in the pontifical robes for seven successive days; after which he was said to be “consecrated by the garments.” The case of the high-priest differed from that of the common priests, who were never consecrated afresh after the original consecration of

their fathers, the immediate sons of Aaron. The reason of this difference was, that the pontificate descended according to personal claims, but the priesthood by hereditary right.†

6. The high-priest, being thus installed, was prepared for discharging the various parts of his office, which were as follow:—(1) To offer sacrifices for the people; some of which he performed alone, as on the great day of atonement, in the most holy place; some with the assistance of the priests, as the offering of incense, and trimming the lamps, at certain times, in the holy place; and some with the assistance of both priests and Levites, as all the services of the brazen altar, where the priests in killing, and the Levites in removing what was offensive about the bodies of the beasts that were sacrificed.—(2) To bless the people, either at stated seasons, according to the form prescribed in Numb. vi. 23—27, or occasionally, as when Eli blessed Hannah, 1 Sam. i. 17.—(3) To judge the people, either in things concerning the house and worship of God (Zech. iii. 6, 7), or in hard and difficult cases of a civil nature, when he was joined with the civil judge or ruler, Deut. xvii. 12.‡ Dr. Owen makes him also to have been, *ex officio*, a member of the Sanhedrin, which he thinks is countenanced by Deut. xvii. 8—13, although he owns that this is denied by some of the Jews.||

7. The high-priest held his office for life, that is, he could not be deposed by any legal procedure. But it frequently happened, in the times toward the end of the Jewish polity, that the office was made an object of emolument and ambition, and priests were deposed and installed according to the pleasure of those who wielded the supreme authority in the state. See the books of Maccabees, and Josephus's Jewish Wars, b. iv., c. 3.

8. In closing these observations, we must not omit to notice the typical character of the high-priest, the illustration of which truth is one of the objects proposed by the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews. As our great high-priest, Christ has offered a more excellent sacrifice than those with which Aaron was provided. He, “through the Eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God,” and then passed through the heavens into the most holy place, to present the oblation of his blood on our behalf.

† Outram on Sacrifices, Diss. i., c. 5.

‡ Brown's Jewish Antiq., vol. i., p. 247.

|| Exercit. 23, in vol. i. of his Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews. For a more detailed account of the vestments and duties of the high-priest, see Jennings's Jewish Antiq., b. i., c. 5.

* Ad Exod. xxix.

§ 2.—*The Superior Officers of the Temple.*

OF these the following were the principal ones:

1. The *sagan* was the officer next in dignity after the high-priest. There is some difficulty in ascertaining the precise nature of his duties; but he seems to have been the assistant of the high-priest while present, and his substitute when absent. For as all the affairs of the temple were under the direction of the high-priest, and no individual could attend to them all, so it was judged requisite to give him an assistant. Hence the *sagan* acted as high-priest in all the business of the temple, which was not peculiar to that sacred character, when the high-priest himself was either absent or indisposed. This office also related to the priests below him; for Maimonides says that all the priests were under the disposal of the *sagan*. In this sense, Lightfoot remarks, Zadok and Ahimelech are said to have been priests in the days of Abiathar, the high-priest: he is also of opinion, that where Annas and Caiaphas are said to have been high-priests together (Luke iii. 2), the meaning is, that Caiaphas was high-priest, and Annas his *sagan*.*

2. The next officers in point of dignity were the *kathelikin*, or chief overseers of the treasuries. They were two in number, and, as their title imports, were placed over the property of the temple. They were to the *sagan* what the *sagan* was to the high-priest.

3. The next office was that of the *amerkelin*, of whom there were seven. They were the overseers of the seven gates round the court of Israel. They had also the keys of the temple wardrobes, and of the rooms of the several vessels.

4. The *gezberin*, or deputy collectors, under the *kathelikin* and *amerkelin*, were appointed to receive all that was due by statute, or voluntarily offered, to the temple treasury. The five ranks of priests thus noticed are thought by Lightfoot to have formed the *beth-din*, or consistory of the priests, for transacting the business of the sanctuary; neither inflicting fines nor corporal punishments, but superintending the service and the devoted things. They are called *counsellors* and *sitters*; and Joseph of Arimathea, who was "an honourable counsellor," is supposed to have been one of their number.

5. The head of the course, or the priest who presided over the course that served for the week, was the sixth officer in point of dignity. These are the same officers who in the gospels are termed "chief priests."

6. The heads of the houses of their fathers, in each course of the priests, were the lowest order, except the *ordinary priests*.†

7. Besides these officers, there were fifteen overseers, over so many companies, for the purpose of seeing to the proper ordering of every thing connected with the temple service, in which the utmost regularity and the most rigid punctuality were observed.

§ 3.—*The Priests.*

1. THE age at which the priests were allowed to enter upon their office is not stated in Scripture, but it is supposed to have been thirty years. From twenty-five to thirty they learned their duties, and from thirty to fifty they served their office, when they might retire if they chose.‡ Of their marriages we know but little: like the high-priests, they were forbidden to marry widows, or women who had been divorced; but might marry virgins, or the widows of priests (Ezek. xlv. 22); and it was reckoned disgraceful to marry into families either of bad character, or bearing hereditary diseases, Lev. xxi. 7. Great care was taken to prevent the ministers of the sanctuary from being polluted by any ceremonial defilement, and consequently disqualified for public service. In that respect they were to be holier than other men. For besides the general caution to avoid the ordinary violations of the divine law, which were binding on all the Israelites, their own particular defilements are specially mentioned (Lev. xxii. 1—10); and their mourning for the dead, and consequent defilement on that account, were confined to the nearest relations (ver. 1—3), lest the service of God should be interrupted.

2. The dress used by the priests while officiating, consisted of a white linen bonnet, coat, breeches, and a girdle of the same material, embroidered with blue, purple, and scarlet, Exod. xxviii. 40, 42, xxxix. 27—29. The bonnet was of the same form as the high-priest's mitre, but not so full and ornamented, and without the golden plate, on which was engraven "HOLINESS TO THE LORD." The girdle was of considerable length, so as to fold round them several times, thus serving both for warmth and for strengthening the loins. When they were not officiating, they wore the ordinary dress of their countrymen, Lev. vi. 11.

3. The duties of the priests are fully described in the Pentateuch. They kept alive the sacred

* Temple Service; chap. v., sect. 1.

† Temple Service, sect. 2, chap. vi.

‡ Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, Luke i. 18.

fire on the altar of burnt-offering, in the court of the priests. They killed the animals which were devoted, offering them in the manner appointed for each. They trimmed the lamps on the golden candlestick in the holy place; prepared, brought, and removed the shew-bread; offered up prayers for the people; judged of leprosy, the causes of divorce, the waters of jealousy, vows, uncleanness, &c. In short, they had the charge of the sanctuary, altar, service, and all the vessels connected with it (Numb. xviii. 3, 5, 7); to keep them in order, to free them from pollution, and to preserve decency through the whole of the ritual; for which last purpose particularly none were allowed to taste wine till the evening, Lev. x. 9; Ezek. xiv. 21. But the duties of the priests were not confined to the temple. They were judges in civil matters in the thirteen cities appropriated to them (1 Chron. vi. 54—60, xix. 8—10; Ezek. xiv. 24); and would naturally also be employed in offices suited to their sacred character, either in reading, explaining, and translating the law (Deut. xxxiii. 10; Neh. viii. 2—8; 2 Chron. xvii. 8, 9), or, when synagogues were appointed, in sending a sufficient number of their order to the several places of public worship, to conduct the divine service.* Nor were they freed from liability to serve the state in time of danger, of which we have numerous examples in the Old Testament history.

4. The maintenance of the priesthood was derived from the following sources: the thirteen cities, with their suburbs, which were appointed to them (Josh. xxi. 4, 13, 19; 1 Chron. vi. 54—60); the portions of the sacrifices which were reserved from the altar; the first-fruits presented at the temple (Lev. xxii. 10—16); which, by the rabbis, were fixed at the fortieth, or not below the sixtieth, of the whole crop;† the produce of every thing devoted to the Lord; the firstlings of cattle; the first fleece of the sheep (Deut. xviii. 4); the price paid for the redemption of the first-born (Numb. viii. 17, xviii. 16); the tenth of the tithes (Numb. xviii. 26—31); the fifth part that was added to the estimation of trespass in the things of the Lord (Lev. v. 15, 16); the fruit of all trees of the fourth year after they were planted, chap. ix. 23, 24.‡

5. Concerning the number of the priests during the continuance of the tabernacle, we have no

information. But in the time of David we find them so numerous that he divided them into twenty-four courses, each of which was to serve a week in its turn, 1 Chron. xxiv. 1—19; 2 Chron. xxiii. 4—8. Each of these courses had its head or chief, of whom we have spoken in enumerating the principal officers of the temple. This order seems to have been retained till the captivity; but as only four of the classes returned from Babylon, Ezra is said to have divided them into their original number, and to have distinguished each course by its former appellation. As the great number of the sacerdotal order occasioned their being first divided into twenty-four companies, so in after times the number of each company became too large for them all to minister together; for there were no less, according to Josephus,|| than five thousand priests in one course in his time. Each course was therefore divided according to the number of the houses of their fathers that were contained in it. The chiefs of each house formed the sixth class of officers noticed above.

§ 4.—The Levites.

1. THE Levites were so named because they were the posterity of Levi, one of the sons of Jacob. They were chosen to the service of the sanctuary in place of the first-born of the males of Israel, who were counted holy to the Lord, Numb. iii. 12. In point of dignity the Levites were of a middle rank, between the priests and the people. They were, properly speaking, the ministers and assistants of the priests, during the whole divine service, Numb. iv. 15; 1 Chron. xv. 2.

2. The Levites were at first divided into three classes, according to the number of the sons of Levi, viz., the *Gershonites*, the *Kohathites*, and the *Merarites*, Numb. iii. 17. Under the tabernacle, their office was to carry it and its furniture from place to place, each family having its particular department. At this time they did not enter upon their office till they were thirty years of age, Numb. iv. 3. Under the temple, the age was reduced to twenty, 1 Chron. xxiii. 24. When the Israelites entered the promised land, the service of the Levites was somewhat altered; for while part of them attended the tabernacle and ark, the rest were distributed through the land, in the several cities that were allotted them. These cities were thirty-five in number; which, with the thirteen given to the priests, made forty-eight.

* See Lightfoot, Harm. of the Evangel., p. 1, sect. 7, and p. 3, sect. 7.

† Calmet, Bib. Ency., art. *First-fruits*; Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., Matt. vi. 23.

‡ Brown's Jewish Antiq. vol. i., pt. 3, sect. 3.

|| Second book against Apion.

much less invalidate, the essential doctrine of the Christian atonement; and (3) that if any person shall still prefer to ascribe the first sacrifices to a divine appointment, there is yet no tenable ground for the belief, that any revelation of their intent, in reference to the future sacrifice and atonement of the gospel, was joined with them.

3. Of these positions, the first is evidently the most important, and it has consequently been eloquently and powerfully enforced by the writers to whom reference has been made. The proofs by which it is sought to establish it are derived from both the historical and the doctrinal evidence of Scripture. Beginning with the historical evidence, much weight is attached to the observation, that there is a total silence in holy writ as to the rise of sacrifice. "When the offerings of Cain and Abel," says Mr. Davison, "the first recorded instance of that or any other worship, are introduced, the record adds nothing as to the authority or the appointment of that kind of religious service. Whether commanded of God, or framed by man, the text leaves wholly unexplained. Not only is there no direct information, but neither is there any implied evidence in the history of the *facts*, intimating whether the worshipper, when he came to bring his offering, obeyed a command, or acted upon the suggestions of a customary or a spontaneous piety.*"

4. This negative argument has been powerfully urged by Bishop Warburton, and eloquently enforced by Mr. Benson; nor has it gained any additional force in the hands of Mr. Davison; for, when he proceeds to argue, that "this *silence* of Scripture history, neutral in the narration, is far from neutral in its import," he may be thought either to contradict himself, or to argue sophistically. But the argument, however propounded, cannot avail with the advocates of the opposite system, who deny the premises. In their view of the question there is "an implied evidence in the history of the *facts*;" since the *divine acceptance* of Abel's offering is, in their estimation, evidence that the worship itself must have been *commanded*. The same inference, they believe, is deducible from the very expressions in the Scripture narrative, from the distinction of *clean* and *unclean* beasts, which, they think, could only be made for sacrificial purposes (Gen. vii. 2), and from the appointment of the Sabbath as virtually including the appointment of sacrifice; for they cannot conceive that the Almighty would set apart the seventh day for religious services, without informing man of the nature of the services he was bound to perform.

It cannot, however, be denied, that in the history there is no *express mention* of the divine institution of sacrifices; and upon this circumstance we may reason as an acknowledged fact: it may, nevertheless, be fairly doubted whether a negative argument of this kind can amount to more than a presumption, which, in the present case, is much diminished by another fact, namely, that in the book of Genesis, and the other historical parts of the sacred volume, there are omissions of equally important matter. Excepting Jacob's supplication at Bethel (Gen. xxviii. 18—22), scarcely a single allusion to prayer is to be found in the whole Pentateuch. Circumcision, being the sign of God's covenant with Abraham, was beyond all question punctually observed by the Israelites; yet, from their settlement in Canaan, no particular instance is recorded of it till the circumcision of Christ, a period comprehending about 1500 years. The observance of the Sabbath is never spoken of in the history of the patriarchal ages; and no express mention is made of it in the books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the first and second of Samuel, or the first book of Kings. Hence it is argued, that it can be nothing wonderful if the first institution of sacrifice, on the supposition of a divine command, is not recorded in the summary history of the primitive times.

5. Having concluded that the *historical evidence* of Scripture is adverse to the belief that primitive sacrifice was consecrated by a divine institution, these writers proceed to consider the objections which have been made to its *human origin*; the first of which is the natural incongruity of sacrificial worship—its unsuitableness to the dictates of reason. The stress of this argument is applied not to eucharistic, but to piacular sacrifice. The former, being an oblation of thanksgiving, is the natural and spontaneous offering of a heart impelled by gratitude to its Creator. The exception, then, taken to the natural reasonableness of sacrifice, bears only upon the sacrifice strictly so called, that of a living creature, slain, and offered as an holocaust upon the altar, and presented as an offering for sin. "In this kind of sacrifice," says Mr. Davison, "two conditions are to be distinguished: the guilt of the worshipper, and the atonement for, or expiation of, his sin." In reference to the second condition, the expiatory or atoning power of sacrifice, the following candid acknowledgments are made by this writer: "Instead of attempting to deduce the doctrine of expiation and atonement by animal sacrifice from the light of nature, or the principles of reason, I confess myself unable to comprehend, with the most ignorant, how it can ever be grounded on any such principles, or justified by them. There

* Davison's Inquiry, p. 9.

exists no discernible connexion between the one and the other. On the contrary, Nature has nothing to say for such an expiatory power, and Reason every thing to say against it. For that the life of a brute creature should ransom the life of a man; that its blood should have any virtue to wash away his sin, or purify his conscience, or redeem his penalty; or that the involuntary sufferings of a being, itself unconscious and irrational, should have a moral efficacy to his benefit, or pardon, or be able to restore him with God; these are things repugnant to the sense of reason, incapable of being brought into the scale of the first ideas of nature, and contradictory to all genuine religion, natural and revealed. For as to the remission of sin, it is plainly altogether within the prerogative of God—an act of his mere mercy; and since it is so, every thing relating to the conveyance and the sanction, the possession and the security, of it, can spring only from his appointment. Reason teaches repentance as a preliminary condition to the hope of pardon; but reason can do no more. External rites, merely human, whether rites of sacrifice or any other, may exhibit the repentance, but they cannot rise above the efficacy of that inward act which they exhibit. They cannot supply the shortness, or cure the infirmity, or satisfy the doubt, of its pretensions. The human instruments are here infinitely unequal to the end proposed. They may speak the suppliant suing for pardon; they can never speak the suppliant absolved. And though mere natural reason, when best informed, may not always have thought justly, or argued soberly, on the subject of repentance, we may confidently assert that one of its last resources would have been, that of adopting the blood of a victim as the positive remedy for the guilt of moral transgression. If, therefore, the primitive age had its expiatory sacrifices, sacrifices framed according to this standard, it would be difficult to account for them as rational rites; still more difficult to think that under the palpable incapacity of their human origin they could have been accepted by God. No: expiatory sacrifice must have been of God's own appointment, to reconcile it either to God, or to man himself, till he was fallen under a deplorable superstition.*

6. These conclusions, as just as forcibly expressed, render it essential to the system to which they belong, to evince, that in the primitive religion no expiatory or atoning virtue is ascribed to sacrifice. This is sought to be accomplished by an appeal to the Scripture history, where it is observed, that in the offerings of Abel, in the sacri-

fice of Noah, and in the oblations of the patriarchs, the sacrificial worship is given with the utmost simplicity of description. The altar is raised, the oblation is brought, and the victim is sacrificed; but with what notions, with what specific intent, is not defined. This, it is conceived, becomes more apparent by contrasting it with the different scene which meets our view on turning to the Mosaic law: "*For the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you, upon the altar, to make an atonement for your soul. For it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.*" (Lev. xvii. 11.) This doctrine of the atoning power of blood, the writers whom we are noticing think to be a new doctrine, and one of which we find no positive information, nor any probable vestige in the primeval religion; and it is from disregarding this distinction, they assert, and from viewing primitive sacrifice through the law of Moses, that many writers have been led into erroneous notions of the nature and character of sacrifice in its first usage.† It, at least, admits of a question, however, whether Mr. Davison has substantiated his idea, that no expiatory virtue was annexed to primitive sacrifice; whether, if the permission to eat animal food was subsequent to the deluge, man could have any right over the life of the creature, and, by consequence, any right to offer an animal sacrifice: whether the declaration, that "*unto Adam, and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them*" (Gen. iii. 21), do not imply, that as it cannot be supposed God would permit the taking away of the lives of animals merely for clothing, the grant of animal food not being given till the flood, the skins could be no other than those of animals slain in sacrifice—we shall not attempt to determine. It is obvious to remark, however, that if the rite of sacrifice be contrary to the dictates of natural reason, as is here presumed, it *probably* had some other source; but if it be consonant with reason, it may nevertheless have been instituted by a divine command. It would be absurd to reject the claim of a divine origin merely on the ground of consentaneousness with the natural dictates of human reason. Though Archbishop Magee and many others contend for the unreasonableness of piacular sacrifice, there are some of a different opinion, who deem it irreverent to suppose that the Deity would adopt a rite on account of its being contrary to human reason, and yet contend, with equal zeal, for its divine origin. After all, the natural reasonableness or unreasonableness of sacrifice is a subject upon which the human mind is scarcely competent to form a judgment, without

* Inquiry, p. 27.

† Ibid., p. 33.

a knowledge of the whole scheme of Providence in the redemption of the world,—which we neither have nor can have.*

7. It is a matter of still higher moment to investigate the grounds which have been alleged for the divine institution of sacrifice; but we can only advert to Archbishop Magee's main arguments, which are laid, (1) In certain notions respecting the nature and object of Abel's faith; (2) In a corrected version of the text relating to Cain, Gen. iv. 7; (3) In the testimony of the divine acceptance granted to the sacrifices of Abel and others; (4) In a comparison of the sacrifice of Abel with that of Christ (Heb. xii. 24); and (5) In some general reflections which represent the primitive and the Mosaic worship as united in a common system. Of these the text relating to Cain is of great importance: "If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, *sin lieth at the door*;" where the clause in Italics is rendered by Archbishop Magee, "a sin-offering lieth at the door;" that is, to make an atonement with, if thy deeds are evil. This construction of the passage, first proposed by Lightfoot, has been espoused by Kennicott, Pilkington, Parkhurst, Faber, Boothroyd, Dr. Adam Clarke, and others. The chief grounds upon which it rests are, (1) The grammatical structure; for the *חַטָּאת* *chattath*, though feminine, is here connected with the masculine verb *רָבַץ* *rebatz*, which is perfectly consistent with the supposition that it denotes a sin-offering;† and, (2) The peculiar force of the verb *רָבַץ*, which strictly implies *couching*, or *lying down as a beast*. Against the argument founded upon this passage the opponents of the doctrine have contended in vain: it remains impervious to all their assaults.

8. The passage in Heb. xii. 24, so often appealed to as confirmatory of the divine origin of sacrifice,

* See the profound remarks of Bishop Butler, Analogy of Nat. and Rev. Relig., p. 2, cap. v. For the opinions of Pagans see Grotius de Satisfactione Christi; Faber's Origin of Pagan Idolatry, lib. 2, cap. viii.; Magee's Disc. on the Atonement, Nos. 5, 23, et al.

† Dr. A. Clarke, *is loc.* says, "The words *חַטָּאת* *chattath* and *חַטָּאת* *chattaah*, frequently signify *sin*; but I have observed more than a hundred places in the Old Testament where they are used for *sin-offering*, and translated *ἀπαρτία* by the Septuagint, which is the term the apostle uses in 2 Cor. v. 21: 'He hath made him to be *sin* (*ἀπαρτία*, a sin-offering) for us, who knew no sin.' Cain's fault now was his not bringing a sin-offering when his brother brought one, and this neglect and contempt caused his other offering to be rejected. However, God now graciously informs him, that, though he had miscarried, his case was not yet desperate, as the means of faith, from the promise, &c., were in his power, and a victim proper for a sin-offering was lying (*רָבַץ* *rebatz*, a word used to express the lying down of a quadruped) at the door of his fold."

is, if possible, of still greater weight in the argument: "And to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant, and to the blood of sprinkling, that speaketh better things than that of Abel." The comparison which is here made, is understood by the advocates of the divine appointment of sacrifice to be between the sacrifice offered by Abel, and that of Christ; not between *the blood of Abel* himself and that of the Redeemer. If this construction of the passage be the true one—and the arguments by which Archbishop Magee supports it seem unanswerable—then there must be a correspondence of nature in the two sacrifices; and consequently that of Abel was an *expiatory* one; which, of course, implies a divine appointment.

9. The doctrinal evidence by which the divine institution of sacrifice is thought to be evinced, is briefly this: "What is not commanded by God, cannot be a worship acceptable unto him." For first, the worshipper cannot render it in *faith*, since "faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God" (Rom. x. 17); and secondly, there is a sentence of reprobation pronounced in Scripture upon "will-worship," the mere invention of human reason, Col. ii. 23. In the strength of these objections to all voluntary institutions of religion, there is thought to be contained the valid conclusion, that sacrifice must have been God's own ordinance, to render it capable of his approbation. In meeting this argument, Mr. Davison, as the champion of the opposite theory, seems to allow too much merit to spontaneous piety. God's will is the only measure of right and wrong in all moral actions; and, if he have given us a revelation, it must contain every thing essential; otherwise it would be an imperfect revelation. But we are not to suppose that a special commandment is given for every pious office, that every instance of moral and religious duty must be made a matter of positive revelation. Leading truths, and general principles, are alone declared; while the application is left to the sober judgment of men. The law of nature and of reason is also confirmed by the Holy Scriptures; so that it becomes a co-existent rule of duty, and whatever is sanctioned by it, is for that reason obligatory upon the conscience. There is, nevertheless, a broad line of distinction between duties so sanctioned, and duties commanded in the sacred writings: they are both binding, but binding upon different grounds; and though it is a palpable error to reject the obligation of the law of nature, it is equally so to place it, in a religious point of view, on the same footing with the law of revelation. If the Bible, and the Bible alone, be the religion of protestants, every thing entitled to the epithet "religious," must be founded on the Bible.

Actions may be fit, may be expedient, may be required from other considerations; but, if they be not founded on the Bible, they cannot be called *Christian* duties. It is dangerous to hold up any practice, not authorized by revelation, as a *religious* duty; a moral one it may be, and, as such, binding upon the conscience; but to enforce it on religious grounds, is to open a door for all the inventions of papal will-worship. As no article of *Christian* faith, so no branch of *Christian* practice, is to be received as such, unless it can be proved by certain warranty of Holy Writ; not indeed always enjoined by a positive enactment, but sometimes deduced by inferential reasoning, yet in all cases resting on the fundamental truths and principles of religion. Supposing, however, that there may be acceptable religious services without a positive revelation; and supposing, further, that the Scripture has nowhere authorized us to treat piacular sacrifices as shut out from acceptance, simply because they might not be commanded and instituted by a revelation; it may be doubted whether this will meet the exigencies of the case before us. The stress of the argument built upon the divine acceptance of the patriarchal sacrifices, appears to be, not that they could by no means have been acceptable without a divine command, but that their being accepted is presumptive evidence of such a command. With respect to Abel's sacrifice, for instance, it is more probable, from the very circumstance of its being approved by the Almighty, that it was an act of obedience to a sacred direction, than a spontaneous offering. Though to assert, with Archbishop Magee, that the early sacrifices *could not* have received the divine approbation without the authority of a divine institution,* may be to transgress the limits of our knowledge, yet does not such approbation highly favour the notion of their divine institution?

10. Another very important passage is Heb. xi. 4: "By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice than Cain, by which he obtained witness that he was righteous, God testifying of his gifts; and by it, he, being dead, yet speaketh." Here it is argued, that the apostle declares "faith" to be the reason why Abel offered a more acceptable sacrifice than Cain. Now faith has always relation to some revealed communication of God: without some revelation granted, some assurance as to the object of faith, Abel could not have exercised this virtue. The object of this faith cannot be conceived to be any other than the great deliverer promised in the seed of the woman; and therefore the offering of Abel was the ordained

manifestation of his faith in the promise of a Messiah. It is at least beyond the reach of controversy, that Abel's offering was "by faith;" and as this virtue cannot be exercised without something revealed as the object of it, his offering must have testified his belief in that object, and therefore must have been in obedience to a divine appointment. Hence it is inferred, that sacrifice had its origin in divine institution. Such is the mode of argument pursued by those who ascribe sacrifice to a sacred original. They aver that the most probable ground of the acceptance of Abel's sacrifice is, that it testified his "faith in the Messiah;" which it could not do, except it were the instituted means of testifying a belief in the promised deliverer. Cain must have had a general belief that his sacrifice would be approved by the Almighty, or he would not have offered it at all; consequently this general faith could not be that which rendered Abel's sacrifice acceptable. It must then have been a distinctive faith; and if the promise of mercy in the Messiah was revealed to the first pair, it seems the natural conclusion that Abel's offering was approved, because it was in obedience to that revelation.

11. It is thought by the opposers of the doctrine here indicated, that the human beginnings of sacrificial worship could not disqualify it for a place in the ordinances of the Levitical law, unless the rite itself was founded in some error of belief or obliquity of practice; that to suppose God would proscribe sacrifices merely on account of their human reason, would be equivalent to the supposition, that he must proscribe the essential duties of thankfulness and penitence from which they proceeded; that if superstition had corrupted sacrifice before the institution of the law, that previous corruption would not of necessity bring a stigma upon the whole use of a rite which the wisdom of God might adapt to his purposes; that if sacrifice had degenerated from its simplicity, the *first institution* of it could make no difference in the propriety of its subsequent adoption; that as the Mosaic religion was preparatory to Christianity, many things would for that reason acquire a fitness and use, which they would not otherwise have; and that the typical and symbolical purport of sacrifice renders it a fit instrument of God's worship beyond the power of all human abuse to disable and discredit its adoption into his law.

12. With respect to the essential doctrine of the gospel, it is argued, that those who have resisted the human origin of sacrifice, in the fear lest they should forfeit the proper doctrine of Christianity connected with this rite, have not sufficiently distinguished its two-fold character; that *God's revelation* was in the atonement, and *man's discovery*

* Discourses on Atonement, No. 47.

in the guilt; that the coincidence which obtains between the act of sacrifice on the part of man, and the method of redemption on the part of God, is not the consequence of God's adaptation of his method to man's worship, nor of man's previous knowledge of God's design, but of his own constitution of things; that the real atonement of the gospel is rescued from dishonour by a just consideration of the defective nature of sacrifice, so long as it remains the mere creation of human reason; and that, therefore, the legal atonements, inasmuch as they are the legal signs of the Christian one (and that is their true specific character), are as far above any collision with the mere human rites, as the Christian sacrifice itself is above all competition with them. Against this it is to be observed, however, that if the divine institution of sacrifice be taken away, the rite thereby forfeits its *prophetic* character; it becomes simply a branch of the primitive religion. In which reduced idea of it, however it might express the piety of the worshipper, it cannot be reckoned among the typical signatures of Christianity; for though the action of sacrifice was in either case the same, not so the force of it. What God had not ordained, could not, under its institution, merely human, serve afterwards to attest the design, or confirm the truth, or explicate the sense, of any of his special appointments, so far removed from the reach of all human cognizance as that of the evangelical atonement. This is admitted even by Mr. Davison himself; though it is difficult to reconcile the position with his theory.

13. Some importance is attached to the fact, that no disclosure was made in the primitive times of a connexion between the rite of sacrifice and the future expiatory sacrifice of the gospel; but to this it may be replied, that there may be a connexion of this kind, without any such disclosure having been then made. The connexion between the two could be no less real, though it only became apparent by the reflected light of Christianity. It is, moreover, not necessary to the theory of the divine appointment to contend that the particular relation of that rite to the sacrifice of Christ was made known in the patriarchal ages. It is enough if the typical and representative character of sacrifice was then so far understood as to be generally an exercise of faith in the promise of redemption. "There is nothing improbable (says Archbishop Magee) even in the supposition, that that part of the signification of the rite which related to the sacrifice of Christ, might have been, in some degree, made known from the beginning. But not to contend for this (Scripture having furnished no express foundation for the assumption), room for the exercise of faith is equally preserved, on

the idea that animal sacrifice was enjoined in the general, as the religious sign of faith in the promise of redemption, without any intimation of the way in which it became a sign."^{*}

14. Such are the principal arguments on either side of this interesting question. We have merely indicated their character and weight, and refer to the respective works already mentioned, for a full and satisfactory discussion of its several parts.

II. Under the Mosaic economy, every thing pertaining to sacrifice was prescribed and regulated with the most minute particularity; and any deviation from the sacred order was punished with great rigour.

1. The first thing relating to this subject has reference to the various kinds of sacrifice offered under the Levitical law. Michaëlis, whose division has been adopted by many subsequent writers, divides these sacrifices into three sorts: viz., *bloody and unbloody sacrifices*, and *drink-offerings*.[†] But this distinction is defective, inasmuch as it excludes those oblations which in some measure partook of the nature of sacrifices, without being wholly such. We shall adopt the more comprehensive division, therefore, of *animal sacrifice*, and *meat and drink-offerings*.

2. There were but five kinds of animals accepted as sacrifices by the Mosaic law; viz., bullocks, sheep, goats, turtle-doves, and young pigeons. Of these animals the most careful selection was to be made. Nothing "blind, or broken, or maimed, or having a wen or scurvy, or scabbed," nor "that which was bruised, or crushed, or broken, or cut," could lawfully be brought to the altar, Lev. xxii. 22—24. The prohibition also extended to such animals as had any disproportion in their members, whether of excess or defect. Indeed, the Jews consider the blemishes just enumerated as being only a sample of those which disqualified an animal for a sacrificial victim; and Maimonides has reckoned up fifty of this sort, in his *Rations de Sacrificii*. Every animal, therefore, before it was brought to the altar, was diligently examined. It must be added, that no animal procured either by the price of a dog or by whoredom could be offered to God (Deut. xxiii. 18), it being impossible that there should be any value in sacrifices procured by such base means. Of those animals destined for the altar, the age also was to be taken into the account. None were to be offered that were not eight days

^{*} Discourse on Atonement, vol. i., p. 52; Quarterly Theol. Review, vol. iii., p. 277.

[†] Commentary on Laws of Moses, vol. iii., p. 9

old (Lev. xxii. 27), and the Jews considered it as absolutely unlawful to offer old cattle. In sacrificing birds, no selection of sex was enjoined; but the victims chosen from cattle consisted sometimes of males, sometimes of females, according to the nature of the sacrifice, and the circumstances of the offerer. The peace-offerings of individuals were both males and females. The victims offered for the whole congregation (to whatever class of sacrifices they belonged) all the burnt-offerings, all trespass-offerings, and all sin-offerings for a ruler or high-priest, were to be males; but the sin-offering of a private individual was required to be a female lamb or kid, Lev. iv.*

3. Dr. Clarke supposes that some such custom of sealing the victim after it had been selected, prevailed among the Jews, as among the nations contiguous to them. After quoting a passage from Herodotus, in order to show the method of selecting and sealing the white bull sacrificed to Apis in Egypt, he remarks, "The Jews could not be unacquainted with the rites and ceremonies of the Egyptian worship: and it is possible that such precautions as these were in use among themselves; especially as they were so strictly enjoined to have their sacrifices *without spot and without blemish*." In allusion to this custom it is, he supposes, that our Lord says of himself, "Him hath God the Father *sealed*," John vi. 27. "Infinite justice found Jesus Christ to be without spot or blemish, and therefore *sealed*, pointed out, and accepted him as a proper sacrifice and atonement for the sin of the whole world. Collate with this passage Heb. vii. 26, 27, 28: Eph. v. 27; 2 Pet. iii. 14; and especially, Heb. ix. 13, 14, 'For if the blood of *BULLS* and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean sanctifieth—how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself *WITHOUT SPOT* to God, purge your consciences from dead works?' "+

III. Having noticed the animals used in sacrifice, we proceed to consider the several kinds of offerings to which they were devoted; beginning with—

1. *Burnt-offerings*. The reason of this name is given in Lev. vi. 9, and the Hebrew word for them is *olul*, or sacrifices which ascend in flame or smoke. They were either intended to expiate the evil thoughts of the heart, by the faith of the offerer looking to the Messiah as the great anti-type, or to expiate the breach of affirmative precepts. The burnt-offering was a very expressive

type of the sacrifice of Christ; as nothing less than his complete and full sacrifice could make atonement for the sin of the world. In most other offerings, the priest, and then the offerer, had a *share*, but in the whole burnt-offering *all* was given to God. This sacrifice might be offered of any of the five kinds of animals above specified, and the manner of offering it was as follows: During the time that the tabernacle stood, the offerer brought his victim to the door of the tabernacle, "before the Lord" (Lev. i. 3); but when the temple was erected, this phrase was interpreted to mean the court of Israel, and especially of the priests. So indispensable was the appearance of the offerer, with his sacrifice, before the Lord, that even women, who were forbidden the court of Israel at all other times, were obliged to enter it when they presented a burnt-offering. The offerer, having brought his sacrifice, laid his hands upon its head, and repeated the usual solemn prayer. This was intended as a transfer of sin from himself to the animal, and as a solemn acknowledgment of his own liability to suffer, Lev. i. 4. What a striking type of the great atonement is observable in this transaction! The divinely-appointed victim, CHRIST, "bore our sins, and carried our sorrows." Having thus presented his offering to Jehovah, the offerer transferred it to the priests† to be slain, which was done by cutting the throat and windpipe through. The blood, being caught in a vessel provided for the purpose, was sprinkled upon the altar (Lev. i. 5), to make atonement for the transgressor; that which remained being poured out at the foot of the altar,|| where was a drain which carried it to the brook Kedron. It was because of the blood making atonement for the soul, and being, in that case, typical of the blood of Christ, that the Jews were forbidden to eat it, Lev. xvii.

† During the time of the tabernacle, the offerer frequently slew the animal himself.

|| There is a very striking allusion to this sacrificial rite, in 2 Tim. iv. 6, where the apostle, seeing his impending fate, and intimating to Timothy its near approach, says, "I am now ready to be offered"—poured out as a libation, as the blood at the foot of the altar; "and the time of my departure is at hand." The same expressive sacrificial term occurs in his Epistle to the Philippians: "Yea, though I be offered upon the service and sacrifice of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all," ch. ii. 17. In which passage, whose force and beauty, or indeed meaning, cannot be comprehended from our translation, he represents the faith or Christian profession of the Philippians as a *sacrifice*, and his *blood*, as a *libation poured forth* to hallow and consecrate it. For which, on account of his willingness to shed his blood in the cause of Christianity, which they had espoused, he rejoiced and congratulated them all; and, adds he, "do you rejoice and congratulate me on the same account." See Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., p. 220, and Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, Σπένδω.

* Outram's Dissertation on Sacrifices, Diss. i. c. 9.

† Comment. on John vi. 27.

10—14. After the blood had been thus disposed of, the victim was flayed, deprived of the fat, and laid wholly naked and open; the various parts to be burned were then salted, and thrown into the fire to be utterly consumed, Lev. ii. 13; i. 8. To the custom of flaying the animal, and exhibiting its inward parts to full view, there is a most expressive and beautiful allusion in the Epistle to the Hebrews: "The word of God is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight, but all things are naked and opened unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do," iv. 12.* Such was the manner in which the bullocks, rams, and goats were sacrificed. The method of flaying the turtle-doves and the young pigeons was somewhat different. The person who brought these presented them to the priest, who offered up one of them for a sin-offering, and the other for a burnt-offering.

2. *Sin-offerings* were appointed for sins of ignorance against negative precepts (Lev. iv. 2, 13, 22, 27), either for the whole congregation, or for individual persons. It is true, there are some sin-offerings that do not exactly come under the description here given of them; such as the sin-offering of Aaron on his consecration (Lev. ix. 2); the sin-offering of the woman at her purification (xii. 6); and of the leper at his cleansing, xiv. 19. This, however, was their *general* character. Of the sin-offering for the whole congregation we have an account in Lev. iv. 13—21, where a young bullock being brought before the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, or, during the temple, into the court of the priests, the elders or heads of the tribes, as representing the people, laid their hands upon its head, and it was killed according to the form mentioned for the burnt-offering. The blood was then taken by the priest into the holy place, where, having dipped his finger in it seven times, he sprinkled what adhered to it seven times before the veil; after which he returned to the court of the priests, ascended the altar, put some of the blood upon the horns at its corners, and poured out the rest at its foot. The fat was the only part of the animal that was offered on the altar; for the rest, including the skin, inwards, and even the dung, were carried forth to a clean portion of that place where the ashes of the altar were poured out, and burnt completely with fire. The sin-offering for

individuals only varied in some few trifling circumstances from this; except that the whole of the carcase, after the fat and inwards had been burned, belonged to the priest, Lev. vi. 24—29. We must not forget, while treating of the sin-offering, that our Saviour is often spoken of under that character, particularly in Rom. viii. 3; 2 Cor. v. 21; Heb. ix. 28. Indeed, in the Epistle to the Hebrews sin-offerings are clearly applied as types of Christ: "For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood was brought into the sanctuary by the high-priest for sin, were burnt without the camp; wherefore Jesus also, that he might sanctify the people with his own blood, suffered without the gate," Heb. xii. 11, 12.†

3. *Trespass-offerings* were of two kinds; *doubtful* and *undoubted*. The former were offered in cases where the consciences of the offerers surmised that they had committed a sin, while their understandings were in doubt; the latter, like most other piacular sacrifices, were appointed for the purgation of certain corporeal impurities, as well as for the expiation of trespasses, properly so called. The cases in which they were offered were five; viz., for things stolen, unjustly gotten or detained; for sacrilege; for violating the chastity of a bondmaid; for a Nazarite; and for a leper, Lev. vi. 2—7; Numb. v. 5—8; Lev. v. 16; xix. 20—22; Numb. vi. 2—21; Lev. xiv. 12. The person who brought the sacrifice placed his hands on the head of the animal, between the horns, and confessed his sins, saying, "I have sinned, I have done iniquity, I have trespassed, and done thus and thus (specifying the sin of which he had been guilty), and do return by repentance before thee, and with *this* I make atonement." The animal was then considered as vicariously bearing the sins of the persons who presented it. The reader will recollect that our Lord is said (Isai. liii. 10) to have had his soul made "an offering for sin;" where the very same word is used as is put for the trespass-offering. It is difficult to define the difference between the two classes of sins for which the two last-mentioned offerings were presented; viz., *sins* and *trespasses*. But whatever this difference consisted in, there were several points of difference between the sacrifices respectively designated by these terms. The sex of the victims, and the rites to be performed in the trespass-offerings, were altogether different from those prescribed for the sin-offerings. The former always consisted of rams and he-lambs, which were never used for the latter. The blood of the sin-offering was to be put on the horns of

* Harwood, Introd., vol. ii., p. 220.

† See Magee on the Atonement, vol. i.; Illustrations, No. 27.

the altar (Lev. iv. 7, 18, 25, 30), and that of the trespass-offering was to be sprinkled on the sides of the altar (vii. 2). Sin-offerings also, as we have seen, were offered for the whole congregation; but trespass-offerings were only required from individuals. These two kinds of sacrifices had this point of resemblance, that they were considered as legitimately offered, only in compliance with the express command of the law; neither of them was ever admitted as a votive or voluntary oblation: that was peculiar to peace-offerings and burnt-sacrifices.

4. *Peace-offerings* comprehended thank-offerings, freewill-offerings, and offerings made in consequence of vows, Lev. vii. 12—16. The Hebrew word used for these denotes, as Dr. Clarke remarks,* *to complete, or make whole*; because by them that which was lacking was considered as being made up; and that which was broken—the covenant of God by his creature's transgression—was supposed to be made whole. So that after such an offering, the sincere and conscientious mind had a right to consider that the breach was made up between God and it, and that it might lay confident hold on the covenant of peace. To this the apostle evidently alludes in Eph. ii. 14—19: "He is our peace (i. e., our *peace-offering*) who has made both one, and broken down the middle wall; having abolished in his flesh the enmity," &c. (See the whole passage.) The common offerings in such cases were, either a he or a she-calf, a he or a she-lamb, or a goat (Lev. iii. 1, 6, 12), accompanied by the proper meat-offering. They were to be without blemish for vows and thank-offerings (xxii. 18—22); but a free-will offering might be either lacking or superfluous in its parts, ver. 22. Whichever kind of them was brought, the offerer laid his hand upon its head as an acknowledgment of guilt; after which it was killed before the tabernacle of the congregation; its blood was sprinkled on the altar round about; the fat, the kidneys, the caul, and the rump, if it was a lamb, being burnt on the altar (iii. 1—5); the breast, after it was waved, and the shoulder, after it was heaved, became the property of the priests, vii. 31—34; and the rest of the victim was eaten by the offerer, under the restrictions laid down in Lev. vii. 19—21, xxii. 30, xix. 5—8. The peace-offering for the whole congregation was made only once a year—at the feast of pentecost, when two lambs composed the sacrifice. The peace-offerings of individuals were of three kinds; viz, those offered without bread; those offered with bread; and the peace-offerings of the Naza-

rites, about which there were some peculiarities. See Numb. vi. 15—20; Lev. vii. 31, 32.

5. Among the eucharistic oblations may also be placed the *firstlings* and the *tithes*. After the preservation of the first-born in Egypt, God declared that in memory of so singular a benefit, every *first-born* male, both of man and beast, should thenceforward be devoted to him, Numb. iii. 13. All male firstlings of beasts fit for the altar were to be sacrificed (Exod. xiii. 15; Numb. xviii. 17); and all male first-born children were to be redeemed by five shekels of money paid to the priests, Numb. iii. 47. This law is considered by the Jews as having no reference to the tribe of Levi, because *all* the males of that tribe were constantly devoted to the service of the sanctuary. The firstling of an ass was to be redeemed by the substitution of a lamb, or, that no one might derive any benefit from the sacrilege, his neck was to be broken, Exod. xiii. 13. The flesh of every firstling brought to the altar was wholly allotted to the priests, Numb. xviii. 17, 18. But if any firstling happened to have a blemish, it was not to be brought to the altar as a sacrifice, but to be given to the priests; and it was allowed to be eaten any where, not only by the priests themselves, but also by any other persons, Deut. xv. 21, 22. To the same order of sacrifices must also be referred those victims selected as the *tithe* of lambs, kids, and calves, Lev. xxvii. 32. The tenth of the herd and of the flock was every year to be devoted to the Lord, as a kind of thank-offering for all the advantages derived from cattle. It was to be solemnly offered to the Lord; if it happened to have any blemish, it might lawfully be eaten any where, but was not to be redeemed with money, nor to be exchanged for any other animal. But whatever was its condition, the whole of the flesh (according to Maimonides) belonged to the proprietor, and no part of it to the priests.

IV. We have had occasion, in describing the various kinds of sacrifices, to notice some of the purposes for which they were designed. It will not be amiss, however, to state these more formally. The general design and uses of these sacrifices, then, were—(1) As an acknowledgment of receiving all their good things from the hand of God, and of his right in the whole of that of which they offered him a part; though to make this act the more significant and expressive, it was a part of almost every thing they had.—(2) To be a means of repentance and humiliation for sin, of the desert of which they were reminded by the suffering and death of the victim substituted in their room, and suffering in their stead.—(3) To typify that promised sacrifice of atonement which

* Comment on Lev. vii.

the Son of God was to offer in due time, and to assist their faith in him.* Of the political use of many of the sacrifices we have spoken, in treating of the judicial law.

V. We have already noticed four classes of offerings; we now pass on to a fifth class, known by the appellation of *meat-offerings* (*mincha*).

1. These offerings were composed of wheaten or barley flour; some with, and others without, the addition of wine. They were all to be mixed with oil, and invariably to be connected with some kind of victims, except in the case of the person who had sinned being so poor that he could not purchase two turtle-doves, or two young pigeons for an offering. The victims which God required to be always accompanied with meat-offerings were all the burnt-offerings of the whole congregation, with all those of individuals, and the peace-offerings selected from the flock of the herd; but none taken from birds, except when they were substituted for a quadruped; nor any sin-offerings, except those offered by a purified leper, Numb. xv. 2, &c., xxviii. 29; Lev. xiv. 10, 31. The following are the portions prescribed for the meat-offerings:—For bullocks, three-tenths of an ephah of fine flour mingled with half a hin of oil; for rams, two-tenths of an ephah of fine flour, mingled with a third part of a hin of oil; and for goats and female sheep, as well as for lambs and kids, both male and female, only one-tenth of an ephah of fine flour, mingled with the fourth of a hin of oil, Numb. xv. These were the general directions; but in Lev. xxiii. 10—13, we find that the lamb to be offered on the same day as the sheaf of the first-fruits was to be accompanied with two-tenths of an ephah of fine flour; and in chap. xiv. 10, we find a log ordered for three-tenth deals in the meat-offering of the leper; and in ver. 21, a log of oil is ordered to but one-tenth deal of fine flour, in the case of those lepers who were poor. The meat-offerings unaccompanied with any libations of wine were either for the whole congregation of Israel, or for particular persons. Those of the former kind were three; the omer, or sheaf of first-fruits waved before the Lord, the two loaves ordered on the day of pentecost; and the loaves called the shew-bread.

2. The omer of *first-fruits* was offered on the sixteenth day of the month Nisan, before the wheat had grown to a full ear, and before which

it was not lawful for any person to taste the new corn. Previous to the offering up of the first-fruits all was unclean; afterwards all was holy; and to this Paul alludes in Rom. xi. 16: "If the first-fruit be holy, the lump is also holy." These first-fruits were considered as giving a public and joyful assurance that the general harvest would soon be gathered in. How beautiful and striking is the same apostle's allusion to the ceremony of presenting this oblation, in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which place he argues and establishes the doctrine of a general resurrection, from the fact of the resurrection of Christ, as the *first-fruits* of them that slept! "Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the *first-fruits* of them that slept," xv. 20. "Christ the *first-fruits*—afterwards they that are Christ's," ver. 23. By raising him, the head and representative of Christian believers, from the dead, and conducting him in glorious triumph, as the *first-fruits* were publicly conducted through the streets of Jerusalem, from the grave to immortality, God has announced to the whole world, that his power, in like manner, will be displayed in re-animating all the dead, and at the consummation of all things, gathering into his eternal mansion a universal harvest of all the saints.† After the omer of barley had been waved before the Lord, a part of it was consumed on the altar, and the rest given to the priests, Lev. xxiii. 15—17.

3. The *two loaves* offered on the day of pentecost contained a tenth of an ephah each, made of the flour of new wheat, and were a thanksgiving for the bounties of the harvest which had been just gathered in. They were waved before the altar, and given entirely to the priests, it not being lawful to burn on the altar any thing containing leaven, Lev. vii. 13, 14.

4. The *shew-bread*, literally *the bread of faces*, so called from its position on the sacred table, in the outer sanctuary, where it was "set in order before the Lord," or "before the *faces* of Jehovah." was made of fine wheaten flour, two tenths of an ephah being allotted to each cake. The loaves were twelve in number, and were placed on the golden table, in two rows, six in a row, and pure frankincense put upon each row. They were to be removed and replaced by fresh ones every sabbath-day, when the removed ones were given to the priests, and the frankincense was burnt on the great altar, Lev. xxiv. 5—9. It is more difficult to ascertain the use of these, and what they represented, than almost any other emblem in the

* See Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. viii., sect. 1—4; Owen on the Hebrews, Exerc. xxiv.; Jennings's Jewish Antiq., b. i., chap. 5; Lamy's App. Bib., b. i., chap. 7; Brown's Jewish Antiq., vol. i., pt. 4, sect. 2; Outram on Sacrifices, Diss. i., chap. ix.—xvii.

† Harwood, Introduct., vol. ii., p. 307.

whole Jewish economy. Dr. Cudworth's opinion seems to be the most rational; viz., that with the other meat and drink-offerings, and the furniture of the tabernacle and temple, it was designed to show the Jews that God had in an extraordinary manner taken up his residence among them, these things forming part of his establishment as king of Israel.*

5. The meat-offerings for particular persons were as follow: (1) The daily meat-offering of the high-priest; half of which was offered in the morning, and the other half at night, Lev. vi. 20-22. (2) The meat-offering of initiation, which was offered by each priest on his entrance into office, and which was *wholly burnt*. (3) The sinner's meat-offering, or that *substituted* by a poor man for a sin-offering, Lev. v. 11. (4) The jealousy meat-offering, or the offering brought with the suspected wife, Numb. v. 15. It is worthy of notice, that this and the meat-offering of the first-fruits of the barley-harvest were the only offerings which were of barley; all the other kinds being of wheat. (5) The meat-offering of fine flour unbaked, which was prepared by pouring oil and frankincense upon it, Lev. ii. 1-3. (6) The meat-offering baked in the oven, which was either unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or unleavened wafers anointed with oil, ver. 4. (7) The meat-offering baked in a pan, which was fine flour unleavened, mingled with oil, separated in pieces, on each of which was poured oil, ver. 5, 6. (8) The meat-offering made in a frying-pan, and which was fine flour mingled with oil, ver. 7. (9) The wafers baked in the oven, which are classed with the cakes above, in No. 6. (10) The offerings of first-fruits by individuals at the feast of pentecost. With all the meat-offerings duly presented, salt was to be used (Lev. ii. 13), and, according to the Jews, was to be sprinkled on the offerings when laid on the altar. Salt possesses an agreeable savour, and the quality of preserving food from putrefaction:† hence, a durable covenant is called "a covenant of salt," Numb. xxviii. 19; 2 Chron. xiii. 5.‡ But no leaven, nor honey, was allowed in any offering. The latter was offered to Bacchus, among the heathen; and also to the infernal deities, and departed heroes.||

6. To the offerings that have been specified we must add, (1) The oblations of incense that used to be made in the temple; for though they are not usually classed with the meat-offerings, they must, nevertheless, be numbered with those sacrifices which were to be selected from inanimate things, and to be solemnly burnt in the service of God. The manner of offering this has been already noticed in treating of the service of the temple. We need only add, that it represented the prayers of the people, while the priest, presenting them to God in the temple, prefigured Christ, now in the heavenly sanctuary, commending to God the prayers of the saints. See Rev. v. 8, viii. 3, 4. (2) The *tithes* of all the fruits of the earth, paid by every Israelite, and which Jerome divides into four sorts: Such as were paid to the Levites by the people, who were forbidden to eat any of their fruits till this had been paid, on pain of death; such as were paid by the Levites to the priests; such as were reserved for the banquets made within the precincts of the temple, to which the priests and Levites were invited; and such as were paid every three years for the support of the poor. See Numb. xviii. 21; Lev. xxvii. 30; Deut. xiv. 22, 23; Neh. xiii. 5, 10.§

7. The rule prescribed in the law for preparing and presenting meat-offerings was this: They were to be brought to the priest, who carried them to the altar, took a handful from each of them, as an oblation, salted it, and burnt it upon the altar. The remaining part became the property of the priesthood, and was eaten by those whose lot it was to serve, Lev. ii. 2, 8, 9, 10, vi. 14-18, x. 12, 13.

VI. The *drink-offerings* were nothing more than a certain quantity of wine, proportioned to the nature of the sacrifice they accompanied. After the sacrifice and the meat-offering were laid on the fire, the drink-offering was taken by the priest, and poured out like the blood, at the foundation of the altar, or around its top.¶

§ Lamy, Apparatus Biblicus, b. i., c. 7.

¶ There is no doubt that the heathen borrowed their custom of offering meat and drink-offerings from the Hebrew ritual. The salted meal (meat-offerings) which they added to their victims, and which used also to be accompanied with wine, is thus referred to by Virgil: "And now the dreadful day was arrived; the preparations to sacrifice me were commenced, and the salted meal was ready."—Æn. ii. 132. Servius's explanation is, "Salt and barley, called salted meal, with which they used to sprinkle the forehead of the victim, the sacrificial fire, and the knives." After the salted meal it was also customary to pour wine on the head of the victim, which by that ceremony was said to be *macta* or *magis aucta*, augmented, or more increased. This ceremony is thus referred to by Ovid: "Goat,

* See Dr. A. Clarke on Exod. xxv. 23, 30.

† There is an allusion to this typical law in Mark ix. 49, 50; for some remarks on which, see Critica Biblica, vol. ii., p. 624.

‡ See Calmet's Bib. Ency., art. "Salt;" and Fragments to ditto, No. cxxx.

§ Ovid. Fast., l. iii., 175; Strabo, Geog. l. xv.; Odys. x. 518; xi. 26, &c.

VII. In closing this summary account of the Jewish sacrifices and oblations, we may notice the inducements to pay them, by those liable, and the time when they became due. The inducements to render these sacrifices and oblations, by those who were liable, were two-fold; conscience and penalty. If the first prevailed not, the second was enforced, where the offence was known, and generally consisted in whipping. The time when they became due was at the first of the three great festivals, which occurred next after the time of contracting the obligation. This provision was most beneficial to those who lived at a distance from Jerusalem, and who otherwise would have been compelled to abandon their ordinary occupations, and, at very great expense and inconvenience, appear with their offerings "in the place which Jehovah had chosen to put his name there;" for their offering could not be sent by the hand of another.*

VIII. To the incidental remarks already submitted on the typical nature of the Jewish sacrifices, we may add, from Outram, that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems tacitly to compare all the different kinds of victims with the one sacrifice of Christ, as types with their antitype:

gnaw the vine; yet its produce will be sufficient to be poured upon thy horns, when thou shalt stand before the altar."—*Fast.* l. i. It is likewise introduced as part of the sacrificial process by Virgil: "Here, first, the priestess places four black bullocks, and pours wine on their foreheads."—*Æn.* iv. 60. Dr. Harwood supposes that there is an allusion to this practice in 2 Tim. iv. 6. But that is hardly probable, as the Jews did not thus dispose of the drink-offering; besides which, Parkhurst says he can find no example in which the word here used by the apostle signifies to have a libation poured out upon it, as a victim going to be sacrificed. Greek Lexicon, *Σπενδω*.

* Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, chap. i., sect. 3; viii., sect. 5; Outram on *Sacrifices*, *Diss.* i., c. 8, 11.

"Wherefore, when he cometh into the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldest not, but a body hast thou prepared me: in burnt-offerings and sacrifices for sin thou hast had no pleasure. Then said I, Lo, I come (in the volume of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O God. Above, when he said, Sacrifice and offering and burnt-offerings and offerings for sin thou wouldest not, neither hadst pleasure therein (which are offered by the law); then said he, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second. By the which will we are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all," Heb. x. 5—10. The apostle certainly means (and the clause, "He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second," ascertains it beyond all doubt) that the sacrifice of Christ succeeded in the room of all the sacrifices which were "offered by the law;" and hence it was, that when his sacrifice was accomplished, they all ceased. As the sacrifice of Christ, therefore, succeeded in the room of all the victims that were to be offered according to the law, and removed them from their place; and as it far excelled them all; it seems reasonable to consider them all as types of this sacrifice, and this one sacrifice as the antitype of them all. For the mutual relation of type and antitype is sufficiently conspicuous in any two things, of which the latter succeeds by divine appointment in the room of the former, possessing moreover that efficacy of which the former had only an image, or a very small degree; especially when there is so great a resemblance between those two things, as between all the Jewish victims and the sacrifice of Christ.†

† *Dissertation on Sacrifices*, p. 223.

PART IV.

BIBLICAL HISTORY.

Under the head of Biblical History should be comprehended, not only those annals or memorials which furnish an account of the creation of the world, of the origin and progress of revelation, and of the history of nations ; but also so much of chronology, or the notation of time—of geography, or the natural and political description of coun-

tries—and of genealogy, or the descent and relationship of individuals, as is necessary to give a clear understanding of the time when, the places where, and the persons by whom, all the events narrated occurred. To assist the student in prosecuting the studies connected with these topics is the object of the following chapters.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS.

The Bible the highest Source of Historical Knowledge—Character of the Sacred Historians—The Events narrated, with their Collateral Evidence—Biblical History a Clue to all other History—Fidelity of Narration—Penetration of the Sacred Writers.

1. The Bible contains, not merely the only authentic, but the only clear and consistent, account of the remotest ages of the world ; and that, too, communicated in a manner adapted to subserve the highest moral and religious purposes, inasmuch as it shows us how, in preparing mankind for another world, the universal Parent has dealt with individuals, with families, and with nations in this.

2. It may safely be averred, putting the question of inspiration altogether out of view, that the natural character of the sacred historians ranks them with the first of human beings. In point of grandeur and sublimity of conception, of the power of discrimination, of unaffected simplicity, of ingenuous disinterestedness, of unbending integrity, of successful execution, they are unrivalled ; and it is only necessary to compare their productions with the most admired compositions of antiquity, to assign to them, unhesitatingly, the preference. From the enactments of Moses,

almost all legislation has been drawn, both as to principle and as to form ; and where any departure from this grand outline is attempted, the change has been perceptibly for the worse ; while the most elegant critic of the heathen world has produced the opening of his narrative, as the most striking specimen of the true sublime which could be presented. "God said—what ? Be light ; and light was. Be earth ; and it was so." Few will dispute the authority of Longinus on such a subject, and none can doubt his taste and judgment. If sacred history be tried by the character of its narrators, it wears the marks of undoubted authenticity.

3. Let it be tried by the events narrated ; another important criterion of history. The earliest and most interesting events form the subject of its records. It begins, where revelation must be supposed to commence its testimony, with the origin of the visible creation. The first inquiries of man are directed towards the material universe, himself constituting so noble a part of it, and its destinies being so inseparably associated with his own. Urged by a nobler impulse than curiosity, he endeavours to retrace the stream of time to its fountain, and to penetrate even to the infinite Cause,

by whom all events are generated. What was to the philosopher a subject of speculation, giving birth to numberless and contradictory hypotheses, is to Moses simply a subject of history. The first sentence of his narrative unveils the hidden and eternal cause, settles the disputes of philosophy, assumes the fact of the creation, declares the Creator, and proceeds to a detail of the circumstances attending the stupendous transaction: "In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth;" a grandeur of expression, not inferior, perhaps, to the celebrated passage so distinguished by Longinus. Around this revealed truth, as a central point, the scattered schemes of philosophy rally, correcting their errors, reconciling their differences, and contributing their researches; science finds the base upon which to place a fulcrum that can raise the world; history discovers the spring of the ever-flowing tide of time; and chronology, the *punctum stans*—the fixed, determinate, immoveable point, whence all her dates are deduced, and to which all divisions of time are to be referred. This great fact being established, the historian proceeds briefly, yet distinctly, to enumerate the leading particulars of this operation; passes on to a consideration of man's primeval state; unfolds the facts attending his degradation, leading to the miseries to which he is exposed, and accounting for the thousand natural shocks that "flesh is heir to." The narrative thus instantly connects itself with the scheme chosen for his recovery, into which all other events necessarily resolve themselves; and the grand march of providence is distinctly visible through all the shadows of ages—from the chorus of the sons of God at the birth of nature, to the final shout of the archangel, and the trumpet which shall awaken the dead.

4. To go over the various periods of this history forms no part of our business here; but to advert to them thus generally, is sufficient to establish the position, that the events recorded are such, in their nature, as might be expected from revelation, and as are suitable to the dignity and purposes of history. To apply to them the general rule of historical judgment, they have all the collateral evidences of which such facts could be capable. Moses has no contemporary historian; the most ancient writers fall centuries after him; and he records events which took place centuries before his birth. The deluge forms the common epoch from which all nations commence their records; and under different names, Noah is the first monarch announced in history. Traditions relative to the creation agree with the narrative of Moses in all essential points, and even in form, whatever speculations and fables may disfigure the simple account. Historians, and poets more an-

cient than historians, drew from this common source. Traditions of the fall are to be traced over all the east, and among the western nations; they traverse the north, and occupy the south; they have penetrated the wilds of America, and are planted in the islands of the Pacific ocean: in truth, the forms of worship and observances added to these traditions, everywhere authenticate the Mosaic narrative; and from their universality, which would have been *impossible* had they not originated in fact, a sanction is given to sacred history which could scarcely have been expected, which is altogether unexceptionable, because it is indirect in its nature, and infinitely diversified in its form.

5. It is no small collateral proof of the truth of sacred history, that it furnishes a clue to many facts which, although known, could not have been understood without its assistance. It serves to correct other historians; and in every instance in which the sacred writings and general history come into contact, it is to them what the chronometer is to the common watch—it measures the same period, but does it with superior precision; it relates the same events, but with greater accuracy. Still further, as the floating traditions of the heathen world bear upon the facts recorded in the Scriptures; so, by a re-action, sacred history develops the hidden import of many an ancient institution, the intention of which was not comprehended by those who lived under it, nor could it be otherwise understood; and gives consistency and reality to the traditions of antiquity. It brings distant occurrences to bear upon each other; it discloses political interests, jarring among themselves, all tending to the harmony of the universe, and the ultimate amelioration of the human race. It supplies, in short, to time, what gravity is to space—the *principle* which holds and draws every thing together.

6. If we examine the manner of narration; one of the most striking features of sacred history, which, while it demonstrates its authenticity, renders it invaluable, is the fidelity with which it relates occurrences offensive to the existing powers, and not always honourable to the historian himself. Patriotism is evidently a moral principle highly appreciated by Moses; yet he disguises nothing that reflects disgrace upon his country. While he could even desire to sacrifice himself for the interests of the people whom he governed, yet he never conceals and never palliates their rebellions, their ingratitude, or their vices. Self-love cannot be supposed to have been extinguished in the bosom of the historian; yet he records his own follies and infirmities with the same simplicity and sincerity with which he wrote down the sins

of his countrymen. What a principle must that have been, which could thus absorb the prejudices of the writer, and induce him, with whatever painful feelings, to give his testimony alike against himself and his people! This faithfulness is especially exhibited in the biography of the Old and New Testaments. It is more difficult to be honest in this, than in almost any other species of writing. In history, the disgraces of a country are borne by multitudes; the guilt of a people, large in itself, is so divided among them, that the individual participation appears comparatively small, while our self-love induces us to take more than our share of the honours; but in biography the attention is fixed upon an individual, to whom the whole praise or blame exclusively belongs. The writer also, in most instances, stands in some personal relation to him. If as a friend, he too frequently gives the *beau ideal*, the creature of his own imagination, instead of the living being whose characteristics he professes to have marked as they arose, and to have written down in all the reality of their existence. If as an enemy, it is difficult for him to perceive, and still more difficult to record, real excellencies. He sometimes dips his pen, not in ink, but in the gall which flows from an envious heart, and in no instance fails to give a tone to his narrative corresponding with the actual state of his feelings in respect of his subject. In this, as in all other cases, sacred history maintains its high purity of character; and the same inflexible adherence to facts, and the same simplicity of detail, pervades its biography. The writer is, indeed, always a "man of like passions with others," but his passions are subordinate to sincerity and truth. Abraham, "the friend of God," shall be placed before us in all the pusillanimity of his equivocation, as well as in all the strength of his faith;—Balaam, the adversary of Israel, shall be delineated by the Jewish historian in all the intellectual grandeur of his mind; and his sins, and his talents, shall be given in the same clear, unruffled, undisguised language. Unquestionably, the great object for which the whole narrative is placed before us, is to impress the claims of truth and virtue on the mind, and to win us to the path of wisdom by exhibiting its

rewards. But the difficulties of a wise and virtuous course are not disguised. The total failures of some who have entered upon it; the partial failures of all; Cain, and Esau, and Lot's wife, and Balaam, and Saul, stand in faithful record of a total departure from what most men would have thought the fear of God; while the Scripture history of Noah and of Abraham, of Lot and of David, of Solomon and of Peter, as faithfully exhibits the temptations that have charms for us all, and the failures of God's most favoured children. The whole Bible breathes the same tone of noble frankness. One is constantly reminded of God, who "CANNOT lie."

7. There are peculiarities belonging to sacred history, so remote from every thing seen among men, and such an unearthly character is given to some of its relations of apparently ordinary concerns, that the most superficial observer can scarcely fail to distinguish it from every merely human production. Its true and faithful portraiture of our own nature, its appeal to the heart of the reader, alone suffices to establish this observation. There is a knowledge of the human heart, a master-key to its subtlest recesses, which not only surpasses human penetration in its origin, but astonishes while it terrifies the individual whose bosom is laid open to his own inspection; and who finds himself a stranger, where he had thought himself most at home. Perhaps this is a fact more striking than even its impartial delineation of the character of others; and, certainly, infinitely more important to us. Not a lurking passion is suffered to remain undetected in its living pictures. Motives which we should be ashamed to avow, are dragged before our conscience in the history of another; and while his sentence is passed, we feel a personal condemnation. This is, indeed, the true and highest use of history: to speak to the heart through the understanding; to make every character that is brought before us promote the formation and consolidation of our own.*

* Sub-Introduction to History, in Encyclop. Metropolitana.

CHAPTER II.

NOTATIONS OF TIME.

I. DIVISIONS OF TIME: Days; Weeks; Months; Years. II. THE COMPUTATION OF TIME. III. GENERAL CHRONOLOGY. IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES: Hebrew Cycles; Remarkable Eras; Empires, States, and Sovereigns connected with Scripture History; Sacred and Profane History, from the Creation to the destruction of Jerusalem.

I. It is of considerable importance to a right understanding of the chronicles or history of any people, that we obtain an acquaintance with the methods according to which they computed their time. And this is the more necessary with reference to the Jews, in consequence of their having adopted two several years, *i. e.*, civil and ecclesiastical, a want of attention to which will interpose many difficulties and apparent contradictions in the course of our reading the Holy Scriptures. Nor is it of less importance that we ascertain their method of computing days, dividing them into hours, and reckoning time generally: these being in all respects so different from the modes adopted by ourselves, that a want of attention thereto will be attended with many and serious inconveniences. This being premised, we proceed to notice the subject in its several branches.

1. The Hebrews, in common with other nations, distinguished their DAYS into natural and artificial: the former consisted of 24 hours, as the time employed by the earth in making a complete revolution round its axis; and the latter reached from sun-rise to sun-set. It has been thought that the Jews had formerly two different beginnings of the natural day; one of the sacred, or festival day, which was in the evening; the other of the civil day, which was in the morning. That the sacred day began in the evening, is certain from the command of Moses (Lev. xxiii. 32), "From even unto even shall ye celebrate your sabbaths;"* but it is not so certain that the civil day was reckoned from the morning. Jennings conjectures that before the departure out of Egypt, the Jews began all their days, both civil and sacred, with the sun's rising, as the ancient Babylonians, Persians, Syrians, and most of the eastern nations did; and that, at the time of their

emigration, God ordered them to change the beginning, not only of the year and of the week, but likewise of the day, that they might be distinguished from the idolatrous nations, who, in honour of their chief god, the sun, began the day at his rising.† With regard to the natural day, it is evident that it would vary in length with the season of the year. In Palestine, the longest day is about 14 hours, 12 minutes; and the shortest, 9 hours, 48 minutes. The civil day was at first divided into three parts, agreeably to the sensible difference of the sun, *viz.*, morning, noon, and night; then into four parts (Neh. ix. 3), which could be easily determined by the position of the sun in the horizon.‡ Afterwards it was divided into twelve equal parts, to which our Saviour refers in John xi. 9. We have no means of ascertaining when this division of the day was first introduced among the Hebrews; the Greeks derived it from the Egyptians, and it is probable that the Jews borrowed it from the same source; but this is uncertain. The earliest mention we have of hours, in the Old Testament, is in the book of Daniel (iv. 19); but it is doubtful whether the word there used is not of too general a signification to prove that the hours of which we are speaking were then in use. Leaving this part of the subject, then, we only observe, that the hours of the civil day were computed from six o'clock in the morning till six in the evening; and that the term hour is sometimes used with great latitude, and denotes the space of time occupied by a whole watch. See Matt. xxv. 13; xxvi. 40; Mark xiv. 37; Luke xxii. 59, &c. It appears, from a passage in the Old Testament (Judg. vii. 19), that the night was originally divided in the same manner as the day, *viz.*, into three parts, or watches; but this, perhaps from its inconvenience, was altered; for in the time of our Saviour there were four watches included in this period of time, Mark xiii. 35. In the passage here referred to, the four watches are distinctly enumerated: EVEN, MIDNIGHT, COCK-CROWING, and MORNING. The *first* watch was from six till nine; the *second*, from nine to midnight; the *third*, from twelve to three; and the *fourth*, from three to six. We read in the law, that the paschal lamb was to be sacrificed "between the evenings" (Exod. xii. 6); hence

* Hence Daniel makes use of the compound term, *evening-morning* (viii. 14); and hence, also, the use of the Greek term *Nuchthemerom*, 2 Cor. xi. 25. But although this mode of computation began with the Jews, it was not confined to them; for the Phœnicians, Athenians, Numidians, Germans, Gauls, Druids, Bohemians, and Poles did the same.—See Grotius de Ver. Rel., l. i. s. 16. In our own language we may trace the remains of this usage, where we compute by *se'night*, and *fort-night*.

† Jewish Antiquities, b. iii., c. 1.

‡ Lamy, Appar. Bib., b. i., c. 5.

we see that the Jews had two evenings; the former began at the ninth hour, and the latter at the eleventh hour. It has been remarked, that "Christ our passover," the antitype of the paschal lamb, expired at the ninth hour, and was taken down from the cross at the eleventh hour, or sun-set.*

2. The **WEEK** needs scarcely a remark. Six days out of the seven were devoted to the ordinary affairs of life; and the seventh was appointed a holy sabbath, or a day of sacred rest. Besides the week of days, the Hebrews had weeks of years, the seventh of which was the sabbatical year; and also weeks of seven years, the forty-ninth of which was the year of Jubilee.†

3. **MONTHS.** For these the ancient Hebrews had no particular names. They called them in their numerical order, *first, second, third, &c.* Under Solomon we read of the month *Zif* (1 Kings vi. 1), which is the second month of the ecclesiastical year, and answers to that afterwards called *Jiar*. We also hear of the month *Bul* (*ibid.*), which answers to *Marchesvan*; and

of the month *Ethanim* (viii. 2), which corresponds with *Tixri*; but the origin of these names is uncertain. In the time of Moses, the months consisted of thirty days each; for he reckons 150 days from the 7th day of the second month to the 7th day of the seventh month, which makes an interval of five months, of 30 days each. In the time of the Maccabees the Jews followed the custom of the Grecians; that is, the months were lunar. These lunar months were each of them 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes, but for convenience they had one of 29 days, and the following one 30, and so on alternately: that which had 30 days was called a full and complete month; that which had but 29 days was called incomplete. The new moon was always the beginning of the month, and this day the Hebrews held as a sacred festival.‡

The following synchronical arrangement of the Hebrew and English months, to which we have added the Syro-Macedonian names, will be found useful:—

Hebrew Names.	Syro-Macedonian Names.	Civil.	Sacred.	Days.		English Names.
Tixri,	Hyperberetææ,	First,	Seventh,	30	30	September,
Marchesvan,	Dius,	Second,	Eighth,	29	31	October,
Chisleu,	Apellacus,	Third,	Ninth,	30	30	November,
Tebeth,	Audineus,	Fourth,	Tenth,	29	31	December,
Shebeth,	Peritius,	Fifth,	Eleventh,	30	31	January,
Adar,	Dystrus,	Sixth,	Twelfth,	29	28	February,
Nisan, or Abib,	Xanthicus,	Seventh,	First,	30	31	March,
Jiar,	Artemisius,	Eighth,	Second,	29	30	April,
Sivan,	Desius,	Ninth,	Third,	30	31	May,
Thammuz,	Panemus,	Tenth,	Fourth,	29	30	June,
Ab,	Lous,	Eleventh,	Fifth,	30	31	July,
Elul.	Gorpiacus.	Twelfth.	Sixth.	29	31	August.

When we say the months of the Jews thus answered to ours—*Nisan* to March, *Jiar* to April, &c., we must be understood with some latitude; for lunar months cannot be reduced to solar ones. The vernal equinox falls between the 20th and 21st of March, according to the course of the solar year: but in the lunar year, the new moon will fall in the month of March, and the full moon in the month of April. So that the Hebrew months will commonly answer to two of our months, the end of one and the beginning of the other. But as twelve lunar months make but 354 days, 8 hours, and 48 minutes, it is evident that the Jewish calendar, by which the sacred festivals were regulated, would soon have been in sad confusion, had they not taken some means to

prevent it. This they did by intercalating a month every three years, after the twelfth month, *Adar*, and which they called *Ve-Adar*—the second *Adar*. By this means their lunar year was made to equal the solar, because in 36 solar months there would be 37 lunar months; and the passover was always celebrated the first full moon after the equinox. But this arrangement of the Hebrew calendar, it should be observed, is made on the authority of the Jewish writers, who are not always the best guides, even in the affairs of their own nation. Their notation of the months has been implicitly followed by Christian critics and commentators, almost universally; but we believe it to be incorrect. According to their distribution of the months, the religious festivals could never have

* Hales' Analysis of Chronology. i, p. 115,

† See *ante*, p. 301.

‡ See *ante*, p. 299.

been observed at the stated times; the seasons of Palestine, on which they depended, not answering to that purpose. To assign the reasons on which this opinion is founded, however, would occupy more space than can be devoted to it here; reference is therefore made to another work, where it will be seen that the present Jewish calendar is carried up a month too high.*

4. We have already stated that the Jews had two kinds of years, viz., the *civil* and the *sacred*. (1) The *civil year* commenced with the month *Tisri*, because it was an old tradition that the world was created at that time. This is believed to be the same with the patriarchal year; and by it the Jews computed all their civil affairs. (2) The *sacred* or *ecclesiastical year* commenced with the month *Nisan*, the seventh of the civil year, which was the time of their departure from Egypt; and all their religious matters were regulated by it. Lamy mentions two other Jewish years; viz., the *year of cattle*, which commenced with the month *Elul*, when the beasts were tithed, and the tenth paid to the Levites; and the *year of trees*, beginning with the month *Shebat*, because they paid tithe-fruits of the trees which budded at that time.†

II. After the Babylonish captivity, the Jews complied with such methods of computing time as were used by the nations to whom they were subject—the Chaldeans, the Persians, and Grecians. They probably took the names of their months from the Chaldeans and Persians, and perhaps their manner of dividing the year and months also. But we cannot be sure of this, not knowing exactly the form of the Chaldean months.

1. It has been a custom with the Jews to reckon their years from some remarkable eras in their history, a knowledge of which is indispensable to avoid mistakes in their chronology. From Gen. vii. 11, and viii. 13, it seems they reckoned from the births of the patriarchs, that is, of the most eminent characters among them; afterwards from the departure from Egypt (Numb. xxxiii. 38, 1 Kings vi. 1); then from the building of Solomon's temple (2 Chron. viii. 1); and also from the reigns of their kings. See the Books of Kings and Chronicles throughout. In later times, the Babylonian captivity furnished them with a new epoch, whence they computed their time. See Ezek. xxxiii. 21, xl. 1.‡ At the retaking of Babylon by Seleucus, A. A. C. 312, they adopted the era of the Seleucidæ, called by them the

era of contracts; because after they fell under the government of the Syro-Macedonian kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts about civil affairs. When they were driven from the East, A. D. 1040, they adopted the era of the creation, which, according to their computation, is in the present year of the Christian era (1836), 5596. In writing, they generally contract this, by omitting the thousands, writing only 596. If to the Jewish year, then, as usually expressed by them, we add 1240, we get the year of the Christian era, as 596+1240, gives 1836.

2. The Jews, after their dispersion, having no opportunities of regulating their feasts by the appearance of the moon, were obliged to have recourse to astronomical calculations and cycles. They at first employed a cycle of 84 years; but this being found defective, they had recourse to a cycle of nineteen years, which had been invented by Meton, the illustrious Athenian philosopher, who flourished A. A. C. 432. The authority of this cycle was established by the rabbi Hillel Hannasi about A. D. 360, and the Jews say it is to be observed till the coming of the Messiah.||

3. The editor of Calmet has shown that in some parts of the East, particularly in Japan, the year ending on a certain day, any portion of the preceding year is taken for a *whole year*; so that, supposing a child to be born in the last week of December, it would be reckoned one year old on the first of January. If this mode of computation obtained among the Hebrews, which is very likely, it will account for those anachronisms of single years, or *parts* of years taken as *whole ones*, which occur in the sacred writings. It removes the difficulties which concern the half years of several princes of Judah and Israel, in which the latter half of the deceased king's last year has hitherto been supposed to be added to the former half of his successor's first year.§ And the conjecture is greatly strengthened by observing that the Hebrews really adopted this principle when reckoning by days. Thus, "three days and three nights," the time during which our Saviour is said to have remained in the tomb, included only a *part* of the two extreme days.¶

4. If the reader be desirous of seeing the complete Jewish Calendar, containing the festivals, fasts, &c., he will find it in a work already referred

|| See Prideaux, vol. i., Pref. and sub. A. A. C. 162, 432. We have given this perpetual table in pp. 341, 342.

§ Calmet's Bib. Ency., art. "Year."

¶ We may further observe, in support of this opinion, that Aben Ezra, speaking of the law for circumcising an infant on the eighth day, says, if the infant was born but *one hour* before the first day was ended, it was counted for one whole day.—Ad Lev. xii. 3.

* See Carpenter's Calendarium Palestinæ, pp. 39—75.

† Apparatus Biblicus, b. i., c. 5.

‡ Jennings's Jewish Antiq., b. iii., c. 1.

to—*Calendarium Palestinæ*, in which is also inserted the principal events in the Scripture history, in their chronological order.

III. Besides the natural divisions of time into days, months, and years, there are others formed of the less obvious consequences of the planetary revolutions, which are called *cycles*, from the Greek *κύκλος*, a *circle*, because they contain a circulating period, at the expiration of which certain celestial phenomena return to the point whence they originally set out. The most remarkable of these modes of computation are the following:—

1. THE CYCLE OF THE SUN, consisting of a revolution of 28 years, in which time the days of the months return again to the same days of the week; as does likewise the sun's place to the same signs and degrees of the ecliptic, in the same months, and on the same days of the months, so as not to vary one degree in a century. The leap-years also begin their course over again, with respect to the days of the week on which those of the months fall. The first seven letters of the alphabet—A, B, C, D, E, F, G, have been employed to mark the several days of the week; the first letter standing for the first day of January, and so on: and as one of them must in course stand against Sunday, it is called the *Dominical* or *Sunday letter*, for the year. As the Julian period of 365 days contains 52 weeks and one day, it is obvious that it must begin and end on the same day of the week (except in the case of leap-year); and consequently, the next year must commence on the day following.

2. THE CYCLE OF THE MOON, called also the *metonic cycle* and the *golden number*, consists of a revolution of 19 years, or 6940 days, at the end of which the conjunctions, oppositions, and other aspects of the moon, are within an hour and a half of being the same as they were at the commencement of the cycle. It is by this cycle that certain festivals, as Easter, are fixed.

3. THE ROMAN INDICATION consists of a revolution of 15 years, and was used by the Romans for indicating the times of certain payments of tribute made by the subjects to the government. It is also called the *pontifical indiction*, because employed by the popes in their bulls.

4. THE CYCLE OF EPOCHS need not be explained here, further than to say, that by the epoch of any year is understood the age of the moon on the 1st day of January of that year; or it is the number of days elapsed since the last new moon.

5. THE CYCLE OF EASTER, PASCHAL CYCLE, or DIONYSIAN PERIOD, is a revolution of 532 years, found by multiplying the solar cycle, 28, by the

lunar cycle, 19; and if the new moons did not gain upon this cycle, Easter-day would always be upon the Sunday next following the full moon after the 21st of March. But in consequence of this anticipation, to which no proper regard was paid before the alteration of the style, the ecclesiastical Easter has frequently been a week different from the true Easter. This cycle, which was invented by Victorinus of Agintain, A. D. 463, includes every possible variety of Easter.

IV. It may be necessary to say something of the different *eras* used in computations. 1. By the *Usherian* year of the world the reader is to understand the chronological computation of Archbishop *Usher*; who supposed that 4000 years exactly had elapsed from the creation of the world to the birth of Christ. 2. The *Alexandrian* Era is that chronological computation which was used by the people of Alexandria; who began their reckoning 5502 before the vulgar year of Christ, 1. 3. The *Antiochan* Era is a correction of the preceding, in the 4th century, by *Pandorus*, an Egyptian monk, and used by the people of Antioch; it differs only from the Alexandrian by subtracting *ten* years. 4. The *Constantinopolitan* Era is that still in use in the Greek church, which reckons 5508 before the year 1 of the Incarnation, according to the Vulgar Era. 5. The *Julian Period* is a factitious era, conceived by *Joseph Scaliger*, to facilitate the reduction of the years of any given epoch to that of another. This period is the result of the *Lunar* and *Solar Cycles*, and the *Indictions*, multiplied by each other. Thus: multiply 19 the *Lunar Cycle*, by 28 the *Solar Cycle*, and the product will be 532; multiply this sum by 15, the Cycle of the *Indictions*, and you will have 7980 years, which constitute the *Julian Period*. The first year of the *Vulgar Era* is placed in the 4714th year of the Julian Period: whence it follows, that to find any year of our Lord in this Period, 4713 years must be added to that year: e. g., to find the year of this Period, answering to the year of our Lord 1812, add 4713, and you will have 6525, which is the year of the Julian Period sought. 6. The Era of the *Seleucids*, sometimes improperly called the Era of *Alexander*, commenced 12 years after the death of Alexander the Great, 312 years before the Incarnation, according to the vulgar reckoning, and was properly the *first* year of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire. 7. By the year before the *Vulgar Era* of Christ, is meant, that *correct chronological reckoning* which showed that the *vulgar* or *common* reckoning of the A. D., or *year of our Lord*, is deficient not less than *four* years: so that the year 1812 should be, according to strict chronological precision, 1816. 8. The

mode of computing by *Olympiads* derived its origin from the institution of the Olympic Games, which were celebrated every *four* years, for *five* successive days, at the time of the first full moon, after the summer's solstice. They were held on the banks of the river *Alpheus*, near *Olympia*, a city of *Elis*, from which they derived their name. The first Olympiad commenced 776 before the Incarnation of our Lord. It need scarcely be added, that each Olympiad consists of *four* years; hence the *first, second, third, or fourth* year of any particular *Olympiad*. 9. Year of the *building of Rome* is an important Era among the Roman historians: it commenced 753 years before the birth of Christ. 10. The year of *Augustus*, or years after the *Battle of Actium*, is the computation of time from the *commencement* of the *Roman Empire*, which took place after the Battle of Actium, 27 years before our Lord: from this time Augustus became sole governor. 11. The *Cæsarian Era* of Antioch was a monument which the city of Antioch erected to the honour of Julius Cæsar, in commemoration of his victory at Pharsalia: this was obtained 48 years before the commencement of the Christian Era. 12. The *Spanish Era*:

this was kept in commemoration of the entire subduction of Spain, by Augustus Cæsar, which took place in the year of Rome 715, or 39 years before the *Vulgar Era of Christ*. 13. The *Julian Era*, or as it is sometimes called, the *Era of Julius Cæsar*: this had for its foundation, the reformation of the *Roman Calendar* by Julius Cæsar: and the change was made 45 years before the birth of Christ. Other Eras might have been noticed, but those mentioned above were judged to be the most important.

V. On the subject of general chronology we may remark, that considerable difference exists in the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint, and Josephus, the adjustment of which has been attempted, with more or less success, by different learned men, whose works are referred to below.* The following tables may be found useful.

* Jackson's *Chronological Antiquities*, 3 vols., 4to, 1752; Allen's *Chain of Scripture Chronology*, 4to., 1659; Bedford's *Scripture Chronology*, folio, 1730; Hales's *Analysis of Chronology*, 3 vols., 4to., 1809—1812.

TABLE I.

A PERPETUAL TABLE

SHOWING,

THROUGH THE COURSE OF THIRTEEN LUNAR CYCLES (WHICH EMBRACE EVERY POSSIBLE VARIATION),
THE DAY OF THE WEEK WITH WHICH THE JEWISH YEAR BEGINS, AND ON WHICH THE
PASSOVER IS HELD; AS ALSO THE LENGTH OF THE MONTHS *MARCHESVAN*
AND *CISLEU*.

CYCLE CCXCIV.					CYCLE CCXCV.					CYCLE CCXCVI.				
Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.
5612	5508	1806	1	7 P 3	5631	5587	1827	1	3 P 5	5650	5606	1846	1	5 d 7
5613	5509	1807	2	5 d 7	5632	5588	1828	2	7 P 3	5651	5607	1847	2	2 P 5
5614	5570	1810	E 3	3 D 5	5633	5589	1829	E 3	5 D 1	5652	5608	1848	E 3	7 D 3
5615	5571	1811	4	7 P 3	5634	5590	1830	4	3 d 5	5653	5609	1849	4	5 P 1
5616	5572	1812	5	5 d 7	5635	5591	1831	5	7 P 3	5654	5610	1850	5	3 d 5
5617	5573	1813	E 6	2 D 5	5636	5592	1832	E 6	5 D 1	5655	5611	1851	E 6	7 P 6
5618	5574	1814	7	7 P 3	5637	5593	1833	7	3 d 5	5656	5612	1852	7	7 D 1
5619	5575	1815	E 8	5 P 3	5638	5594	1834	E 8	7 P 3	5657	5613	1853	E 8	3 d 7
5620	5576	1816	9	5 d 7	5639	5595	1835	9	7 P 3	5658	5614	1854	9	2 P 5
5621	5577	1817	10	2 D 3	5640	5596	1836	10	5 d 7	5659	5615	1855	10	7 P 3
5622	5578	1818	E 11	5 P 3	5641	5597	1837	E 11	2 D 5	5660	5616	1856	E 11	5 D 1
5623	5579	1819	12	5 d 7	5642	5598	1838	12	7 P 3	5661	5617	1857	12	3 d 5
5624	5580	1820	13	2 P 5	5643	5599	1839	13	5 d 7	5662	5618	1858	13	7 P 3
5625	5581	1821	E 14	7 D 3	5644	5600	1840	E 14	2 P 7	5663	5619	1859	E 14	5 P 3
5626	5582	1822	15	5 d 7	5645	5601	1841	15	2 D 3	5664	5620	1860	15	5 d 7
5627	5583	1823	16	2 P 5	5646	5602	1842	16	5 d 7	5665	5621	1861	16	2 D 3
5628	5584	1824	E 17	7 D 3	5647	5603	1843	E 17	2 P 7	5666	5622	1862	E 17	5 P 3
5629	5585	1825	18	5 P 1	5648	5604	1844	18	3 P 5	5667	5623	1863	18	5 d 7
5630	5586	1826	E 19	3 d 7	5649	5605	1845	E 19	7 D 3	5668	5624	1864	E 19	2 D 5

CYCLE CCXCVII.					CYCLE CCXCVIII.					CYCLE CCXCIX.				
Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.
5669	5625	1865	1	7 P 3	5688	5644	1884	1	3 d 5	5697	5663	1903	1	7 D 1
5670	5626	1866	2	5 d 7	5689	5645	1885	2	7 P 3	5698	5664	1904	2	3 d 5
5671	5627	1867	E 3	2 P 7	5690	5646	1886	E 3	5 P 3	5699	5665	1905	E 3	7 P 6
5672	5628	1868	4	2 D 3	5691	5647	1887	4	5 d 7	5700	5666	1906	4	5 d 7
5673	5629	1869	5	5 P 1	5692	5648	1888	5	2 D 3	5701	5667	1907	5	2 P 5
5674	5630	1870	E 6	3 d 7	5693	5649	1889	E 6	5 P 3	5702	5668	1908	E 6	2 D 5
5675	5631	1871	7	7 P 3	5694	5650	1890	7	5 d 7	5703	5669	1909	7	7 P 3
5676	5632	1872	E 8	2 D 5	5695	5651	1891	E 8	2 D 5	5704	5670	1910	E 8	5 D 1
5677	5633	1873	9	5 d 7	5696	5652	1892	9	7 P 3	5705	5671	1911	9	3 d 5
5678	5634	1874	10	2 P 5	5697	5653	1893	10	5 d 7	5706	5672	1912	10	7 P 3
5679	5635	1875	E 11	7 D 3	5698	5654	1894	E 11	2 P 7	5707	5673	1913	E 11	5 P 3
5680	5636	1876	12	5 P 1	5699	5655	1895	12	2 D 3	5708	5674	1914	12	5 d 7
5681	5637	1877	13	3 d 5	5700	5656	1896	13	5 P 1	5709	5675	1915	13	2 D 3
5682	5638	1878	E 14	7 P 5	5701	5657	1897	E 14	3 d 7	5710	5676	1916	E 14	5 P 3
5683	5639	1879	15	7 P 3	5702	5658	1898	15	2 P 5	5711	5677	1917	15	5 d 7
5684	5640	1880	16	5 d 7	5703	5659	1899	16	7 D 1	5712	5678	1918	16	2 P 5
5685	5641	1881	E 17	2 D 5	5704	5660	1900	E 17	3 d 7	5713	5679	1919	E 17	7 D 3
5686	5642	1882	18	7 P 3	5705	5661	1901	18	2 P 5	5714	5680	1920	18	5 d 7
5687	5643	1883	E 19	5 D 1	5706	5662	1902	E 19	7 P 5	5715	5681	1921	E 19	2 P 7

CYCLE CCC.					CYCLE CCCL.					CYCLE CCCII.				
Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.
5696	5662	1922	1	2 P 5	5745	5701	1941	1	5 d 7	5694	5720	1900	1	7 P 3
5697	5663	1923	2	7 D 1	5746	5702	1942	2	2 P 5	5695	5721	1901	2	5 d 7
5698	5664	1924	E 3	3 d 7	5747	5703	1943	E 3	7 P 3	5696	5722	1902	E 3	2 D 5
5699	5665	1925	4	2 P 5	5748	5704	1944	4	5 d 7	5697	5723	1903	4	7 P 3
5700	5666	1926	5	7 P 3	5749	5705	1945	5	2 P 5	5698	5724	1904	5	5 d 7
5701	5667	1927	E 6	5 D 1	5750	5706	1946	E 6	7 P 3	5699	5725	1905	E 6	2 P 5
5702	5668	1928	7	3 d 5	5751	5707	1947	7	5 P 1	5700	5726	1906	7	7 D 3
5703	5669	1929	E 8	7 P 3	5752	5708	1948	E 8	3 d 7	5701	5727	1907	E 8	5 P 3
5704	5670	1930	9	5 d 7	5753	5709	1949	9	2 P 5	5702	5728	1908	9	5 d 7
5705	5671	1931	10	2 D 3	5754	5710	1950	10	7 D 1	5703	5729	1909	10	2 P 5
5706	5672	1932	E 11	7 P 3	5755	5711	1951	E 11	3 d 7	5704	5730	1910	E 11	7 D 3
5707	5673	1933	12	7 P 3	5756	5712	1952	12	2 P 5	5705	5731	1911	12	5 d 7
5708	5674	1934	13	5 d 7	5757	5713	1953	13	7 P 3	5706	5732	1912	13	2 P 5
5709	5675	1935	E 14	2 D 5	5758	5714	1954	E 14	5 D 1	5707	5733	1913	E 14	7 D 3
5710	5676	1936	15	7 P 3	5759	5715	1955	15	3 d 5	5708	5734	1914	15	5 P 1
5711	5677	1937	16	5 d 7	5760	5716	1956	16	7 P 3	5709	5735	1915	16	3 d 5
5712	5678	1938	E 17	2 P 7	5761	5717	1957	E 17	5 d 7	5710	5736	1916	E 17	7 P 3
5713	5679	1939	18	2 D 3	5762	5718	1958	18	5 d 7	5711	5737	1917	18	7 D 1
5714	5700	1940	E 19	5 P 3	5763	5719	1959	E 19	2 D 5	5712	5738	1918	E 19	3 d 7

CYCLE CCCIII.					CYCLE CCCIV.					CYCLE CCCV.				
Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.
5883	5739	1979	1 2 P 5		6002	5758	1998	1 5 d 7		6021	5777	2017	1 2 D 2	
5884	5740	1980	2 7 P 3		6003	5759	1999	2 2 P 5		6022	5778	2018	2 5 d 7	
5885	5741	1981	E 3 5 D 1		6004	5760	2000	E 3 7 P 5		6023	5779	2019	E 8 2 P 7	
5886	5742	1982	4 3 d 5		6005	5761	2001	4 7 D 1		6024	5780	2020	4 2 P 5	
5887	5743	1983	5 7 P 3		6006	5762	2002	5 3 d 5		6025	5781	2021	5 7 D 1	
5888	5744	1984	E 6 5 P 3		6007	5763	2003	E 6 7 P 5		6026	5782	2022	E 6 3 d 7	
5889	5745	1985	7 5 d 7		6008	5764	2004	7 7 P 3		6027	5783	2023	7 2 P 5	
5890	5746	1986	E 8 3 D 5		6009	5765	2005	E 8 5 D 1		6028	5784	2024	E 8 7 D 3	
5891	5747	1987	9 7 P 3		6010	5766	2006	9 3 d 5		6029	5785	2025	9 5 P 1	
5892	5748	1988	10 5 d 7		6011	5767	2007	10 7 P 3		6030	5786	2026	10 3 d 5	
5893	5749	1989	E 11 2 D 5		6012	5768	2008	E 11 5 P 3		6031	5787	2027	E 11 7 P 5	
5894	5750	1990	12 7 P 3		6013	5769	2009	12 5 J 7		6032	5788	2028	12 7 P 3	
5895	5751	1991	13 5 d 7		6014	5770	2010	L 2 D 3		6033	5789	2029	13 5 d 7	
5896	5752	1992	E 14 2 P 7		6015	5771	2011	E 14 5 P 3		6034	5790	2030	E 14 2 D 5	
5897	5753	1993	15 2 D 3		6016	5772	2012	15 5 d 7		6035	5791	2031	15 7 P 2	
5898	5754	1994	16 5 P 1		6017	5773	2013	16 2 P 5		6036	5792	2032	16 5 d 7	
5899	5755	1995	E 17 3 d 7		6018	5774	2014	E 17 7 D 3		6037	5793	2033	E 17 2 D 6	
5900	5756	1996	18 2 P 5		6019	5775	2015	18 5 d 7		6038	5794	2034	18 7 P 2	
5901	5757	1997	E 19 7 D 3		6020	5776	2016	E 19 3 P 7		6039	5795	2035	E 19 5 P 2	

CYCLE CCCVI.					CYCLE CCCVI.				
Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.	Usherian year of the world.	Rabbinical year of the world.	Year of Christ.	Year of the lunar cycle.	Index.
6040	5796	2036	1 5 d 7		6050	5806	2046	E 11 3 d 7	
6041	5797	2037	2 2 D 3		6051	5807	2047	12 2 P 5	
6042	5798	2038	E 3 5 P 3		6052	5808	2048	13 7 D 1	
6043	5799	2039	4 5 d 7		6053	5809	2049	E 14 3 d 7	
6044	5800	2040	5 2 P 5		6054	5810	2050	15 2 P 3	
6045	5801	2041	E 6 7 D 3		6055	5811	2051	16 7 P 3	
6046	5802	2042	7 5 d 7		6056	5812	2052	E 17 5 D 1	
6047	5803	2043	E 8 2 P 7		6057	5813	2053	18 3 d 5	
6048	5804	2044	9 2 D 3		6058	5814	2054	E 19 7 P 5	
6049	5805	2045	10 5 P 1						

TABLE II.
COMPARATIVE VIEW OF THE MOST REMARKABLE ERAS.

Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
710	1	4004	<i>Creation of the World, according to Archbishop Usher's calculation by the Hebrew text.</i>
2366	1656	2368	<i>The Deluge.</i>
2480	1770	2254	<i>114 Era of Callisthenes.</i>
2795	2083	1921	<i>487 313</i> <i>Vocation of Abraham.</i>
2850	2240	1764	<i>584 470 137</i> <i>Deluge of Ogyges.</i>
3158	2448	1556	<i>792 678 265</i> <i>Arrival of Cecrops in Attica, with which the Arundelian marbles begin.</i>
3223	2513	1491	<i>837 743 430</i> <i>Exodus of Israel.</i>
3451	2741	1263	<i>658 238</i> <i>Expedition of the Argonauts.</i>
3450	2820	1164	<i>1050 737 307</i> <i>79</i> <i>Destruction of Troy, according to Eusebius.</i>
3702	2992	1012	<i>1336 1222 909 479 251</i> <i>172</i> <i>Foundation of Solomon's temple.</i>
3938	3228	776	<i>1572 1458 1145 715 487 408</i> <i>236</i> <i>Era of the Olympiads.</i>
3961	3251	753	<i>1595 1481 1168 758 510 431</i> <i>259 64</i> <i>Foundation of Rome, according to Varro.</i>
3987	3257	747	<i>1601 1487 1174 744 516 437 265 8.2</i> <i>7</i> <i>Era of Nabonassar.</i>
4178	3461	536	<i>1812 1698 1385 955 727 649 476 61.1</i> <i>218 212</i> <i>Restoration of the Jews, by Cyrus.</i>
4263	3573	431	<i>1917 1803 1490 1060 832 734 581 87.2</i> <i>323 318</i> <i>105</i> <i>Peloponnesian war.</i>
4402	3692	312	<i>2036 1922 1609 1179 951 873 700 117.1</i> <i>442 437 234 119</i> <i>Era of the Seleucide.</i>
4665	3955	49	<i>2299 2185 1872 1442 1114 1136 963 182.4</i> <i>705 700 487 382 263</i> <i>Era of the Antioch.</i>
4676	3966	38	<i>2310 2196 1883 1453 1125 1147 974 185.5</i> <i>716 711 498 393 274 11</i> <i>Era of Spain.</i>
4683	3973	31	<i>2317 2203 1890 1460 1132 1154 981 187.2</i> <i>723 718 505 400 281 18</i> <i>7</i> <i>Era of Actium, or of the Roman empire, under Augustus.</i>
4714	4004	A.D. 1	<i>2349 2235 1922 1492 1164 1185 1013 195.1</i> <i>1038 1033 821 716 597 334 293 316</i> <i>Era of Dioclesian, or of marriage.</i>
4997	4288	284	<i>2633 2519 2206 1776 1448 1469 1297 265.1</i> <i>1065 1061 849 744 625 362 351 344</i> <i>Era of Justinian the Great.</i>
5025	4316	312	<i>2661 2547 2234 1804 1476 1497 1325 273.1</i> <i>1065 1061 849 744 625 362 351 344</i> <i>Era of Justinian the Great.</i>
5335	4426	632	<i>2961 2867 2354 2124 1796 1817 1645 353.1</i> <i>1385 1381 1169 1064 945 682 671 663</i> <i>380 11</i> <i>Era of Mohammed.</i>
5345	4436	632	<i>2961 2867 2354 2124 1796 1817 1645 353.1</i> <i>1385 1381 1169 1064 945 682 671 663</i> <i>380 11</i> <i>Era of Mohammed.</i>
5409	5100	1096	<i>3445 3331 3018 2588 2260 2281 2109 469.1</i> <i>1849 1845 1635 1528 1409 1146 1135 1128 784 489 464 17</i> <i>Era of the Crusades.</i>
6401	5692	1688	<i>4037 3923 3610 3180 2852 2873 2701 61.1</i> <i>2241 2437 2225 2120 2001 1738 1727 1730 1376 1100 956 609</i> <i>Era of the Revolution in Great Britain.</i>
6502	5793	1789	<i>4138 4024 3711 3281 2953 2974 2802 642.3</i> <i>2542 2538 2326 2221 2102 1859 1828 1821 1477 1303 1037 710 101</i> <i>French Revolution.</i>
6505	5796	1792	<i>4141 4037 3714 3284 2977 2805 643.2</i> <i>2545 2541 2329 2224 2105 1842 1831 1824 1480 1306 1060 713 104 3</i> <i>Era of the French Republic. [in France.</i>
6597	5818	1814	<i>4163 4049 3736 3306 3479 2999 2827 650.1</i> <i>2567 2563 2351 2246 2127 1864 1853 1846 1502 1228 1082 735 126 25 22</i> <i>Restoration of the Bourbon dynasty</i>

A. M.	B. C.	Assyria.	Egypt.	Edom.	Babylon.	Media.	Furia.	Judah.	Israel.	Syria.	Macedonia.
3246	758	Tiglath-Pilezer	.	.	Nabonassar or Beladan	.	.	Jotham			
3247	747	.	.	.	Nabius	.	.	Ahaz	Hoshea		
3262	742	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3271	733	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3274	730	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3275	729	Shalmaneser	Sabaces, or So.	.	Jugues	.	.	Hezekiah	Kingdom de- stroyed, and the people carried to Assyria.		
3277	727	.	.	.	Merodach Baladan	.	.	.			
3278	726	.	.	.	Artianus	.	.	.			
3283	721	Sennacherib	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3289	715	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3294	710	Esarhaddon	.	.	Belibus	.	.	Manasseh			
3298	706	.	Girhakah	.	.	.	.	.			
3299	705	.	.	.	Esrhaddon (Babylon joined to Assyria)	.	.	.			
3302	702	.	.	.	Saosduchinus	.	.	.			
3304	700	.	.	.	Chiniladanus	.	.	.			
3306	698	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3321	753	Pasmetichus	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3334	670	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3337	667	Saosduchinus	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3357	647	Chiniladanus	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3361	643	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3363	641	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3378	626	.	.	.	Nabopolassar	.	.	.			
3379	625	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3387	617	Pharaoh Necho	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3392	612	Nineveh de- stroyed, and the empire divided	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3394	610	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3395	609	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3377	607	between the Ba- bylonians and Medians.	.	.	Nebuchadnezzar	.	.	.			
3404	600	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3405	599	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3406	598	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3410	594	.	Pharaoh	.	.	.	.	.			
3416	588	.	Hophra	.	.	.	.	.			
3419	586	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3434	570	.	Amasis	.	.	.	.	.			
3442	562	.	.	.	Evil Merodach	.	.	.			
3444	560	.	.	.	Nerigissar	.	.	.			
3445	559	.	.	.	Laborosoarchod	.	.	.			
3449	555	.	.	.	.	.	.	.			
3466	538	.	.	.	Belshazzar	.	.	.			
		.	.	.	Cyrus takes Babylon & Cy- sares succeeds Belshaz. government	.	.	.			

A. M.	B. C.	Egypt	Babylon. Media. Persia.	The Hebrews.	Syria.	Macedonia or Greece.
3468	538	..	Cyrus unites these empires, & founds the Medo-Persian Empire.	The Jews return to Palestine, and rebuild the temple. They remain subject to Persia.		
3478	530	..	Cambyses or Ahasuerus.			Alexander
3479	525	Psammetichus	Smerdis or Artaxerxes		..	
3482	522	..	Darius Hystaspes.		..	Perdiccas II.
3483	521	..	..		..	Archelaus
3487	497	..	Xerxes	..		
3518	466	..	Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ahasuerus	Ezra visits Jerusalem, and undertakes the government.		
3540	464	..	Xerxes, Darius Nothus	Nehemiah's last reformation		
3550	454	..	..			
3580	424	..	Artaxerxes Mnemon			
3591	413	Amyrtæus	..			Amyntas
3597	407	Pausanias	..		..	Pausanias
3603	401	Psammetichus	..		..	Argæus
3605	399	..	..			
3606	398	Nephereus	..			
3614	390	..	..			
3615	389	Achoris	..			
3628	376	Psammuthis	..			Alexander II. Ptolemy
3629	375	Nepherites Nectanebis	..		..	Perdiccas III.
3634	370	..	..		..	
3638	366	..	..		..	Philip
3641	363	Tachos. Nectanebus	..			
3644	360	..	Ochus			
3645	359	..	..			
3654	350	Egypt finally reduced by Ochus.	..			
3666	338	..	Arogus or Arsces			Alexander the Great
3668	336	..	Darius Codomanus	..	..	
3673	331	..	The empire terminated by Alexander, and succeeded by the Macedonian or Grecian	(Many carried into Egypt.)	Antigonus Seleucus	Alexander dies, and the empire is divided
3681	323	..	..		..	Cassander, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander
3703	301	Ptolemy Soter	..		..	Demetrius
3706	298	..	..		..	Pyrrhus
3710	294	..	..		..	Lysimachus
3717	287	..	..		..	Seleucus
3718	286	..	..		..	Ptolemy Cerannus
3720	284	Ptolemy Philadelphus	..		..	Meleager
3723	281	..	..		..	
3724	280	..	..		..	
3725	279	..	..		Antiochus Soter	

A. M.	B. C.	Egypt:	The Hebrews.	Syria.	Macedonia.	Rome.
3727	277	..	..	Antiochus Theus	Antipater	
3713	291	..	..	Seleucus Callinicus	Antigonus Gonatas	
3707	297	..	..	..	..	
3708	246	..	..	..	Demetrius	
3761	243	..	..	Seleucus Ceraunus	Antigonus Doson	
3722	232	..	..	Antiochus the Great	Philip	
3779	225	..	..	Seleucus Philopater	Perseus	
3781	223	..	..	Antiochus Epiphanes		
3783	221	..	During the whole of this period the Jews suffered greatly, in consequence of the wars carried on between the three powers, among whom Macedonia had been divided. The reader may advantageously read Mr. Leif-child's Summary, "Help," p. 70, &c.			
3800	204	..	..			
3817	187	..	..			
3824	180	..	..			
3825	179	..	..			
3829	175	..	..			
3834	170	..	..			
3836	168	..	..			
3840	164	..	..	Antiochus Eupator		
3842	162	..	..	Demetrius Soter		
3854	150	..	..	Alexander Balas		
3859	145	..	..	Demetrius Nicator		
3862	141	..	..			
3884	140	..	..	Antiochus Sidetes		
3869	135	..	..	Demetrius Nicator, again.		
3874	130	..	..	Zebina		
3878	125	..	..	Antiochus Gryphus		
3881	123	..	..			
3887	117	..	..			
3897	107	..	..			
3898	106	..	..			
3907	197	..	..			
3911	93	..	..			
3921	83	..	..			
3924	80	..	..			
3925	79	..	..			
3934	70	..	..			
3939	65	..	..			
3941	63	..	..			
3953	51	..	..			
3964	40	..	..			
3970	30	..	..			
3977	27	..	..			
4060	4	..	..			
						Caesar Augustus

A. M.	A. D.	Egypt.	The Hebrews.	Syria.	Macedonia.	Rome.
4002	2	..	Archelaus, Herod, and Philip.			
4012	8	..	Made a Roman Province			
4014	10	..	Procurators,			
4017	13	..	Coponius,		..	Tiberius
4018	14	..	M. Ambivius			
4019	15	..	An. Rufus	..	..	Caligula
4036	26	..	Val. Gratus	..	..	Claudius
4041	37	..	Pontius Pilate			
4046	41	..	..			
4046	40	..	(Herod Agrippa, king.)			
4049	43	..	Cuspius Fadus		..	Nero
4050	46	..	Tiberius Alexander		..	Galba
4052	48	..	Ventidius Cumanus	..	..	Otho
4057	53	..	Felix	..	..	Vitellius
4068	64	..	..	..	..	Vespasian
4068	62	..	Festus	..	..	
4072	68	..	..	..	..	Titus
4073	69	..	Jerusalem destroyed	..	..	Domitian
4074	70	..	..	..	..	Nerva
4083	79	..	..	..	..	Trajan
4085	81	..	..	..	..	
4100	96	..	..	..	..	
4102	98	..	..	..	..	

NOTE.—The Procurators, under the Roman emperors, were officers sent into the provinces, to regulate and receive the public revenue ; but, because the Jews were looked upon as a rebellious people, besides the authority over the revenue, they were invested with all the power of a Pro-consul, even a power of life and death.

TABLE IV.

A SYNCHRONICAL ARRANGEMENT OF REMARKABLE EVENTS, IN SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY, FROM THE CREATION OF THE WORLD TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

Events of uncertain date are marked thus ().*

EPOCH A I.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE DELUGE; 1656 YEARS.

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
710	1	4004	The work of creation begun, according to Usher's computation of the Hebrew text, on Sunday the 23d of October. See Gen. i. First day: the heavens and the earth created; origin of light; distinction between day and night. Second day: the firmament created, and the superior and inferior waters divided. Third day: the earth drained; seas, lakes, rivers, &c., formed; trees, plants, and vegetables produced. Fourth day: the sun, moon, stars, and planetary system created and arranged. Fifth day: fowls and fishes produced. Sixth day: quadrupeds, reptiles, insects, and lastly man, created. The garden of Eden planted, and Adam and his wife placed therein. Seventh day: the first sabbath or day of rest, on Saturday, October 29. * The first woman sins; leads her husband into the transgression; and both are expelled the garden of Eden. The woman receives the name of Eve, as being the mother of all mankind. Expiatory sacrifices first instituted.
711	2	4002	* Cain and Abel born about this time.
839	129	3875	* Abel murdered by Cain.
840	130	3874	Seth born, the second of the patriarchs before the flood; Adam being the first.
945	235	3769	Enos, son of Seth, born, the third patriarch, in whose days it is said, Gen. iv. 26, "men began to call <i>upon</i> the name of the Lord;" or, as some translate, "men began to call <i>themselves by</i> the name of the Lord:" hence originated the distinction between the descendants of Seth, who are called the <i>sons of God</i> ; and those of Cain, who are denominated <i>sons of men</i> . It is also supposed that idolatry was introduced by the latter about this time.
1035	325	3769	Cainan, the fourth patriarch, born, in the 90th year of Enos.
1105	395	3609	Mahalaleel, the fifth patriarch, born, in the 70th year of Cainan.
1170	460	3544	Jared, the sixth patriarch, born, in the 65th year of Mahalaleel.
1332	622	3882	Enoch, the seventh patriarch, born, in the 162nd year of Jared.
1397	687	3317	Methuselah, the eighth patriarch, born, in the 65th year of Enoch.
1584	874	3130	Lamech, the ninth patriarch, born, in the 187th year of Methuselah.
1640	930	3074	Death of Adam, at the age of 930 years.
1697	987	3017	Enoch, for his piety, translated to heaven, in his 365th year.
1752	1042	2962	Seth dies, at the age of 912 years.
1766	1056	2948	Noah, the tenth patriarch before the flood, born, in the 182d year of Lamech.
1850	1140	2864	Enos dies, aged 905 years.
1945	1235	2769	Cainan dies, aged 910 years.
2000	1290	2714	Mahalaleel dies, aged 895 years.
2132	1422	2582	Jared dies, aged 962 years.
2245	1535	2469	God reveals to Noah his purpose of destroying the inhabitants of the earth by a general deluge; commissions him to preach repentance, and commands him to prepare an ark, or vessel, for the preservation of himself and family from the impending judgment. Gen. vi. 5, <i>et seq.</i>
2266	1556	2448	Japheth, eldest son of Noah, born.
2268	1558	2446	Shem, second son of Noah, born. He is considered as the first of the patriarchs after the flood.
2270	1560	2444	Ham, the youngest son of Noah, born about this time.

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.
2361	1651	2353
2366	1656	2348

Lamech, father of Noah, dies, aged 777.

Methuselah dies, aged 969 years, being the oldest of all men.

The preaching of Noah having produced no general reformation, the Almighty orders him to enter the ark with his own family only, and the animals who were instinctively directed to it. This takes place on the 17th day of the second month (which, according to Archbishop Usher's calculation, was Sunday, November 30), and on that day se'nnight the rain begins and continues forty days, as described Gen. vii. 11, *et seq.* The whole period of the deluge was 150 days.

EPOCH A II.

FROM THE DELUGE TO THE VOCATION OF ABRAHAM; 427 YEARS.

2367	1657	2347	The deluge.—On Wednesday, May 6, the ark rests on the mountains of Ararat; but Noah does not quit it till Friday, December 18.
2368	1658	2346	Arphaxad, the first patriarch after the flood, born.
2373	1663	2341	Malediction of Canaan, youngest son of Ham.
2403	1693	2311	Salah, the second postdiluvian patriarch, born.
2433	1723	2281	Eber born, whose name signifies <i>passage</i> ; whence it is conjectured that about this time the first migration from the neighbourhood of Ararat took place. It probably consisted of the younger branches of the family of Ham, who, travelling towards the west and south, settled in Phœnicia and Egypt.
2467	1757	2247	Peleg born, in whose days the earth was divided, as his name implies. *The tower of Babel built by Noah's posterity, as a rallying point, in the plain of Shinar, whereupon God miraculously confounds their language, and causes them to disperse.— <i>Usher.</i>
2469	1759	2245	*Asshur begins the kingdom of Assyria, according to the general notion of chronologers.
2490	1770	2224	The celestial observations of the Chaldeans are begun at Babylon, according to a register sent by Callisthenes to Aristotle, B. C. 331, containing the astitial phenomena of 1903 years.
2481	1771	2233	*Nimrod, surnamed Belus, begins the kingdom of Babel, or Babylon, about this time, and expels Asshur from the south of the land of Shinar, who retires to the east bank of the Tigris, and builds Nineveh and other cities. About the same time, according to Mr. Bryant, the Cushites, or progeny of Cush, the father of Nimrod, project the tower of Babel.
2497	1787	2217	Reu born, the fourth of the postdiluvian patriarchs.
2516	1806	2198	*The first dynasty of Chinese emperors, called <i>Hya</i> , begins, and lasts 441 years, under 17 emperors.
2526	1816	2188	*The kingdom of Egypt begins, under Mizor, or Metzor, the son of Ham, chief of the tribe called <i>Mizraim</i> .
2529	1819	2185	Serug, the fifth postdiluvian patriarch, born.
2558	1848	2156	*Babel overthrown, according to Mr. Bryant, and the lip of the builders confounded. The Chaldean priests collect their sacred utensils, and, returning north-westward, build a city called Shinar (the Singara of Ptolemy), in Mesopotamia.
2559	1849	2155	Nahor, the sixth of the patriarchs, born.—The Assyrians begin to return to the south of Shinar, or Babylonia.—*Serug settles in Ur of the Chaldees.
2588	1878	2126	Birth of Terah, the seventh patriarch from Shem.
2600	1890	2114	Asshur, having subjugated the Cushites, assumes the regal title of Belus, and reigns 55 years, which begins the kingdom of Assyria.
2610	1900	2104	*Noah is by some supposed about this time to have founded the Chinese monarchy.—He is known to the natives under the name of Fo-hi.
2625	1915	2089	*Ægialus settles in the Peloponnesus, and begins a kingdom, at first called <i>Ægialeia</i> , afterwards <i>Apia</i> , and finally <i>Sicyon</i> , being the oldest of the Grecian states.
2655	1945	2059	*Ninus, son and successor of Asshur, begins to reign at Nineveh.
2665	1955	2049	Ninus, after a long siege, takes the city of Shinar from the Chasdim, or Chaldeans, and appoints a viceroy there. Soon afterwards, he marries Semiramis, of

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
			Cuthsean extraction, by which means the Sabian idolatry is introduced among the posterity of Shem.
2656	1946	2058	*Acmon and Dæas, sons of Manus, or Thorgama (the Hypsistos of Sanchoniatho, and the Ashkenaz of Moses), set out on their celebrated expedition from Phrygia into Cappadocia, Armenia, and the parts of Scythia on the north and east of the Caspian Sea; on their return, they assume the title of Titans, or "sons of the earth," or of "the sun."
2658	1948	2056	Nahor and Haran, sons of Terah, born.
2697	1987	2017	The 16th dynasty (according to Eusebius) of five Theban kings begins in Egypt, and continues 190 years. Their names are unknown.
2706	1996	2008	Peleg dies, aged 239.
2707	1997	2007	Nahor dies, aged 148.—Semiramis succeeds her husband Ninus in Assyria, and soon afterwards lays the foundation of Babylon. The Cuthites revolt, and are defeated and dispersed.
2712	2002	2002	A numerous body of Cuthites, having been expelled the dominions of Semiramis, enter Egypt, under the title of <i>Hyc-sos</i> , or <i>King-Shepherds</i> , and subjugate the lower country during 259 years. This is the 17th dynasty of Manetho.
2716	2006	1998	Noah dies, aged 950 years; 350 years after the flood.
2718	2008	1996	Birth of Abram, the eighth of the patriarchs.
2721	2011	1993	*Uranus, the same as Cœsus, son of Acmon, begins to reign in Asia Minor, and soon afterwards passes into Europe, and begins the empire of the Celtes, or descendants of Gomer, the eldest son of Japheth.
2728	2018	1986	Birth of Sarai, wife of Abram.
2736	2026	1978	Reu dies, aged 239.
2737	2027	1977	*The city of Damascus is said to have been built about this time.
2740	2039	1965	Ninyas, or Zameis, succeeds his mother Semiramis at Babylon and Nineveh, and reigns 38 years. To secure his western provinces, he appoints a viceroy at Shinar.
2759	2049	1955	Serug dies, at the age of 230.
2776	2066	1938	The Cuthites in Asia, taking advantage of the indolence of Ninyas, form a general insurrection; which gives rise to a coalition of princes of the line of Shem, with Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, or Persia, at their head. This is the beginning of the first Titanic war, which lasts about 11 years.
2787	2077	1927	Arius, or Arioch, succeeds Ninyas in the kingdom of Assyria, and reigns 30 years. The first Titanic war concludes with the total subjugation of the Cuthites: Chedorlaomer, king of Elam (<i>Persia</i>), conquers the kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, Adma, Zeboim, and Bela, or Zoar, and keeps them in subjection 12 years. Tidal, king of nations (or of Syria), reigns about this time.
			*Uranus deposed, and the Celtic empire usurped by his youngest son Ilus, or Saturn, the first prince that ever wore a crown. Crea reigns in Crete about the same time.
2788	2078	1926	Abram removes from Ur of the Chaldees, to Haran, in Mesopotamia, taking with him his nephew Lot, his wife Sarai, and his father Terah. At this time the idolatrous worship introduced by Semiramis had obtained a great ascendant in Assyria.
			*Zoroaster the Bactrian, chief of the Guebres, or fire-worshippers, and Hermes, the Egyptian, are reputed to have lived about this time.
2793	2083	1921	Terah, the father of Abram, dies, aged 205. Abram, in obedience to the divine command, removes into Canaan, being 75 years of age. The 430 years of sojourning, spoken of <i>Exod.</i> xii. 40, 41, are generally reckoned from this epocha.

EPOCHÆ III.

FROM THE VOCATION OF ABRAHAM TO THE EXODUS OF ISRAEL; 430 YEARS.

2794	2084	1920	Abram goes into Egypt, on account of a famine in Canaan; and causes Sarai to pass for his sister.
2796	2086	1918	Abram having returned with his family to Canaan, Lot separates himself from him, and goes to Sodom; while Abram resides in the valley of Mamre, near Hebron.
2800	2090	1914	Revolt of the kings of Sodom, &c., from Chedorlaomer, which occasions a war

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
			the next year, when the king of Sodom is defeated, and Lot is taken away among the captives.
2801	2091	1913	Abram defeats the troops of Chedorlaomer, rescues Lot and the other captives, and is blessed by Melchisedec, priest and king of Salem; on this occasion Abram is supposed to have begun the practice of giving tithes.
2803	2093	1911	God promises a numerous posterity to Abram.
2804	2094	1910	Ishmael born to Abram, of his concubine Hagar. About the same time Bela, the first king of the Horites, begins to reign.
2806	2096	1908	Arphaxad dies, 403 years after the birth of Salah.
2810	2100	1904	*Jupiter, son of Saturn, king of the Celtes, born, according to <i>Pasron's</i> calculation.
2817	2107	1897	God makes a covenant with Abram—enjoins the rite of circumcision—changes his name to Abraham, and his wife's to Sarah—and gives them the promise of a legitimate son. The cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, &c., destroyed; but Lot is delivered, and dwells in a cave of the mountains, with his two daughters.
2818	2108	1896	Isaac, the child of promise, born to Abraham of Sarah; Abraham being 100 years old.—About the same time the daughters of Lot, by an incestuous commerce with their father, give birth to Moab and Ben-ammi, heads of the Moabites and Ammonites.
2820	2110	1894	Ishmael and his mother Hagar dismissed from Abraham's house.
2828	2118	1886	Treaty between Abraham and Abimelech, king of Gerar, relative to the well of Beer-sheba.
2836	2126	1878	Salah dies, 403 years after the birth of Eber.
2843	2133	1871	Isaac being 25 years of age, his father is commanded to offer him up in sacrifice to God; but the Almighty substitutes a ram in his stead, on finding the faith of Abraham unshaken.
2851	2141	1863	*Second revolt of the Titans, by whom Saturn is deposed; but by the timely arrival of Jupiter with forces from Crete, the rebellion is checked, and Saturn restored.
2855	2145	1859	Sarah dies, aged 127 years.
2858	2148	1856	Isaac marries Rebekah.
2864	2154	1850	*Abraham marries Keturah about this time.
2868	2158	1846	Shem, son of Noah, dies at the age of 600 years.
2872	2162	1842	*Jupiter, at the age of 82, deposes his father, and reigns in Thessaly 60 years. A third revolt, better known by the title of the <i>Giants' war</i> , quickly ensues; Jupiter and his friends are obliged to seek refuge in Egypt, and other distant countries, till the valour of Hercules enables them to return, and the Titans are totally overthrown.
2878	2168	1836	Esau and Jacob born; their father being 60 years of age.
2891	2181	1823	*The kingdom of Argos begun by Inachus, son of Oceanus, and cousin to Jupiter, whose lieutenant he appears to have been.— <i>Lenglet Dufresnoy</i> .
2892	2182	1822	*Memnon, the Egyptian, is by some supposed to have invented letters. According to the supputation of our tables, he is the same with Amenophis II., who began to reign B. C. 1718, and is the Pharaoh who promoted Joseph.
2893	2183	1821	Abraham dies, aged 175 years.
2897	2187	1817	Eber dies, 430 years after the birth of Peleg.
2918	2208	1796	*Ogyges reigns over Bœotia, Attica, &c., 1020 years before the first Olympiad. *Esau marries two Canaanitish women about this time.
2932	2222	1782	*Jupiter dies, aged 122, and the empire of the Celtes is dissolved.— <i>Pasron</i>
2934	2224	1780	Amenophis I., king of Thebes and Memphis, in Egypt, having united most of the minor states of that country, and broken the power of the Hyc-sos, assumes the title of Pharaoh, or universal monarch.
2935	2225	1779	Jacob by subtlety obtains his father's blessing, which had been promised to Esau—goes to Haran, and engages to serve his uncle Laban seven years for Rachel.
2941	2231	1773	Ishmael dies, aged 137 years.
2942	2232	1772	Jacob marries Leah and Rachel.
2950	2240	1764	*Deluge of Ogyges, in Bœotia and Attica, in consequence of which the latter lies waste for upwards of 200 years, till the arrival of Cecrops.
2952	2242	1762	The city of Zancle (now Messina) in Sicily built by pirates.—Evocheüs begins to reign over the Chaldeans, 224 years before the Arabs got possession of that country.— <i>Julius Africanus</i> . He is supposed by Usher to be the same with

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
			Belus, afterwards worshipped at Babylon.—Mr. Bryant thinks his name indicates him to be the same with Bacchus.
2267	2247	1757	The second dynasty of Chinese emperors, called <i>Chang</i> , and afterwards <i>Yng</i> , begins, and continues 636 years, under 30 emperors.
2271	2261	1743	The Hyo-soe, or Shepherd-Kings, expelled Egypt by Am-oasis, or Tuth-mosis.
2275	2265	1739	Jacob and his family, unknown to Laban, set out on their return to Canaan; Laban pursues them; but being warned of God, makes a friendly treaty with Jacob, on overtaking him, and returns. Jacob, pursuing his journey, wrestles with an angel, who changes his name to Israel—meets Esau, and is reconciled to him—and finally settles among the Shechemites in Canaan. Job is supposed to have lived about this time.
2283	2273	1731	Rape of Dinah, Jacob's daughter, which causes the destruction of Shechem and his people, by Simeon and Levi.
2286	2276	1728	Joseph sold by his brethren, into Egypt, at the age of 17 years.
2295	2285	1719	Joseph cast into prison by Potiphar, on a false accusation of his mistress.
2298	2288	1716	Isaac dies at the age of 180.
2299	2289	1715	Joseph interprets the king's two prophetic dreams, and is promoted to the first place in Pharaoh's house and kingdom.—The seven years of plenty begin the following year.
3006	2296	1708	The seven years of famine begin.
3007	2297	1707	Joseph's brethren go into Egypt, to purchase corn, the first time; on their return, the next year, he discovers himself to them, and invites his father to settle in Egypt, which he complies with.
3012	2302	1702	The Egyptians, having expended all their money in the purchase of corn from the king's stores, Joseph persuades them to barter their lands, and afterwards lets them out, at a perpetual rent-tax of a fifth part of their produce.
3013	2303	1701	The seven years of famine end.
3025	2315	1689	Jacob, on his death-bed, predicts the advent of the Messiah in the tribe of Judah, and expires at the age of 147.
3079	2369	1635	Joseph foretels the egress of the Israelites from Egypt, desires to have his bones taken along with them, and dies at the age of 110, having been governor or prefect of Egypt during 80 years.—The history of the book of Genesis ends here, containing a period of 2369 years.
3099	2389	1615	The Ethiopians, from the banks of the Indus, settle in the vicinity of Egypt.
3107	2397	1607	The nineteenth dynasty begins in Egypt, under Sethos-Egyptus, or Ammesis, or Sesostris, from whom the country received the name of Egypt. This dynasty persecuted the Israelites, and appears to have been of the race of Ethiopians mentioned in the last event.
3132	2422	1582	The Chronology of the Arundelian Marbles begins with the arrival of Cecrops in Attica, 25 years before the usual computation.
3140	2430	1574	Aaron born.
3140	2430	1573	Pharaoh (supposed to be Rhampses, or Rameases-Miamum) issues a decree for drowning the Hebrew male children.
3143	2433	1571	Moses born, and having been concealed three months by his mother, is then exposed in a basket of rushes on the banks of the river, where he is found—and adopted by the king's daughter.
3158	2448	1556	Cecrops arrives in Attica, with a colony of Saïtes, from Egypt, and founds the kingdom of Athens, 780 years before the first Olympiad.— <i>Eusebius</i> .
3166	2456	1548	Reign of Deucalion at Thermopylæ.
3168	2458	1546	Scamander passes from Crete into Phrygia, and begins the kingdom of Troy.
3183	2473	1531	Moses, being come of age, refuses to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and visits the Israelites in their afflictions; kills one of the Egyptian task-masters; and, to avoid the resentment of the king, flies into Midian, where he keeps the flocks of Jethro 40 years.
3194	2484	1520	The city of Ephira, or Corinth, rebuilt.—*Pelægus reigns in Arcadia, about this time.
3198	2488	1516	*Lelex begins a kingdom in the Peloponnesus, called from him Lelegia, but afterwards Lacedæmon.
3207	2497	1507	The council of Areopagus established at Athens, on occasion of the trial of Mars, at the suit of Neptune, for the murder of Halirrhottus, a son of the latter, who had violated Alcippe, a daughter of Mars.
3211	2501	1503	Deluge of Deucalion in Thessaly.—Deucalion arrives in Attica the following year.

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
3215	2505	1499	Polycæon, son of Lelex, begins the kingdom of Messenia.
3217	2507	1497	Amphictyon, son of Deucalion, seizes the kingdom of Athens.—Amphictyon, son of Helen, and nephew to the preceding king of Athens, establishes the council of the Amphictyons.
			Tyre supposed to be built by Agenor the Egyptian.
3221	2511	1493	*Europa, daughter of Agenor, having been carried off by pirates, her three brothers, Cadmus, Phoenix, and Cilix, go in quest of her; but being unsuccessful, Cadmus settles in Bœotia, and begins the kingdom of Thebes; Phoenix settles nearer home, in the country called after him Phœnicia; and Cilix takes up his abode in a part of Asia Minor, named from him Cilicia. On this occasion Cadmus introduces letters into Greece.
3223	2513	1491	God appears to Moses in a burning bush, in the land of Midian, and sends him into Egypt, where he performs many miracles, and inflicts ten successive plagues on the king and his people, until he allows the Israelites to depart, in number amounting to 600,000 adults, besides children, on Tuesday, the 5th of May, which exactly completed the 430 years of sojourning. On the Monday following the Israelites pass through the Red Sea, where Pharaoh and his host, attempting to pursue, are all drowned. About the 22nd of June, the Israelites arrive in the Desert of Sin, or Sinai, where they remain nearly a year, and receive the ten commandments, with divers ceremonial statutes: the tabernacle is also set up, containing the Ark of the Covenant.

EPOCH A IV

FROM THE EXODUS OF ISRAEL TO THE FOUNDATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE: 480 YEARS.

3224	2514	1490	Lacedæmon, having married Sparta, daughter of Eurotus, king of Lelegia, builds a city, which he calls after her. His own name is also given to the kingdom.
3229	2519	1485	Danaüs, surnamed Armais, arrives in Greece, from Egypt, in the first ship ever seen in the former country; bringing his 50 daughters, better known by the name of Danaïdes.
3234	2524	1480	*The city of Dardania (afterwards called Troy) supposed to be built by Dardanus.
3261	2551	1453	The first Olympic games celebrated at Elis, by the Idæi Dactyli.
3262	2552	1452	Aaron dies, at the age of 122, in the land of Moab, where Moses finishes his five books, and dies himself, the next year, aged 120.
3263	2553	1451	Joshua leads the Israelites through the river Jordan, into the land of Canaan, on Friday the 30th of April. The waters of the river are divided on this occasion, to afford a free passage, as those of the Red Sea had been, 40 years before, when the Israelites left Egypt.—Jericho is the first city taken by them.
3269	2559	1445	Joshua, having conquered one and thirty kings of the Canaanites, divides the country among the tribes of Israel, and rests from his conquests upon the sabbatical year, which commences at the autumnal equinox.
3288	2578	1426	Joshua dies at the age of 110.
3301	2591	1413	*The Israelites, for their idolatry, are delivered into the power of Chushan-Rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia, who keeps them in bondage eight years.
3304	2594	1410	The city of Ephra rebuilt, and called Corinth; about which time it is seized by Sisypheus, and made an independent kingdom.
3308	2598	1406	Minos governs with great splendour in Crete, and gives his people a code of laws, celebrated for their wisdom and equity.—The Idæi Dactyli discover iron in that island, from the accidental burning of Mount Ida.
3309	2599	1405	*Othniel, the first judge, delivers Israel, by defeating the forces of Chushan-Rishathaim; and gives his country rest (40 years, according to the text; or, as some critics read, in the 40th year after that given by Joshua).
3324	2614	1390	*The tragical event of the Levite's concubine happens in Israel, which gives occasion to the destruction of almost the whole tribe of Benjamin.— <i>Judges</i> xix., <i>et seq.</i>
3331	2621	1383	Ceres arrives at Athens, and instructs the people in agriculture; while her pupil Triptolemus travels through various provinces of Greece for the same purpose. On his return, he institutes the Eleusinian mysteries, in honour of his patroness.
3347	2637	1367	Janus arrives in Italy, from Thessaly, and settles with his companions on Mount Janiculum, where he reigns 36 years.

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
3358	2648	1356	The Eleusinian mysteries introduced at Athens, by Eumolpus, son of Musseus, frequently called the inventor of them.
3364	2654	1350	Sicyon reigns in Ægialeia, which receives his name.
3371	2661	1343	*The Israelites, relapsing into idolatry, are enslaved by Eglon, king of Moab, for 18 years.
3373	2663	1341	Tros enlarges or rebuilds his capital, and names it, after himself, Troy. The rape of Ganymedes happens the same year.
3388	2678	1326	The Isthmian games instituted.
3389	2679	1325	*Ehud, the second judge of Israel, delivers his country, and kills Eglon.
3401	2691	1313	Perseus begins the kingdom of Mycense, by the division of that of Argos, of which Mycense takes the most considerable share.
3407	2697	1307	The Olympic games celebrated by Pelops. About the same time Phocus begins the kingdom of Phocis.
3409	2699	1305	*The third servitude of the Israelites, under Jabin, king of Canaan; which continues 20 years.
3429	2719	1285	*Deborah, the prophetess, and third judge of Israel, and Barak, defeat the Canaanites under Sisera.
3430	2720	1284	The Siculi emigrate from Italy, and settle in the island of Trinacria, from them called <i>Sicily</i> , about three generations before the Trojan war; some writers will have the first colony to arrive in Sicily in the year 1294 B. C.; and a second in 1264.
			The Calydonian hunt takes place about this time.
3451	2741	1263	Jason and the Argonauts sail for Colchis, 79 years before the fall of Troy; or, according to some, in the year 1225 B. C. Adrastus, king of Argos, celebrates the Pythian games.
3459	2749	1255	The city of Tyre rebuilt.
3462	2752	1252	*The fourth servitude of the Israelites, under the Midianites, begins, and continues seven years.
3469	2759	1245	The Midianites routed by Gideon, surnamed Jerubbabel, fourth judge of Israel.
3471	2761	1243	Evander conducts a colony of Arcadians into Italy, and brings the Greek alphabet with him. He reigned over a district round Mounts Aventine and Palatine.
3478	2768	1236	Abimelech, son of Gideon, usurps the title of king over a part of Israel for three years.
3480	2770	1234	Theseus collects the twelve cities of Attica into one, establishes a democracy, and renews the Isthmian games. Some say this happened in 1231 B. C.
3481	2771	1233	*Carthage supposed to be founded by a colony of Tyrians.
3489	2779	1225	The Theban war of the seven heroes, occasioned by the quarrel between Eteocles and his brother Polynices, joint sovereigns of Thebes.
3496	2786	1218	Hercules celebrates the Olympic games.
3498	2788	1216	War of the Epigoni, sons and relatives of the seven heroes who had fallen before the walls of Thebes.
			The Amazons, invading Attica, are defeated by Theseus.
3501	2791	1213	*Rape of Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, king of Lacedæmon, by Theseus. She is afterwards recovered by her brothers Castor and Pollux.
3508	2798	1206	*The fifth servitude of the Israelites, under the Philistines and Ammonites, continues 18 years.
3513	2803	1201	Tyndareus marries Helen to Menelaus, an exile prince of Messinia, and resigns his throne to him.
3516	2806	1198	Helen elopes from Sparta with Alexander Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy. Menelaus invites the sovereigns of Greece to avenge his injury.
3526	2811	1193	Beginning of the siege of Troy; or, rather, of the invasion of Phrygia Minor.
3526	2816	1188	*Jephthah, the seventh judge of Israel, defeats the Ammonites, &c. (For an account of his rash vow, see Judg. xi. 29—40.)
3530	2820	1184	Troy taken and burned in the night between the 7th and 8th, or 23rd and 24th of the month Thargelion, 408 years before the first Olympiad.— <i>Apollodorus</i> . (The Arundelian marbles place this event in 1209 B. C.)
			Æneas sails for Thrace in the beginning of autumn, and winters there.
3535	2825	1179	The Lydians acquire the maritime power of the Mediterranean.
3538	2828	1176	The city of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, built by Teucer, son of Telamon, and brother to Ajax.—Salentum, on the coast of Calabria, founded by Idomeneus, the exiled king of Crete.

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
3544	2834	1170	Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, reigns at Epirus, of which kingdom he is supposed to have been the founder.
3557	2847	1157	*Eli, high-priest, and the eleventh judge of Israel, governs 40 years.
3553	2848	1156	*The 40 years' servitude to the Philistines begins.
3562	2852	5211	The city of Alba-Longa, built by Ascanius, son of Æneas, and king of the Latines.—Molossus, son of Pyrrhus-Neoptolemus and Andromache, reigns over a part of Epirus; from whom the inhabitants were called Molossi.
3573	2863	1141	The Amazons burn the temple of Diana, at Ephesus.
3578	2868	1136	*Samson slays 1000 Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass, and, by other feats of strength and stratagem weakens the enemies of his country.
3586	2876	1128	Thebes becomes a republic on the death of Xanthus.
3590	2880	1124	The Æolians migrate to Asia Minor and the adjacent isles, to which they give the name of Æolia, 80 years before the migration of the Ionians.
3597	2887	1117	Samson betrayed by Delilah.—His death.—Eli also dies, on hearing that his sons were slain in battle, and that the Ark was taken by the Philistines.—Samuel, twelfth judge, succeeds to the high-priesthood, and obtains a signal victory over the Philistines, at Ebenezer.
3599	2889	1115	About this time, the use of the mariner's compass is said to have been known in China.
3610	2900	1104	The Heraclidæ return to the Peloponnesus.
3612	2902	1102	On the death of Aristodemus, his twin-sons, Procles and Eurysthenes, reign jointly at Lacedæmon; which double succession is continued for upwards of 800 years.
3613	2903	1101	The third dynasty of Chinese emperors (called <i>Tcheou</i>) begins, and continues 855 years under 35 emperors.
3618	2908	1096	Samuel obtains his first victory over the Philistines at Ebenezer.
3619	2909	1095	The Israelites desire to have a king, and Samuel anoints Saul.
3626	2916	1088	The kingdom of Sicyon overthrown by the Heraclidæ, and included in that of Argos, or of Lacedæmon.
3644	2934	1070	Royalty abolished at Athens; and the government of archons begins, under Medon.
3650	2940	1064	David slays Goliath, the Philistine champion.—The next year, Samuel is directed to anoint him to be king of Israel, instead of Saul.
3651	2941	1063	Samuel anoints David privately, by divine appointment.
3656	2946	1058	The Pelasgi are the second nation that acquires the maritime power of the Mediterranean.
3659	2949	1055	Saul, worsted in battle by the Philistines, consults the witch of Endor, and kills himself the next day.—David begins to reign over a part of Israel; Ishbosheth, son of Saul, reigning over the remainder.
3666	2956	1048	On the death of Ishbosheth, David succeeds to the whole kingdom of Israel; takes Jerusalem from the Jebusites, and makes it the seat of his government.
3670	2960	1044	The Ionians migrate from Greece to Asia Minor, 60 years after the return of the Heraclidæ.
3680	2970	1034	David, falling into the sins of adultery and murder, is reproved by the prophet Nathan, and repents.
3691	2981	1023	Absalom, son of David, excites a rebellion in Israel, and is killed by Joab.
3702	2992	1012	Solomon lays the foundation of the temple, in the fourth year of his reign, 480 years after the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. 1 Kings vi. 1.

EPOCH A V.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OLYMPIADS BY CORÆBUS: 236 YEARS.

3710	3000	1004	The temple of Jerusalem finished, and dedicated on Friday, the 30th of October, in the 12th year of Solomon's reign.
3714	3004	1000	The Thracians acquire the maritime power of the Mediterranean, and hold it for 19 years.
3718	3008	996	Solomon prepares a fleet in the Red Sea, which sails to Ophir.
3722	3012	992	Solomon finishes his palace, which, with the temple, had occupied twenty years of his reign. The queen of Sheba visits him soon afterwards.

Julian Period.	A. M.	B. C.	
3728	3018	986	The city of Samos, in the island so called, and Utica, on the coast of Africa, are built about this time.
3739	3029	975	Separation of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah.—Jeroboam sets up calves at Dan and Bethel, to prevent his subjects going to worship at Jerusalem.
3743	3033	971	Shishak, king of Egypt, invades Judah, takes Jerusalem, and plunders the temple and palace.
3773	3063	941	Zerah, the Ethiopian, invading Judah with a million of men, is defeated by Asa, in the valley of Zephathah.
3774	3064	940	Benhadad I., king of Syria, takes several cities from Baasha, king of Israel.
3788	3078	926	Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, born 150 years before the first Olympiad.
3790	3080	924	Omri transfers the seat of the kingdom of Israel from Tirzah to Samaria.
3798	3088	916	The Rhodians are the fourth maritime power in the Mediterranean, and hold it 23 years.
3814	3104	900	Justin Martyr, and others here place the end of the Assyrian empire; but Eusebius, whom we have mostly followed, places it 80 years later.
3817	3107	897	Ahab, king of Israel, slain in battle by the Syrians; on which the Moabites revolt, who had been tributary from the days of David.
3818	3108	896	Elijah the prophet translated to heaven.
3821	3111	893	The Phrygians are the fifth maritime power in the Mediterranean.
3830	3120	814	Lycurgus, after travelling 10 years, establishes his laws in Lacedæmon.—Iphitus, king of Elis, Lycurgus, regent of Lacedæmon, and Cleosthenes, restore the Olympic games at Elis, 108 years prior to the vulgar era of the first Olympiad.
3836	3126	878	Hazael, the Syrian general, having put Ben-hadad to death, reigns in his stead, according to the prophecy of Elisha, 2 <i>Kings</i> viii. 12, 13.
3842	3132	872	The art of sculpture in marble, supposed to be discovered.
3845	3135	869	The city of Carthage built by queen Dido, a Tyrian princess, who, to avoid the avarice of Pygmalion, had, with a few faithful followers, left her native land. and after wandering for some time in search of a settlement, fixed upon the coast of Africa. Some writers think that she only enlarged a town already built.—About the same period, Phidon, tyrant of Argos, invents scales and measures, or rather introduces them into Greece: he also first stamped silver money.
3846	3136	868	The Cypriots are the sixth maritime power in the Mediterranean.
3854	3142	862	Jonah prophesies against Nineveh, about this time.
3875	3165	839	The army of Hazael, the Syrian, desolates great part of Judah.
3888	3178	826	The Phœnicians are the seventh maritime power in the Mediterranean.
3894	3184	820	Arbaces and Belesis, rebelling against Sardanapalus, besiege and take Nineveh.—Sardanapalus burns himself to death, and a general anarchy ensues, which issues in the subdivision of the kingdom.
3900	3190	814	Caranus begins the kingdom of Macedon, which, reckoning to the battle of Pydna, continues 646 years.
3913	3203	801	The city of Capua, in Campania, built.
3917	3207	797	Ardysus reigns in Mœonia, or Lydia, and is generally esteemed the founder of the kingdom, though it is known to have existed in some way so early as the year 1223 B. C.— <i>Herodotus</i> .
3924	3214	790	Amos the prophet flourished about this time, as did also Hosea.
3928	3218	786	The Corinthians invent the ships called <i>Triremes</i> .
3937	3227	777	Phul, or Pul, begins the new kingdom of Assyria.
3938	3228	776	Coræbus conquers in the 28th Olympiad from their revival by Iphitus, though this is commonly called the <i>first Olympiad</i> , and was, according to Scaliger, celebrated on the 23rd of July.

EPOCH A VI.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE OLYMPIADS BY CORCEBUS, TO THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS BY CYRUS: 240 YEARS.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
3938	3228	1-1		776	The Olympic games revived by Corcebus.
3943	3233	2-2		771	Uzziah, king of Judah, struck with leprosy, for presuming to offer incense. *Romulus and Remus born.
3944	3234	3		770	Phul, king of Assyria, invades Israel, and receives 1000 talents to depart in peace.
3948	3238	3-3		766	Belesis, or Nanibre, prefect of Babylon, makes himself independent. Phul subjugates Media.
3954	3244	5-1		760	Theopompus establishes the ephori at Lacedæmon.
3957	3247	4		757	Isaiah begins to prophesy at Jerusalem, and continues his exhortations for upwards of 60 years. Nahum began his ministry the preceding year, and Micah three years after.
					Corinth becomes a republic under annual prytanes, Automenes being the first. Some writers place this event 22 years earlier.
3960	3250	6-3		754	The archonship at Athens reduced to 10 years' duration. The Milesians are the ninth maritime power in the Mediterranean.
3961	3251	4	1	753	Æra of the city of Rome, according to Varro, on the 12th of the calends of May, or April 20.
3962	3252	7-1	2	752	Daicles is the first victor crowned at the Olympic games.
3964	3254	3	4	750	Rape of the Sabines, by the followers of Romulus.
3967	3257	8-2	7	747	After a war of three years, the Romans and Sabines agree to unite, and Tatius, king of the latter, reigns jointly with Romulus over both people. The Æra of Nabonassar begins.
3971	3261	9-2	11	743	The first Messenian war begins, and continues 19 years.—The Lacedæmonians bind themselves with an oath not to return home till their enemies are conquered.
3980	3270	11-3	20	734	The Carians have the command of the Mediterranean.
3982	3272	12-1	22	732	Syracuse, in Sicily, founded by a colony from Corinth, led thither by Archias.
3983	3273	2	23	731	Habakkuk, the prophet, flourished about this time.
3988	3278	13-3	28	726	The Lacedæmonians, defeated by Aristodemus, the Messenian general, and despairing of being ever freed from their oath, send word to their wives and daughters to recruit the population by promiscuous amours.
3990	3280	14-1	30	724	The first Messenian war ended, by the capture of Ithomi.
3991	3281	2	31	723	Alcidamidas, and a colony of Messenians, settle at Regium, on the south-west coast of Italy.
3992	3282	3	32	722	The Chinese empire divided into principalities, or viceroyalties.
3993	3283	4	33	721	Samaria taken after a three years' siege, and the kingdom of Israel finished by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who carries the ten tribes into captivity.
3997	3287	15-4	37	717	Shalmaneser besieges Tyre for about five years, without success.
4001	3291	16-4	41	713	Hezekiah's life prolonged.—Gela, in Sicily, founded by a colony from Rhodes and Crete.
4004	3294	17-3	44	710	The army of Sennacherib, 185,000 strong, destroyed in one night before Jerusalem, by a blast (supposed to be the scorching wind <i>Sanniel</i>).
4005	3295	4	45	709	The Roman calendar corrected by Numa Pompilius, who also institutes the Salian order of priesthood.
4008	3296	18-1	46	708	Dejoces the Mede delivers his country from the Assyrian yoke, and builds the city of Ecbatana.
4011	3301	19-2	51	703	The Parthenæ (i. e., sons of virgins), expelled from Sparta, settle in Calabria, where they build Terentum.
4011	3301	19-2	51	703	The city of Corcyra built by the Corinthians.
4014	3304	20-1	54	700	Dejoces assumes the regal title in Media, and reigns 53 years.
4018	3308	21-1	58	696	Isaiah supposed to have been put to death by Manasseh, king of Judah, by being sawn asunder.
4024	3314	22-3	64	690	Bethulia, a city of Judah, besieged by the Assyrians, and delivered by Judith, who kills their general Holofernes.

Julian Period.	A.M.	Olymp.	U.C.	B.C.	
4029	3319	23-4	69	685	The second Messenian war begins, and continues 14 years.
4030	3320	24-1	70	684	The office of Archon, at Athens, made annual, Creon being the first.
4031	3321	2	71	683	The Messenians defeated, through the treachery of Aristocrates, king of Arcadia, whom the Lacedæmonians had bribed:
4034	3324	25-1	74	680	Assaradinus, or Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, takes Babylon, and makes it the capital of his dominions.—The chariot-races added to the Olympic games.
4036	3326	3	76	678	Dejoces extends the empire of the Medes to the river Halys.
4037	3327	4	77	677	Manasseh, king of Judah, taken prisoner to Babylon, for two years.
4038	3328	26-1	78	676	The Lesbians acquire the command of the Mediterranean, and hold it about 69 years.
4039	3329	2	79	675	The Carnian festivals instituted at Sparta.
4041	3331	4	81	673	Terpander adds three strings to the lyre.
4043	3333	27-2	83	671	The second Messenian war concludes with the surrender of Ira, after a siege of eleven years.
4046	3336	28-1	86	668	Many of the conquered Messenians retire from the Peloponnesus, and settle in Sicily, where they seize the ancient city of Zancle, and give it the name of Messana, (now Messina.)
4047	3337	2	87	667	The combat between the three Horatii and three Curiatii. On the death of Assaradinus, Babylon and Assyria again become separate kingdoms.
4049	3339	4	89	665	The city of Alba-Longa destroyed by the Romans.
4055	3345	30-2	95	659	Cypselus usurps the government of Corinth, for 30 years. About this period the Cimbri emigrate from Germany, and settle in Asia Minor.
4056	3346	1	96	658	Byzantium (now Constantinople) built by a Grecian colony, according to some writers, from Argos; according to others, from Athens.
4063	3353	32-2	103	651	A five years' war breaks out between the Romans and Sabines.
4066	3356	33-1	106	648	The <i>Thoth</i> of the year of Nabonassar falls on the 1st of February, having shifted 25 days in 100 years.
4069	3359	4	109	645	Salinuntum, in Sicily, founded by a colony from Megara.
4073	3363	34-1	113	641	Amon, king of Judah, assassinated by his domestics.
4078	3368	36-1	118	636	The Tartars first mentioned in history, in a battle between them and the Chinese; the latter defeated with great slaughter.
4083	3373	37-2	123	631	War between the Romans and the allied Fidenates and Sabines, which continues at intervals for 50 years.
4084	3374	3	124	630	Cyrene, in Africa, built by Battus, who begins that kingdom.
4085	3375	4	125	629	King Josiah begins the reformation in Judah.—Periander usurps the government of Corinth, for 44 years. The city of Prusa, in Bithynia, built.
4089	3379	38-4	129	625	Jeremiah and Zephaniah begin to prophesy about this time.—Hilkiah discovers the writings of Moses, and brings them to Josiah, who causes them to be read publicly.
4090	3380	39-1	130	624	The Scythians invade Media, Lydia, &c., and keep possession of several provinces for 28 years.—Draco, the lawgiver, begins to be archon at Athens, and next year publishes his code of laws.
4098	3383	4	133	621	War between the Lydians and Milesians, 11 years.
4101	3391	41-4	141	613	The Apolani conquered by the Romans, and the Capitol begun with the spoils of their city.
4104	3394	42-3	144	610	Pharaoh-Necho begins a canal between the Nile and Red Sea, but does not complete it.
4106	3396	43-1	146	608	Pharaoh-Necho invades Judah, and Josiah is slain in the battle of Megiddo.
4108	3398	3	148	606	Nineveh taken by the joint forces of Cyaxares the Mede, and Nabopolassar the Babylonian; Sarac, king of Nineveh, burns himself to death in his own palace, and his territories are divided between the conquerors.
4109	3399	4	149	605	Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabocolassar, son of the king of Babylon, invades Judah, and makes Jehoiakim tributary; from which most chronologers reckon the beginning of the captivity.
4110	3400	44-1	150	604	Some Phœnicians, by order of Pharaoh-Necho, sail from the Red Sea, round the coast of Africa, and return through the Straits up the Mediterranean; being the first voyage of discovery on record.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	J. U. C.	B. C.	
4112	3402	3	152	602	Daniel interprets the first dream of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon.
4117	3407	45-4	157	597	Jehoiachin, king of Judah, sent in irons to Babylon, by Nebuchadnezzar, who pillages the temple of all its riches, and sets up Zedekiah to be king.
4118	3408	46-1	158	596	Cyaxares expels the Scythians from Upper Asia. Epimenides, of Crete, the first builder of temples in Greece, flourishes.
4120	3410	3	160	594	Solon publishes his law at Athens. Thales of Miletus, after travelling into Egypt, returns to Greece and calculates eclipses, gives general notions of the universe, and maintains the unity of the Godhead, as he had received it from the Egyptian priests. Anaximander, his scholar, invents maps, globes, and, as some writers assert, the signs of the zodiac; though it is more than probable that they had been long before known both to the Egyptian and Chaldeans.
4123	3413	47-2	163	591	The Pythian games first celebrated at Delphi.
4124	3414	3	164	590	The war between Cyaxares, king of Media, and Halyattes II., king of Lydia, begins, and continues six years.
4127	3417	48-2	167	587	The city of Jerusalem, after a siege of 18 months, taken by Nebuchadnezzar, on the 19th June.
4128	3418	3	168	586	The temple of Jerusalem burned to the ground, on the 7th day of the 5th month.
4129	3419	4	169	585	A battle upon the river Halys, between Cyaxares and Halyattes, interrupted by a total eclipse of the sun, on the 28th of May, as predicted by Thales, which brings the war to a conclusion, both armies retiring under dismal forebodings.
4132	3422	49-3	172	582	Corinth, delivered from its tyrants, becomes a free republic. The Isthmian games restored.
4134	3424	50-1	174	580	Money first coined at Rome, by Tarquinius Priscus.
4135	2425	2	175	579	The Megarensian war.
4142	3432	52-1	182	572	The city of Tyre taken by Nebuchadnezzar, after a siege of 13 years.
4143	3433	2	183	571	Apries, king of Egypt, dethroned by Nebuchadnezzar.
4144	3434	3	184	570	Nebuchadnezzar sets up the golden image; Shadrach, Meshech, and Abed-nego, cast into the furnace for refusing to worship it, come out unhurt. Daniel interprets the king's second dream.
4145	3435	4	185	569	Nebuchadnezzar becomes insane, and resides in the desert seven years, according to the prediction of Daniel. Egypt recovers its independence.
4146	3436	53-1	186	568	The Nemean games restored.—Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum.
4147	3437	2	187	567	The Etrurians conquered by the Romans.
4148	3438	3	188	566	The first census at Rome, 188 years from its foundation, when there appeared to be 84,700 citizens.
4162	3442	54-3	192	562	Nebuchadnezzar restored, but survives only a few months. The first comedy at Athens, performed on a moveable scaffold by Susarion and Dolon.
4164	3444	55-1	194	560	The kingdom of Persia begins under Cyrus, grandson of Astyages (or Ahasuerus, as some suppose), king of the Medes. Pisistratus first usurps the government of Athens.
4164	3454	57-3	204	550	Cyrus, deposing his grandfather, becomes sovereign of the Medes and Persians.
4165	3455	4	205	549	The temple of Apollo, at Delphi, burned by the Pisistratidæ, or sons of Pisistratus.
4166	3456	58-1	206	548	The kingdom of Lydia ends, on the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus.
4175	3465	60-2	215	539	The Phœceans, forsaking their native country, settle in Gaul, where they build the city of Marseilles.
4176	3466	3	216	538	Babylon taken by Cyrus, the same night in which Belshazzar (or Nabonadius) was surprised in the midst of his revelry by the hand-writing against the wall of his palace. Darius the Mede (supposed to be the deposed Astyages) is made viceroy of Babylon, and holds that office about two years.
4178	3468	61-1	218	536	Cyrus, master of all Asia, issues a decree for the restoration of the Jews to their own country, and for the rebuilding of the walls and temple of Jerusalem.

EPOCH A VII.

FROM THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS BY CYRUS, TO THE BEGINNING OF THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR: 105 YEARS.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4178	3468	61-1	218	536	Era of the Persian monarchy.—42,360 Jews, besides proselytes and servants, to the number of 7337, return to Judea, under Zerubbabel, and Joshua, the priest.
4179	3469	2	219	535	Thespis, the inventor of Tragedy, performs his first piece at Athens, on a wagon.—The Arundelian marbles place this a year sooner.
4180	3470	3	220	534	The foundation of the second temple laid at Jerusalem, on the 29th of April.—Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome, begins to reign the same year.
4184	3474	62-3	224	530	Cyrus marches against the Scythians, and next year loses his life in a battle against Thomyris, queen of the Massagetsæ.—About the same time, the Samaritans begin to interrupt the Jews in the building of the temple.
4187	3477	63-2	227	527	The Jews admonished and encouraged to proceed with the temple, by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah.
4188	3478	3	228	526	A public library first founded at Athens, and learning encouraged.
4189	3479	4	229	525	Cambyses, the Persian, son and successor of Cyrus, conquers Egypt.
4193	3483	64-4	233	521	Darius Hystaspis (the Ahasuerus of Esther), elected to the throne of Persia, on the death of the impostor Smerdis.
4196	3486	65-3	236	518	Darius issues a second decree for rebuilding Jerusalem, and its temple.
4199	3489	66-2	239	515	The temple at Jerusalem finished, on the 10th of March: the passover celebrated on the 18th of April.
4202	3492	67-1	242	512	Babylon revolts from Darius, for two years.
4204	3494	3	244	510	The tyranny of the Pisistratidæ abolished at Athens, by the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, and a democracy established.
4205	3495	4	245	509	Tarquin and his family expelled Rome, on occasion of the rape of Lucretia; and the consular government begins, on the 28th of February (the <i>Regifugium</i> of the Roman calendar); Junius Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, being the first consuls.
4206	3496	68-1	216	508	The first alliance between the Romans and Carthaginians.—Sybaris destroyed by those of Crotona routing their army of 300,000 with one less than 100,000.
4207	3497	2	247	507	The second census taken at Rome, and there appears to be 130,000 citizens.
4208	3498	3	248	506	Megabysus, the Persian lieutenant in Europe, conquers Thrace and Macedonia.—Porsenna, king of Etruria, makes war against the Romans, as do the Sabines, in favour of the restoration of Tarquin.
4210	3500	69-1	250	504	Sardis taken and burned by the Athenians, which occasions the Persian invasion of Greece.
4211	3501	2	251	503	The lesser triumph, called <i>Ovation</i> , begun at Rome, by Posthumius entering the city with a myrtle crown.
4216	3506	70-3	256	498	The Ionians, after a revolt, subdued by the Persians, and the city of Miletus destroyed.
4217	3507	4	257	497	The Roman people refusing to obey the senate and consuls, Lartius is appointed dictator, and invested with absolute authority for six months.—The Saturnalia instituted.—150,700 citizens.
4219	3509	71-2	259	495	Tarquinius Superbus dies at Cuma, whither he had retired on the close of the Latine war, at the age of 90, fourteen years after his expulsion from Rome, prior to which he had reigned 25 years.
4221	3511	72-1	261	493	The populace of Rome, being discontented with the aristocracy, or patricians, retire to Mount Sacer, and threaten to build a new city; but by the persuasion of Menenius Agrippa, who invents the fable of "the Belly and Limbs," they return, and are farther appeased by the appointment of popular tribunes.
4223	3513	2	263	491	Coriolanus banished from Rome.—Gelo usurps the government of Syracuse.
4224	3514	3	264	490	The Persians defeated at Marathon, by Miltiades the Athenian.
4226	3516	73-1	266	488	Coriolanus advances with an army of Volscians against Rome, but withdraws at the entreaty of his mother.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4227	3517	2	267	487	Egypt revolts from the Persians, four years.—Darius makes Artabases king of Pontus.
4228	3518	3	268	486	The first Agrarian Law proposed at Rome, by Spurius Cassius.—Æschylus, at the age of 39, gains the first prize of tragedy, at Athens.
4229	3519	4	269	485	Spurius Cassius thrown from the Tarpeian rock, after having been three times consul, for aspiring to the sovereignty. The Volsci and Æqui subdued.
4230	3520	74-1	270	484	Xerxes, king of Persia, recovers Egypt, and entrusts the government to his brother Achæmènes.—Aristides the Just banished from Athens.
4231	3521	2	271	483	Quæstors first appointed at Rome, for collecting the revenues and managing the public treasury.—An eruption of Mount Ætna.
4233	3523	4	273	481	Xerxes begins his celebrated expedition against Greece.
4234	3524	75-1	274	480	The battle of Thermopylæ finishes on the 7th of August, and the Persians are defeated in a sea-fight off Salamis, on the 20th of October.—The Archeanactidæ take possession of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and reign there 42 years.
4235	3525	2	275	479	The Persians, commanded by Mardonius, defeated at Platæa, by Pausanias, regent of Lacedæmon, on the 22nd of September. Leotychides, the colleague of Pausanias, having encouraged the Ionians to shake off the Persian yoke, gains the battle of Mycale on the same day.
4237	3527	4	277	477	The 300 Romans, of the name of Fabius, killed by the Veientes, near Cremona, on the 17th of July.
4238	3528	76-1	278	476	A great eruption of Mount Ætna.—103,000 citizens in Rome.
4243	3533	77-2	283	471	Themistocles, the Athenian general, accused of conspiring against the liberties of Greece, retires to Xerxes, in Asia.
4244	3534	3	284	470	Cymon, the Athenian, defeats the Persian fleet off Cyprus, and the army in Pamphylia, near the river Eurymedon.—An eruption of Mount Ætna.
4245	3535	4	285	469	The first solemn contest between the tragic poets: Sophocles, at the age of 28, is declared victor over Æschylus.—The city of Capua founded by the Tuscans.
4248	3538	78-3	288	466	The Sicilians recover their liberty; those of Syracuse maintain it for 61 years, viz., till the usurpation of Dionysius, B. C. 405.—An earthquake at Sparta destroys 20,000 persons; the Helots and Messenians, taking advantage of the public consternation, revolt.
4249	3539	4	289	465	The third Messenian war begins, and continues ten years.
4251	3541	79-2	291	463	Egypt, under the influence of Inarus, assisted by the Athenians, revolts from the Persians seven years.—A great pestilence at Rome; both consuls dying. P. Valerius Poplicola is created viceroy; and next year he appoints the consuls without the usual mode of election.
4252	3542	3	292	462	The Persians defeated by the Athenians, in a naval engagement, off Egypt.
4255	3545	80-2	295	459	The Athenians begin to tyrannize over the rest of Greece.
4256	3546	3	296	458	Ezra arrives at Jerusalem, with enlarged powers from the Persian monarch, accompanied by a great multitude of his countrymen, bringing with them vessels of gold and silver, and other rich presents from the king and his princes. From this year, being the seventh of Artaxerxes Longimanus, Daniel's seventy prophetic weeks, or 490 years, are reckoned, to the crucifixion of our Saviour.—Cincinnatus appointed dictator at Rome.—War between the Corinthians and Megareans.
4258	3548	81-1	298	456	The Athenians, deserted by the Egyptians, retire out of Egypt, by capitulation with the Persians, to whom that country becomes again subject. The Secular games first celebrated at Rome; the tribunes begin to assert their right of convoking the senate.
4260	3550	3	300	454	The Romans send deputies to Athens, for a copy of the laws of Solon.—An eruption of Ætna.
4263	3553	82-2	303	451	The decemviri created at Rome, and the laws of the twelve tables compiled and ratified.
4264	3554	3	304	450	A naval war breaks out between the Athenians and Persians, during which the Persians are often defeated by Cymon.
4265	3555	4	305	449	The decemviri expelled Rome, and the consular government restored.—The Persians make an ignoble peace with the Athenians.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4266	3556	23-1	306	448	The first Sacred War, about the temple of Delphi, begins; the Athenians and Lacedæmonians being auxiliaries on opposite sides.
4267	3557	2	307	447	The Athenians defeated, and their general Tolmidas slain, by the Boeotians, at Chæronea.
4268	3558	3	308	446	The Athenians and Lacedæmonians enter into a thirty years' truce. Thucydides, the Athenian general, banished by ostracism.
4269	3559	4	309	445	Nehemiah sent by Artaxerxes to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.—Herodotus reads his history at the Olympic games, and receives marks of public honour, at the age of 39.—The plebeians permitted to intermarry with patricians, by a law of the Roman senate.
4270	3560	84-1	310	444	Military tribunes, with consular powers, created at Rome.—The Athenians send a colony to Thurium, in Italy, of which number are Herodotus, Thucydides, and Lysias.
4271	3561	2	311	443	Censors first appointed at Rome.
4272	3562	3	312	442	A general peace.—Euripides first gains the prize for tragedy at Athens, at the age of 43 (he died B. C. 407).
4273	3563	4	313	441	Artemones of Clazomenæ invents the battering-ram, the testudo, and other military instruments.—Pericles subdues Samos.
4274	3564	85-1	314	440	A great famine, which began last year at Rome, increases to such a degree that many persons throw themselves into the Tiber.—Comedies prohibited at Athens for three years.
4275	3565	2	315	439	War between Corinth and Corcyra.
4276	3566	3	316	438	Spartacus gets possession of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.—The Fidenates revolt from the Romans.
4278	3568	86-1	318	436	Malachi, the last of the prophets, appears about this time.
4279	3569	2	319	435	The Romans take the capital of the Fidenates.—The Corinthians defeated by the Corcyreans.
4281	3571	4	321	433	The temple of Apollo consecrated at Rome, on account of the continuance of the plague.
4282	3572	87-1	322	432	Meton begins his nineteen years' cycle of the moon, from the new moon of July 15, being eighteen days after the summer solstice.
4283	3573	2	323	431	The Peloponnesian war begins on the 7th of May, with an attempt of the Boeotians to surprise Plataea, and continues 27 years.—The history of the Old Testament ends about this time.

EPOCH A VIII.

FROM THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT: 108 YEARS.

4284	3574	87-3	324	430	Athens visited by a pestilence of five years' duration.—The Spartan ambassadors arrested by Sitalces, king of Thrace, and afterwards put to death by the Athenians.
4285	3575	4	325	429	Pericles dies, having governed Athens 40 years, viz., 25 with others, and 15 by himself.
4287	3577	88-2	327	427	The Leontines obtain assistance of the Athenians against the Syracusians.
4288	3578	3	328	426	The plague breaks out a second time at Athens; and, on account of the great mortality, and the numbers slain in battle, a decree is made, permitting every citizen to have two wives. Socrates, the philosopher is said to have been among the foremost to take advantage of this privilege.
4290	3580	89-1	330	424	Aristophanes' first comedy, called "The Clouds," performed at Athens; being a satire upon Socrates. The Syracusians make peace, and the Athenian forces return home. The engagement at Delium takes place about the beginning of November.
4291	3581	2	331	423	The Athenians and Lacedæmonians make a truce, which lasts from the 3rd of October to about the 12th of April following.
4293	3583	4	333	421	A peace of fifty years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, which is kept for six years and ten months; though each party continued at war with the other's allies.
4294	3584	90-1	334	420	The Athenians, at the instigation of Alcibiades, renew their treaty with the Eleans, Argives, and Mantineans.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4296	3586	3	336	418	The Lacedæmonians gain a signal victory over the Argives and Mantinæans.
4298	3588	91-1	338	416	The scene of the Peloponnesian war removed to Sicily.—Tumults at Rome respecting the Agrarian law.
4299	3589	2	339	415	Alcibiades, accused of having thrown down the statues of Mercury at Athens, is recalled from the command of the Athenian fleet, and retires to Sparta.
4300	3590	3	340	414	Egypt revolts from the Persians, under Amyrthæus.—The second part of the Peloponnesian war, called <i>Decælean</i> , begins; the scene of which is in Sicily, whither the Lacedæmonians send a fleet towards the end of May.
4301	3591	4	341	413	Nicias, the Athenian general, loses his army in Sicily, through the terror excited by an eclipse of the moon, on the 27th of August.
4302	3592	92-1	342	412	The Athenians deserted, on account of their misconduct in Sicily, by their allies of Chios, Samos, and Byzantium.—Four hundred persons elected to the government of Athens.
4304	3594	3	344	410	The Lacedæmonians, under Mindarus, assisted by Pharnabazus the Persian, defeated by the Athenians at Cyzicum.—The Carthaginians are attacked in Sicily.—The history of Thucydides ends, and that of Xenophon begins, at this period.
4305	3595	4	345	409	The Carthaginians destroy Selinus and Himera in Sicily; but are repulsed by Hermocrates, the Syracusan general.
4306	3596	93-1	346	408	The Medes, after a revolt from the Persians, are obliged to submit.—The Athenians become masters of the Hellespont.—The Romans defeated by the Volsci.
4307	3597	2	347	407	The Carthaginians make a new attack on Sicily.—Alcibiades returns to Athens, and rejoins the army of that republic.
4309	3599	4	349	405	The Athenian fleet, consisting of 180 ships, under Conon, totally defeated, at Ægospotamos by Lysander, the Lacedæmonian.—Dionysius seizes the government of Syracuse.
4310	3600	94-1	350	404	Athens taken by Lysander, on the 24th of April, which ends the Peloponnesian war.—Athens subject to thirty tyrants.
4311	3601	2	351	403	The Roman knights begin to serve in the cavalry.
4313	3603	4	353	401	Cyrus the younger, prince of Persia, killed in an expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, which gives occasion to the famous retreat of the 10,000 Greeks, under Xenophon, who had entered Asia to assist him.—The thirty tyrants expelled from Athens by Thrasybulus, who establishes a democracy.
4314	3604	95-1	354	400	Socrates put to death by the Athenians.
4315	3605	2	355	399	The festival called <i>Lectisternium</i> instituted at Rome, on account of the plague raging there.
4316	3606	3	356	398	Military catapultæ invented by Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse.
4317	3607	4	357	397	The Romans, having consulted the Delphian oracle, draw off the waters of the lake Albanus, which had swelled, and frightened the augurs.—Dionysius declares war against Carthage, which continues five years.
4318	3608	96-1	358	396	Agessilaus, king of Lacedæmon, makes an expedition into Asia, against the Persians.—The city of Veii taken by Camillus, the Roman dictator, after a siege of ten years.
4319	3609	2	359	395	A coalition between the Athenians, Thebans, Corinthians, and Argives, against the Lacedæmonians, which begins what is called the <i>Corinthian War</i> .—Tumults at Rome about the Agrarian law; the people threaten to settle at Veii.
4320	3610	96-3	360	394	In a sea-fight, off Cnidus, a few days before the solar eclipse of the 14th of August, the Lacedæmonians, under Pisander, are defeated by Conon. A few days afterwards the allies are defeated on land, near Coronæ, by Agessilaus.—The history of Theopompus ends here.
4321	3611	4	361	393	The Argives become masters of Corinth.—Conon rebuilds the walls of Athens.
4324	3614	97-3	364	390	The Romans defeated at the battle of Allia, by the Gauls, under Brennus, who proceed to Rome, and burn it to the ground, the 17th of July. The capitol is saved by the valour of Marcus Manlius, surnamed Capitoline; and by the unexpected arrival of Camillus, from banish-

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
					ment, with fresh troops, the Gauls are put to flight.—These events are placed three years later by some writers.
4325	3615	4	365	389	Plato's first voyage to Sicily: he died B. C. 348, aged 81.
4326	3616	98-1	366	388	Dionysius takes Rhegium, after a siege of eleven months.
4327	3617	2	367	387	A census at Rome: 152,683 effective men.—Antalcidas, the Lacedæmonian, concludes a dishonourable peace with Persia, by which the Greek cities of Asia are made tributary to that power.
4328	3618	3	368	386	Camillus forces the Volsci to an unconditional surrender, after a warfare of 70 years: the Etrurians also submit.
4329	3619	4	369	385	The war of Cyprus, which had continued two years, finishes by the surrender of the island to the Persians.
4330	3620	99-1	370	384	M. Manlius Capitolinus thrown from the Tarpeian rock.
4331	3621	2	371	383	Dædalus begins the kingdom of Bithynia.
4333	3623	4	373	381	The Etrurians obtain the privileges of Roman citizens.
4336	3626	100-3	376	378	The Romans send a colony to Sardinia.
4337	3627	4	377	377	The Lacedæmonians, under Pollis, defeated at sea, off Naxos, by the Athenians and their allies, under Chabrias, on the 20th of September.
4338	3628	101-1	378	376	Artaxerxes-Memnon, king of Persia, concludes a peace with the Greeks.
4340	3630	3	380	374	The Persians, under Pharnabazus, assisted by 20,000 Greeks, under Iphicrates, make an unsuccessful expedition into Egypt.
4342	3632	102-1	382	372	The Athenians and Lacedæmonians reconciled, through the mediation of Artaxerxes, king of Persia; but the Thebans refuse to join in the treaty.
4343	3633	2	383	371	Curule magistrates, consisting of those who had served the office of dictator, consul, &c., first appointed at Rome.—The Lacedæmonians, under Cleombrotus, invade Bœotia, with a large army, and are defeated by the Thebans, under Epaminondas, at the battle of Leuctra; by which Sparta loses its preponderance, and Thebes becomes the principal Grecian state.
4344	3634	3	384	370	The Meeseniens return to the Peloponnesus, after a banishment of about 300 years.
4346	3636	103-1	386	368	Eudoxus travels into Egypt about this time, whence he introduces the celestial sphere into Greece: he died about 352 B. C., aged 53.
4347	3637	2	387	367	The populace at Rome obtain the privilege of having one of the consuls a plebeian. A patrician prætor, and two curule sædiles, are also appointed: the former, for the administration of justice in Rome; the latter, for the preservation of good order, reparation of the public streets, and inspection of weights and measures.—The Gauls, having again invaded the Roman territories, are defeated by Camillus, in Albania.
4349	3639	4	389	365	L. Manlius Imperiosus, the dictator, renews the ceremony of fixing the chronological nail in the temple of Jupiter, on the ides (or 13th) of September, to expiate the city, and stop the plague. <i>Livy</i> places this event in the next year.
4350	3640	104-1	390	364	The Pisceans preside at the Olympic games, having excluded the Eleans.—Pelopidas, the Theban general, is killed in a battle he had gained over Alexander, tyrant of Phœræa, near that town.
4351	3641	2	391	363	Epaminondas, of Thebes, gains a victory over the Lacedæmonians, at Mantinea; but dies of his wounds.
4352	3642	3	392	362	A gulf having opened in the forum of Rome, the oracle orders the most valuable thing in the city to be thrown into it; whereupon Marcus Curtius, a valiant hero, of a noble family, armed and accoutred, leaps with his horse into the chasm, which instantly closes!—Several of the Persian satraps of Asia Minor revolt from Artaxerxes.—Agæsilas leads an army of Lacedæmonians into Egypt, to assist Tachos against the Persians.
4353	3643	4	393	361	Titus Manlius kills a Gaul of uncommon stature in battle, and takes from him a collar, whence he and his family obtain the surname of <i>Torquatus</i> .
4354	3644	105-1	394	360	The Athenians, having endeavoured to place Argæus on the throne of Macedon, instead of Philip, the son of Amyntor, the latter invades the Peloponnesus, and gains his first victory over the Athenians, at Methon.—Plato makes his second voyage to Sicily.
4355	3645	2	395	359	Philip gains his second battle over the Illyrians.

Julian
Period. A. M. Olymp. U. C. B. C.

4357	3647	4	397	357	The Phocians attack the temples of Delphi, which occasions the <i>second sacred war</i> .—Dion expels Dionysius the younger from Syracuse, and assumes the government himself.
4358	3648	108-1	398	356	Caius-Martius Rutilius, the first plebeian dictator at Rome.—A body of wanderers, of various tribes, chiefly shepherds, under the name of <i>Brutii</i> , seize a great part of Lucania, from them called Brutium, now Abruzzo.
4360	3650	3	400	354	Dion, tyrant of Syracuse, put to death by the mercenaries of Zacynthus.
4361	3651	4	401	353	The Phocians, under Onomarchus, assisted by Lycophron, tyrant of Phœræ, defeated by Philip of Macedon, in Thessaly.—Mausoleus, king of the Carians, dies this year; and his queen, Artemisia, raises a magnificent cenotaph to his memory.
4363	3653	107-2	403	351	The Sidonians, being besieged by the Persians, set fire to their city, and perish in the flames.
4364	3654	3	404	350	Egypt conquered by Artaxerxes-Ochus, who compels Nectanabis to retire into Ethiopia.
4366	3656	108-1	406	348	Philip, king of Macedon, concludes the sacred war, having taken all the cities of the Phocians.
4367	3657	2	407	347	Dionysius, after ten years' banishment, recovers the tyranny of Syracuse, and holds it four years.
4371	3661	109-2	411	343	The Syracusan era begins with Timoleon banishing Dionysius, and settling a democracy.—A war breaks out between the Romans and Samnites, which continues seventy-one years.—The Carthaginians send a crown of gold as an offering to Jupiter Capitolinus.—Philip of Macedon conquers Thrace, and makes it tributary.
4374	3664	110-1	414	340	The Carthaginians defeated by Timoleon, in a great battle, near Agrigentum, in Sicily, on the 13th of June.
4376	3666	3	416	338	Philip defeats the Athenians and Thebans, at Chæronea, on the 2nd of August, which makes him master of all Greece.—The rostrum at Rome built with the prows of ships taken by the consuls from the Anthiætes.
4378	3668	111-1	418	336	Philip, assassinated by Pausanias, about the end of August, is succeeded by his son Alexander, surnamed the Great.
4379	3669	2	419	335	Alexander enters Greece, about the 9th of September; obliges the Athenians to submit, and destroys Thebes, leaving only the house of Pindar the poet standing; the inhabitants being almost all destroyed or enslaved.—Pontus conquered by Alexander.
4380	3670	3	420	334	Alexander, having entered the Persian dominions in Asia Minor, gains his first battle over Darius Codomanus, near the river Granicus, in Phrygia, on the 22nd of May.
4381	3671	4	421	333	Second victory of Alexander over the Persians, near the town of Issus, in the month of October.
4382	3672	112-1	422	332	The Samaritans obtain leave of Alexander to erect a temple on Mount Gerizim, in opposition to that at Jerusalem.—Alexander takes the city of Tyre, after a siege of seven months; he also becomes master of Damascus and Gaza, enters Jerusalem, and offers sacrifices to the God of the Jews; proceeds to Egypt, which he subjugates; crosses the Desert, to visit the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, whose son he pretends to be; lays the foundation of the city of Alexandria, in Egypt; and receives a crown of gold from the Grecian states.
4383	3673	2	423	331	Alexander gains his third and last battle over Darius, at Arbela, on the 2nd of October, by which he becomes master of all the Persian dominions; this is properly the era of the third or Grecian monarchy.—Several Roman ladies enter into a conspiracy to poison their husbands, which many of them carry into execution, before they are detected: a slave informs against 170 of them, and they are publicly put to death.
4384	3674	3	424	330	The cycle of Calippus commences from the death of Darius, on the 1st of July.—Agis, king of Laedæmon, defeated and killed by Antipater, the Macedonian general.
4386	3676	113-1	426	328	Alexander crosses the mountains of Caucasus, and subdues Hyrcania, &c.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4387	3677	2	427	327	Alexander undertakes an expedition into India, against Porus, whom he defeats and takes prisoner: having over-run that country as far as the Ganges, his soldiers refuse to cross the river, and he returns, having first built several cities.
4388	3678	3	428	326	The prætor Publius, a plebeian, having defeated the Paleopolitans, obtains a triumph, in opposition to the patricians; being the first prætor who attained that honour.
4391	3681	114-2	431	323	Alexander dies, at Babylon, on the 21st of April: his half-brother Philip Aridæus, succeeds him at Macedon; but his conquests are divided among his generals, who soon fall out about the division.—Ptolemy Lagus begins the new kingdom of Egypt.—The Lamian war begins between Antipater and the Athenians.

EPOCHA IX.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE BEGINNING OF THE MACCABEES' GOVERNMENT
IN JUDEA: 160 YEARS.

4392	3682	3	432	322	Antipater puts the Athenian orators to death.—Eumenes usurps the kingdom of Cappadocia.
4393	3683	4	433	321	The Samnites defeat the Romans at the Caudine pass, and make them pass under the yoke.
4394	3684	115-1	434	320	Polysperchon proclaims liberty to all the Greek cities.—Ptolemy, entering Jerusalem on a sabbath-day, under pretence of offering a solemn sacrifice, takes the city by surprise, and carries off 100,000 of the inhabitants into Egypt.
4395	3685	2	435	319	The Samnites subdued by the Romans.
4396	3686	3	436	318	Phocion unjustly put to death by the Athenians.—Cassander becomes master of Athens.
4397	3687	4	437	317	The government of Syracuse, and soon after all Sicily, usurped by Agathocles.—Demetrius Phalereus seizes Athens, and governs for ten years: he was banished in 307, and died about 284.—Olympias, mother to the deceased Alexander, puts Aridæus to death.
4399	3689	116-2	439	315	Cassander rebuilds Thebes, and founds the city of Cassandria, in Macedonia.—Eumenes, after gaining two battles over Antigonius, is deserted by his army, and delivered by them into the hands of his enemy, who puts him to death.—Mithridates II., recovers the throne of Pontus, from which he had been exiled by the Macedonian invasion; and Ariarathes recovers that of Cappadocia.—Great anarchy in Macedon.—Rhodes almost destroyed by an inundation.
4401	3691	4	441	313	Antigonius restores the cities of the Peloponnesus to their liberty.
4402	3692	117-1	442	312	Seleucus Nicator takes Babylon, and begins the new kingdom of Syria, with which the era of the Seleucidæ commences, called by the Arabians <i>Dhilearnaim</i> , and the <i>Era of Contracts</i> , on Tuesday, the 13th of March.—The Romans begin the Tuscan war.—The <i>Via Appia</i> begun at Rome, by the censor Appius Claudius.
4403	3693	2	443	311	Antigonius establishes himself in Asia.—Cassander usurps the throne of Macedon, having put Roxana, the widow of Alexander, and her infant son, to death.—At Rome, the plebeians obtain the privilege of electing sixteen military tribunes, to command in the army, and two officers to superintend the fleet.
4404	3694	3	444	310	Agathocles, defeated by the Carthaginians, on the river Himera, July 22, carries the war into Africa.
4406	3696	118-1	446	308	Lucius Papirius defeats the Samnites, and takes away their gold and silver bucklers.—Fabius defeats the Tuscans, &c.
4407	3697	2	447	307	Demetrius Poliorcetes, son of Antigonius, changes the oligarchy of Athens into a democracy, and banishes Demetrius Phalereus, Dinarchus, and others.
4408	3698	3	448	306	The successors of Alexander first assume the title of kings.—Demetrius Poliorcetes defeats the army of Ptolemy in Cyprus, takes most of the cities in that island, and obtains a naval victory over the Egyptian fleet.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4410	3700	119-1	450	304	Seleucus founds the cities of Antioch, Edessa, Laodicea, &c.
4411	3701	2	451	303	The Romans send colonies to Sora, Alba, and into the country of the <i>Æqui</i> .
4413	3703	4	453	301	The battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is defeated and slain by Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Cassander.—A new division of the Macedonian empire, according to the prediction of Daniel, chap. viii. (wherein four kings are emblematically described by four horns). Ptolemy has Egypt, Lybia, Arabia, and Palestine; Cassander, Macedonia, Thessaly, and Greece; Lysimachus, Thrace, the Chersonesus, Bithynia, Lycia, and Caria; and Seleucus, the rest of Asia, as far as the Indus.
4414	3704	120-1	454	300	The Roman priests first elected from among the plebeians.
4415	3705	2	455	299	Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, passes with his army into Italy, and takes Crotona.
4418	3708	121-1	458	296	Demetrius Poliorcetes takes Athens, after a year's siege, and banishes Lachares, who had assumed the government.
4420	3710	3	460	294	Demetrius Poliorcetes assassinates Alexander, son of Cassander, and seizes the crown of Macedon.—A census at Rome; 270,000 effective men.
4421	3711	4	461	293	The first sun-dial erected at Rome, by Papirus Cursor, and the notation of time by hours begun.
4423	3713	122-2	463	291	Seleucus, having built about 40 new cities in Asia, peoples them with colonies from different nations. The god <i>Æsculapius</i> brought from Epidaurus to Rome, with great ceremony, <i>in the shape of a monstrous serpent!</i>
4424	3714	3	464	290	The Samnite war (according to Eutropius) finishes, having lasted 49 years.—Fabius introduces the art of painting at Rome.
4427	3717	123-2	467	287	The Athenians revolt from Demetrius Poliorcetes; his army, corrupted by Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, desert him, and he flies, first into Greece, and afterwards into Asia, where he surrenders himself to Seleucus, and dies in captivity, next year. Meantime, Pyrrhus causes himself to be proclaimed king of Macedon.
4428	3718	3	468	286	Pyrrhus, finding his new subjects not to be depended on, abdicates the throne of Macedon, and Lysimachus is elected in his room.
4429	3719	4	469	285	Dionysius of Alexandria, begins his era on Monday, the 26th of June; being the first who calculated the year at 365 days, 6 hours, 49 minutes. He died B. C. 241.
4430	3720	124-1	470	284	The Septuagint translation of the Holy Scriptures, undertaken by order of Ptolemy-Philadelphus, king of Egypt, is completed about this time, and deposited in the library at Alexandria.—The Pharos of Alexandria built.—A great earthquake in the Hellespont and Chersonese.—The Scythians invade the Cimmeric Bosphorus, and keep possession of it 204 years.—The Gauls invade the Roman territory, and besiege Arezzo.
4431	3721	2	471	283	Lucius Cecilius, with 13,000 Romans, slain in battle, by the Gauls.—A Roman army, sent into Cisalpine Gaul, which gains a battle there.—Dolabella defeats the Senones, and afterwards the Boii and Etrurians at the lake Vadimonis, in Etruria.
4432	3722	3	472	282	Philaterus, a servant of Lysimachus, seizes his master's treasures, and begins the kingdom of Pergamus.
4433	3723	4	473	281	Lysimachus defeated and slain in battle by Seleucus, in Phrygia.—The Achæan league, or republic, begins.—The war between the Romans and Tarentines breaks out, and continues 10 years.
4434	3724	125-1	474	280	Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, arrives in Italy, to assist the Tarentines, and he continues there, and in Sicily, about six years.
4435	3725	2	475	279	A census at Rome: 278,222 citizens.
4436	3726	3	476	278	A large army of Gauls, under Brennus II., cut to pieces by the Delphians, while endeavouring to plunder the temple of Delphi.
4437	3727	4	477	277	Antigonus-Gonatus, son of Demetrius-Poliorcetes, recovers the throne of Macedon, which is occupied by his family till the end of the kingdom, B. C. 168.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4438	3728	126-1	478	276	The first regular body of grammarians, or critics, began about this time.
4439	3729	2	479	275	Pyrrhus, defeated by the Romans, retires, first to Tarentum, and afterwards to Epirus.—The Gauls settle in a part of Bithynia, from them called <i>Galatia</i> .
4442	3732	127-1	482	272	The Samnites and Tarentines defeated by the Romans, which concludes those two wars; the first having lasted 71 years, and the second 10 years.
4445	3735	4	485	269	Silver first coined at Rome, under the consulate of Fabius Pictor and Gulo, five years before the first Punic war.
4446	3736	128-1	486	268	Athens taken by Antigonus-Gonatus, king of Macedon, who retains it about 12 years.
4447	3737	2	487	267	Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, begins a canal to unite the Nile with the Red Sea.
4449	3739	4	489	265	A census at Rome: 292,226 citizens.
4450	3740	129-1	490	264	The first Punic war begins, between Rome and Carthage, and continues 23 years.—The chronology of the Arundelian marbles composed.
4451	3741	2	491	263	Eumenes succeeds Philæterus on the throne of Pergamus, and greatly extends his dominions, so that he is sometimes called the founder of that kingdom.
4452	3742	3	492	262	The battle of Sardis, in which Antiochus-Soter, king of Syria and Babylon, is defeated by Eumenes of Pergamus.
4453	3743	4	493	261	The Romans first concern themselves with naval affairs.
4454	3744	130-1	494	260	The Carthaginians defeated at sea by the Romans, under Duilius, who has the first naval triumph in November.
4456	3746	3	496	258	Three hundred Romans, under Calpurnius Flamma, preserve the Roman army in Sicily, by keeping the Carthaginians engaged till they are all cut to pieces.
4458	3748	131-1	498	256	Regulus taken prisoner, and put to a cruel death by the Carthaginians B. C. 251.—Antigonus restores Athens to its liberty.
4462	3752	132-1	502	252	The Parthians revolt from Antigonus, king of Macedon.—The Carthaginians are masters of the Mediterranean.
4463	3753	2	503	251	Aratus of Sicyon, having expelled the tyrant Abantidas and others, persuades his fellow-citizens to join the Achæan league, of which he is soon after made the prætor.—The Romans begin the siege of Lilybæum, in Sicily, which continues ten years.
4464	3754	3	504	250	Arsaces begins the kingdom of the Parthians, and Theodotus that of the Bactrians.
4465	3755	4	505	249	The Romans, under Claudius Pulcher, totally defeated by the Carthaginians, under Adherbal, in a naval engagement, off Drepanum, in Sicily.
4467	3757	133-2	507	247	A census at Rome; 297,897 effective men.
4468	3758	3	508	246	Ptolemy-Euergetes, king of Egypt, kills Laodice, queen of Antiochus, to avenge the death of his own sister Berenice; overruns Syria and Upper Asia; and returns home laden with rich spoils, particularly the sacred vessels, and statues, to the number of 2500, which Cambyses, 288 years before, had taken from the Egyptian temples.—The records of China destroyed.—The fourth Chinese dynasty, called <i>Tsin</i> , begins; and continues 43 years, under four emperors, of whom the second, Tche-Hoang-Ti, built the celebrated wall.
4471	3761	134-2	511	243	Aratus reduces the citadel of Corinth, on the 12th of August, and prevails on the Corinthians to join the Achæan league. About the same time he takes Megara from the Lacedæmonians.
4472	3762	3	512	242	Lutatus, the Roman consul, destroys the Carthaginian fleet, off the isles of Ægates, which ends the first Punic war.
4473	3763	4	513	241	Agis, king of Lacedæmon, attempting to settle an Agrarian law, is put to death.
4474	3764	135-1	514	240	The first plays acted at Rome, being those of Livius Andronicus, the first Roman dramatist.
4476	3766	3	516	238	The Carthaginians finish the Libyan war, with their mercenaries, it having lasted three years and four months.
4477	3767	135-4	517	237	Hamilcar-Barcas, the Carthaginian general, leads an army into Spain, and takes with him his son Hannibal, nine years old, having first made him swear, on the altar, an eternal enmity to Rome.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4478	3768	136-1	518	236	The Tartars expelled from China.
4479	3769	2	519	235	The Roman republic enjoys a general peace, and the temple of Janus is shut for the first time since the reign of Numa Pompilius.
4480	3770	3	520	234	The Romans invade Sardinia, which occupies them three years.
4481	3771	4	521	233	The original manuscripts of <i>Æschylus</i> , <i>Euripides</i> , and <i>Sophocles</i> are lent to <i>Ptolemy-Euergetes</i> , king of Egypt, by the Athenians, on a pledge of 15 talents.
4482	3772	137-1	522	232	The Agrarian law revived at Rome.—The Gauls revolt.—Megalopolis joined to the Achæan league, by <i>Lysiades</i> , at the persuasion of <i>Aratus</i> .
4483	3773	2	523	231	The first divorce known at Rome, by <i>Spurius Carvilius</i> , who repudiates his wife for barrenness.—Sardinia and Corsica subdued by the Romans.
4485	3775	4	525	229	The Romans declare war against the Illyrians, for their piracies, which continues one year, and then queen <i>Teuta</i> sues for peace.
4486	3776	138-1	526	228	Ambassadors from Rome first appear at Athens, Corinth, &c., being invited by the Achæan and <i>Ætolian</i> leagues.
4487	3777	2	527	227	A war between <i>Cleomenes</i> , king of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , and <i>Aratus</i> , prætor of <i>Achaia</i> , breaks out, and continues five years.
4489	3779	4	529	225	<i>Cleomenes</i> puts the <i>Ephori</i> to death, and restores the Agrarian law, at <i>Sparta</i> .—The Gauls enter Italy, but are defeated by <i>L. Æmilius Papus</i> .
4490	3780	139-1	530	224	The Romans cross the <i>Po</i> , for the first time, in pursuit of the Gauls.—The colossus of <i>Rhodes</i> thrown down by an earthquake.
4493	3783	4	533	221	<i>Philip</i> , king of <i>Macedon</i> , adds <i>Epirus</i> to his dominions.
4494	3784	140-1	534	220	The Social war, between the <i>Ætolians</i> and <i>Achæans</i> , begins, and continues three years; king <i>Philip</i> joining the latter.—A census at Rome: 270,213 citizens.
4495	3785	2	535	219	<i>Saguntum</i> , in Spain, taken by <i>Hannibal</i> , after a siege of about eight months: the inhabitants, to avoid falling into his hands, burn themselves, with their houses, and all their effects: this leads to a new quarrel between Rome and Carthage. The art of surgery introduced at Rome.
4496	3786	3	536	218	The second Punic war begins with <i>Hannibal's</i> crossing the Alps, and continues 17 years: the Romans defeated at <i>Ticinum</i> and <i>Trebia</i> .
4497	3787	4	537	217	The Romans defeated at <i>Thrasymene</i> .
4498	3788	141-1	538	216	<i>Hannibal</i> gains a complete victory over the Romans at <i>Cannæ</i> , in <i>Apulia</i> , about the 21st of May: 40,000 Romans were killed in this affair; and three bushels of rings, taken from the knights, were sent as a trophy to Carthage.
4500	3790	3	540	214	The Romans engage in an auxiliary war against <i>Philip</i> of <i>Macedon</i> , in <i>Epirus</i> , which is continued at intervals for 14 years, till the commencement of what is called the first Macedonian war.
4502	3792	142-1	542	212	<i>Marcellus</i> , the Roman general, takes <i>Syracuse</i> , after a siege of three years, during which it was chiefly defended by the ingenious contrivances of <i>Archimedes</i> , the mathematician: <i>Marcellus</i> sends spoils of paintings, statues, &c., to Rome: <i>Archimedes</i> is slain in the tumult by a common soldier.
4506	3796	143-1	546	208	<i>Machanidas</i> , tyrant of <i>Lacedæmon</i> , defeated by <i>Philopœmen</i> , prætor of the Achæans, at <i>Mantineæ</i> .
4507	3797	2	547	207	<i>Asdrubal</i> having entered Italy across the Alps, with troops to reinforce his brother <i>Hannibal</i> , is defeated and slain by <i>Claudius Nero</i> .
4509	3799	4	549	205	<i>Quintius Ennius</i> , the Calabrian poet, is brought to Rome by the quæstor <i>Cato</i> , being 34 years old, and first gives harmony to the Roman poetry.
4510	3800	144-1	550	204	<i>Scipio</i> arrives in Africa, and besieges <i>Utica</i> : next year he takes in one day the camps of <i>Asdrubal</i> and his son-in-law <i>Syphax</i> , a king of <i>Numidia</i> , who had come to relieve the city.
4511	3801	2	551	203	<i>Hannibal</i> is recalled from Italy, to defend the Carthaginian territories; the Romans having carried the war into Africa.— <i>Philip</i> of <i>Macedon</i> commences a war with the <i>Rhodians</i> , who are assisted by <i>Attalus</i> , king of <i>Pergamus</i> : it continues to the end of the first Macedonian war.—The fifth Chinese dynasty, called <i>Han</i> , begins; and continues 424 years, under 25 emperors.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4512	3802	3	552	202	Scipio, surnamed Africanus, defeats Hannibal, at the battle of Zama, on the 19th of October; and next year the Carthaginians obtain peace on very humiliating terms, which closes the second Punic war.
4514	3804	145-1	554	200	The Romans declare Philip of Macedon to be an enemy of the republic and its allies; which begins the first Macedonian war: it continues nearly four years.
4516	3806	3	556	198	Antiochus, king of Syria, having routed Scopas the Egyptian, at the battle of Panias, besieges and takes the city of Sidon, into which the latter had retired.
4517	3807	145-4	557	197	The Romans send two prætors into Spain.—Flaminius defeats Philip, at Cynocephalus, in Thessaly, who sues for peace, and obtains it next year, on very degrading conditions; which ends the first Macedonian war.
4518	3808	146-1	558	196	The Roman senators first sit in the orchestra at the scenic exhibitions.
4520	3810	3	560	194	Sparta and the Hither Spain subdued by the Romans.
4522	3812	147-1	562	192	The war of the Romans with Antiochus the Great begins, and continues three years, generally to the disadvantage of the Syrian monarch.—A census at Rome: 243,704 effective men.
4523	3813	2	563	121	Philopœmen takes Sparta, and unites it to the Achæan confederacy.—Earthquakes at Rome for 38 successive days.
4524	3814	3	564	190	Scipio Asiaticus leads the Romans into Asia, and defeats Antiochus in the battle of Magnesia, in Lydia.
4525	3815	4	565	189	The Roman senate grants a peace to Antiochus, on humiliating terms.—Scipio introduces the Asiatic luxury to Rome, in the spoils taken from Antiochus.
4526	3816	148-1	566	188	In consequence of a quarrel between the Achæans and Spartans, Philopœmen abrogates the laws of Lycurgus; but they are soon afterwards restored by the Romans.
4527	3817	2	567	187	Antiochus, in order to pay the subsidy imposed on him by the Romans, attempts to plunder the temple of Jupiter Belus, in Elymais; but is defeated and slain by the inhabitants.—Scipio Africanus banished from Rome.
4528	3818	3	568	186	Artaxias and Zadiades, lieutenants of the deceased Antiochus, make themselves independent in the two Armenias.
4530	3820	149-1	570	184	A war breaks out between Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and Prusias, king of Bithynia, which continues till the death of Hannibal, B.C. 182.
4531	3821	2	571	183	Philopœmen defeated and slain by Dinocrates, tyrant of the Messenians.—Seleucus, king of Syria, embarrassed for money to pay the tribute imposed on his father Antiochus by the Romans, sends Heliodorus to pillage the temple of Jerusalem, who is prevented by a dreadful apparition.—The transalpine Gauls enter Italy.
4532	3822	3	572	182	The stars are said to have appeared in China in the day-time!—The Lacedæmonians join the Achæan league a second time.—Hannibal, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, poisons himself at the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in his 70th year.
4533	3823	4	573	181	A pestilence at Rome.
4534	3824	150-1	574	180	Demetrius, prince of Macedon, being treacherously and falsely accused by his brother Perseus, is put to death by king Philip.
4535	3825	2	575	179	The books of Numa Pompilius discovered in a stone chest at Rome, and burned by order of the senate, 492 years after the death of that prince. (Livy pronounces them to have been spurious.)—A census at Rome; 273,244 effective men.
4539	3829	151-2	579	175	Perseus, king of Macedon, preparing for a war with Rome, sends for assistance to Carthage, where, for the greater secrecy, his ambassadors have audience of the senate at midnight.—The pestilence again breaks out at Rome.—A great earthquake in China.
4541	3831	4	581	173	Ennius finishes his twelve books of annals.
4543	3833	152-2	583	171	The second Macedonian war begins, between Perseus and Rome, which continues nearly four years.—Antiochus-Epiphanes, king of Syria, defeats Ptolemy's generals in a battle between Pelusium and Mount Casius.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U.C.	B.C.	
4544	3834	3	584	170	Antiochus takes Jerusalem, which had been subject to Egypt from the reign of Ptolemy-Soter, plunders the temple, pollutes the altar, by sacrificing swine on it, and carries off 1800 talents to Antioch, about the 15th of December.—Paper invented in China; into which country the Tartars this year make an irruption.
4545	3835	4	585	169	A census at Rome: 212,805 citizens.
4546	3836	153-1	586	168	Perseus defeated by Æmilius Paulus, at the battle of Pydna, on the 22d of June, and sent in chains to Rome, to grace the triumph of the victor; which ends the kingdom of Macedon, 646 years after its commencement by Caranus.—Mattathias, father of the Maccabees, excites a revolt at Jerusalem, against the tyranny of Antiochus, who was endeavouring to destroy the Jewish nation and their religion together.
4547	3837	2	587	167	The first library founded at Rome, consisting of books brought from Macedon.
4548	3838	3	588	166	Terence's first comedy of " <i>Andria</i> ," performed at Rome, having been approved by Cæcilius, and bought by the ædiles: the author died B.C. 159, aged 35.—Apollonius, the Syrian general, defeated and killed by Judas Maccabæus.
4549	3839	4	589	165	Judas Maccabæus purifies the temple at Jerusalem, and restores the worship of God there.—An eruption of Ætna.
4550	3840	154-1	590	164	A census at Rome: 327,032 citizens.
4551	3841	2	591	163	The Maccabee government of Judea begins with Antiochus-Eupator acknowledging Judas as an independent prince, and continues 126 years.

EPOCH A X.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MACCABEES' GOVERNMENT IN JUDEA, TO THE CHRISTIAN ERA:
163 YEARS.

4551	3841	154-2	591	163	Judas Maccabæus prince of the Jews.
4552	3842	3	592	162	Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus IV., escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, and recovers the throne of Syria.—Hipparchus begins his astronomical observations at Rhodes, and continues them for 34 years: he died about 125 B. C.
4553	3843	4	593	161	Philosophers and Rhetoricians banished from Rome, by Cato the censor.—Judas Maccabæus enters into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Romans; it being the first public transaction between the two states.
4554	3844	155-1	594	160	Terence's last play of " <i>Adelphi</i> " acted at the funeral of Paulus Æmilius.
4555	3845	2	595	159	The measurement of time by water, invented at Rome by Scipio Nasica, 134 years after the introduction of sun-dials.
4556	3846	3	596	158	An irruption of the Tartars into China.—Hipparchus observed the autumnal equinox on Sunday the 27th of September, about mid-day.
4558	3848	156-1	598	156	Prusias Venator, king of Bithynia, defeats Attalus, and plunders and burns several of the temples of Pergamus.
4559	3849	2	599	155	Carneades the orator sent, with others, from Athens to Rome, to plead before the senate for a mitigation of tribute; they alarm the senate by their eloquence, and excite among the Roman youth an admiration and emulation of their talent.
4561	3851	4	601	153	Jonathan Maccabæus, succeeding his brother Judas, as prince of the Jews, assumes also the pontificate, after it had been seven years vacant.
4562	3852	157-1	602	152	Andriscus, pretending to be the son of Perseus, seizes the kingdom of Macedon, but is soon afterwards defeated by Metellus, and sent to Rome, to grace that general's triumph.
4564	3854	3	604	150	Alexander Balas usurps the kingdom of Syria, after having defeated and slain Demetrius Soter.
4565	3855	4	605	149	The third Punic war begins, and continues three years.
4566	3856	158-1	606	148	Jonathan Maccabæus defeats the Syrian general Apollonius, near Azotus; which city, as well as Ascalon, he takes.
4567	3857	2	607	147	War between the Romans and Achæans.—A census at Rome: 322,000 citizens.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4568	3858	3	608	146	P. Æmilianus Scipio finishes the third Punic war, by the destruction of Carthage. The Achæan league dissolved by L. Mummius, who destroys Corinth, and thence transports the first fine paintings seen at Rome.
4569	3859	4	609	145	The Romans overrun all Greece, and nearly desolate the country.
4570	3860	159-1	610	144	Jonathan Maccabæus, and 1000 of his companions, treacherously slain by Tryphon, the Syrian.
4571	3861	2	611	143	A great earthquake in China.—Hipparchus observes the autumnal equinox on Wednesday, the 26th of September, about sun-set; and, from the new moon on the 28th of the same month, he begins his lunar cycle.
4572	3862	3	612	142	Simon Maccabæus takes the castle of Jerusalem by famine, after a long blockade; repairs it, and rescues Judea from all the remains of Syrian servitude.
4573	3863	4	613	141	The war between the Romans and Numantines, in Spain, begins, and continues eight years.
4576	3866	160-3	616	138	The Roman army, 30,000 strong, under Mancinus, ignominiously defeated by 4000 Numantines.
4577	3867	4	617	137	Ptolemy Physcon, having desolated Alexandria by his cruelties, endeavours to replenish it by inviting thither the most ingenious foreigners in all arts and sciences; which commences a new era of learning.
4578	3868	161-1	618	136	Scipio Africanus, with Sp. Mummius and Lucius Metellus, attended by Panætius, the Stoic philosopher, make their celebrated embassy into Egypt, Syria, and Greece.
4769	3869	2	619	135	The history of the Apocrypha ends about this time. The Servile war begins in Sicily, and continues three years.—Hipparchus observed the vernal equinox, on Wednesday, the 24th of March, a little after midnight.
4581	3871	4	621	133	Numantia, in Spain, destroyed by Scipio.—Tiberius Gracchus slain in a tumult at Rome, in attempting to restore the Agrarian laws.—Attalus, king of Pergamus, bequeaths his dominions to the Romans.
4584	3874	162-3	624	130	Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, defeated and slain by the Parthians, under Phraates II.—Aristonicus, a natural son of the late king Attalus, having made himself tyrant of Pergamus, is this year defeated and taken prisoner by M. Perpenna, the Roman general.—Learning revived in China.
4585	3875	162-4	625	129	The Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim destroyed by John Hyrcanus I.; who also defeats the Idumæans, and obliges them to be circumcised.
4586	3876	163-1	626	128	Hipparchus observed the vernal equinox on Thursday, March 23, about sunset.
4591	3881	164-2	631	123	Carthage rebuilt, by order of the Roman senate.—Mithridates the Great begins to reign in Pontus.—The Romans declare war against the inhabitants of the Balearic Isles (Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica), on account of their piracies.
4593	3883	2	633	121	Caius Gracchus killed in attempting to establish an Agrarian law at Rome.—Alexander Zebina, joint king of Syria with Antiochus Grypus, defeated by the latter, and, two years afterwards, put to death.—A great eruption of Ætna.—The weather of this year was so remarkably favourable, that its wines are said to have kept 200 years.
4595	3885	165-2	635	119	Caius Marius, as tribune of the people, imprisons the consul Metellus, for opposing a law that he had proposed relative to the bridges at Rome.
4596	3886	3	636	118	The Romans settle a colony at Narbonne, and defeat the Gauls near the Alps: Metellus conquers Dalmatia.
4598	3888	166-1	638	116	Cleopatra, widow of Ptolemy Physcon, and daughter of his first wife of the same name, assumes the government of Egypt, but is constrained by the Alexandrians to act in the name of her eldest son, Ptolemy Lathurus.
4602	3892	167-1	642	112	Antiochus Cyzicenus defeats his half-brother Grypus, and takes possession of Syria; but, next year, divides it with Grypus, and calls his own part Cœlo-Syria, of which the capital was Damascus; Antioch being the metropolis of the portion of Grypus.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4603	3893	2	643	111	The Jugurthine war between the Romans and Jugurtha, king of Numidia, begins, and continues five years.
4604	3894	3	644	110	The famous sumptuary law, called <i>Lex Licinia</i> , made at Rome, for regulating each day's expense in eating.
4605	3895	4	645	109	John Hyrcanus besieges and takes Samaria, and defeats the army of Ptolemy. The Teutones and Cimbri, from Germany, invade the Roman territories, during eight years. Metellus defeats Jugurtha in two battles.
4607	3897	163-2	647	107	Cicero born on the 3d of the nones of January (which agrees with the beginning of November of the Julian year); he was put to death B. C. 43, aged sixty-four. Aristobulus succeeds Hyrcanus as high-priest, and assumes the title of king of the Jews; being the first high-priest that wore a crown.
4608	3898	3	648	106	Cleopatra dethrones Ptolemy, and raises her youngest son, Alexander, king of Cyprus, to the government of Egypt.—Jugurtha, defeated by the Romans, and betrayed by Bocchus, king of Mauritania, into the hands of Marius.
4609	3899	4	649	105	Cæpio and Manlius defeated by the Teutones and Cimbri, on the banks of the Rhone, with the loss of 80,000 Romans.
4611	3901	169-2	651	103	The Roman people obtain the power of electing the prætors, which had hitherto been confined to the senate.
4612	3902	3	652	102	Marius defeats the Teutones in two battles, at Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix, in Provence), where 200,000 of the enemy are killed, and 70,000 made prisoners, about the end of the year.
4613	3903	4	653	101	The Cimbri, endeavouring to penetrate into Italy by Noricum (the Tyrol) are defeated by Marius and Catullus: 120,000 are slain, and 60,000 taken.
4614	3904	170-1	654	100	Julius Cæsar born on the 4th of the ides (or 12th) of the month Quirinalis, afterwards, from him, called July.—Saturninus revives the Agrarian law at Rome.
4615	3905	2	655	99	Lusitania (Portugal) conquered by the Romans, under Dolabella.
4617	3907	4	657	97	Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenè, bequeaths his kingdom to the Romans.—Mesopotamia occupied by the Parthians.
4618	3908	171-1	658	96	Mithridates Pacorus, king of the Parthians, sends an embassy to China.
4620	3910	3	660	94	Antiochus Cyzicenus, defeated by Seleucus, near Antioch, kills himself, to avoid falling into the hands of his rival.
4621	3911	4	661	93	Seleucus, defeated by Antiochus Pius, or Eusebes, son of Cyzicenus, retires to Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, and is there burned to death by the inhabitants; soon afterwards, Philip and Antiochus, brothers of Seleucus, destroy the city of Mopsuestia, and put all the inhabitants to the sword.
4623	3913	172-2	663	91	The Social or Marsic war, between the Romans and the Marci and their allies, begins, and continues three years.—Antiochus Pius, defeated by Philip and Demetrius, retires among the Parthians, leaving the conquerors joint sovereigns of Syria.
4625	3915	4	665	89	The beginning of the war between the Romans and Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, is generally placed in this year; but Mr. Playfair prefers the year 94 B. C.
4626	3916	173-1	666	88	Sylla finishes the Marsic war; and the allies, submitting, are admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens.—The civil war between Sylla and Marius breaks out, and continues six years.—Sylla takes possession of Rome.
4627	3917	173-2	667	87	Rome, besieged by the armies of Marius, Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius, is taken during the absence of Sylla, and many of the most eminent citizens are put to death.
4628	3918	3	668	86	Sylla takes Athens on the 1st of March, according to the Roman calendar, and sends Apellicon's library to Rome, in which was the original MS. of Aristotle's works.—Sylla also cuts to pieces the army of Archelaus, the general of Mithridates.
4629	3919	4	669	85	A census at Rome: 464,000 citizens.
4630	3920	174-1	670	84	Mithridates obtains a peace of Sylla.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4631	3921	2	671	83	Sylla arrives at Rome, burns the capitol, and commits great cruelties upon all who had favoured the cause of Marius.—The Syrians expel the family of the Seleucidae, and invite Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia, to accept the vacant throne.
4632	3922	3	672	82	Sylla plunders the temple of Delphi, to reward his troops; defeats Carbo and the younger Marius, at Præneste and the Porta Collina of Rome; and, after proscribing 40 senators, 1600 equites, and about 7000 citizens, is created dictator, which he holds for three years.
4633	3923	4	673	81	Cicero begins to plead, in his 26th year; his first oration being in favour of Quintus.
4634	3924	175-1	674	80	Mithridates makes his son Machares king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus.
4635	3925	2	675	79	Sylla resigns the dictatorship, and retires to a private life, where he dies of a loathsome disorder, the following year.—Alexandra, widow of Jannes, assumes the title of Queen of the Jews, and makes her son, Hyrcanus II., high-priest.
4639	3929	176-2	679	75	Nicodemes, king of Bithynia, bequeaths his dominions to the Romans.
4640	3930	3	680	74	Mithridates of Pontus, having occupied Bithynia, and made a league with Sertorius, tyrant in Spain, Lucullus, the Roman consul, renews the war against him.
4641	3931	4	681	73	The servile war, under Spartacus, Cnœmaus, and Crixius, the gladiators, begins.
4643	3933	177-2	683	71	Spartacus defeated and slain, together with 40,000 of his companions, by Crassus and Pompey, which ends the servile war.
4644	3934	3	684	70	The censorship, which had been discontinued for 16 years, revived at Rome.
4645	3935	4	685	69	The Roman capitol rebuilt.—Lucullus defeats Mithridates, and Tigranes, in a great battle in Armenia, and takes the city of Tigranocerta, with all the royal treasures.—Antiochus Asiaticus, of the race of the Seleucidae, seizes a part of Syria, and reigns four years.—A census at Rome: 450,000 citizens.
4647	3937	178-2	687	67	Battle of Jericho, in which Hyrcanus, high-priest and king of the Jews, is defeated, and soon afterwards dethroned, by his brother Aristobulus.—The war against the pirates, begun in the spring, and ended by Pompey about midsummer.
4648	3938	3	688	66	Crete conquered by Metellus, and made a Roman province, after a war of two years.—Pompey defeats Mithridates in a night battle in the Upper Armenia, and dethrones his son Machares, king of Bosphorus.
4649	3939	4	689	65	Pompey dethrones Antiochus Asiaticus, and makes Syria a province of Rome.
4651	3941	179-2	691	63	The Cataline conspiracy at Rome discovered and announced in the senate by Cicero; the conspirators are defeated by Caius Anthony, the consul, and his lieutenant, Petreius, about the middle of December. Mithridates, having lost a battle against his son Pharnaces, who had rebelled against him, kills himself, and Pontus becomes subject to Rome; Pharnaces seizes the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Pompey takes Jerusalem, and restores Hyrcanus.
4654	3944	180-1	694	60	Julius Cæsar, returning to Rome from the conquest of Lusitania, divides the republic with Pompey and Crassus, about the end of autumn, which forms the <i>First Triumvirate</i> .
4656	3946	3	696	58	Cicero, banished Rome at the instigation of Claudius the tribune, retires to Thessalonica, whence he is recalled the following year, through the interest of Milo.—J. Cæsar begins to attack the Helvetii, on the 1st of April, having the year before obtained the government of Cisalpine Gaul for five years, by the <i>Lex Vatinia</i> .
4659	3949	181-2	699	55	J. Cæsar passes the Rhine, defeats the Germans, and makes his first expedition into Britain, whence he returns in September.—Pompey builds a stone theatre at Rome.
4660	3950	3	700	54	Cæsar makes a second expedition to Britain.
4661	3951	4	701	53	Crassus killed, and his army destroyed, by the Parthians, under Surenas, at Sinnaca, in Mesopotamia.
4662	3952	182-1	702	52	Clodius, the tribune, with his friends and servants, assassinated by T. Aunius Milo, for having refused him the consulship.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4663	3953	2	703	51	Gaul made a Roman province.
4664	3954	3	704	50	The civil war between Cæsar and Pompey begins on the 22nd of October, when the senate ordered Cæsar to disband his army, and keep within the bounds of his government in Gaul; instead of which he crossed the Rubicon, and besieged Pompey in Brundisium.
4665	3955	4	705	49	Pompey sails from Brundisium on the 3rd of January, and Cæsar enters it on the 4th; whence he goes to Rome about the 9th; besieges Marseilles in the spring; defeats Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, in the summer; returns to Rome, where he is created perpetual dictator, in September; and passes into Epirus on the 15th of October. Antipater, the Idumæan, made intendant of Judea, by J. Cæsar.
4666	3956	183-1	706	48	At the battle of Pharsalia, Pompey is totally routed by his rival, J. Cæsar, and afterwards assassinated by order of Ptolemy Dionysius, king of Egypt. This battle was fought about the 20th of July of the erroneous calendar, or about the 12th of May of the Julian year.
4667	3957	2	707	47	A domestic war between Ptolemy Dionysius and his sister, the famous Cleopatra; Alexandria besieged and taken by Cæsar; during which the celebrated library is nearly destroyed by fire.
4668	3958	3	708	46	Ptolemy, defeated by Cæsar, is drowned in endeavouring to swim across the Nile; Cæsar makes Ptolemy the Younger, nine years of age, king of Egypt, under the regency of Cleopatra.—The civil war spreads into Africa, where the friends of Pompey fortify themselves in Utica; and Cato, on the approach of Cæsar, indignantly stabs himself, on the 5th of February.—This year, the calendar being corrected by Sosigenes, of Alexandria, the mathematician, under the patronage of Julius Cæsar, consisted of fifteen months, or 445 days, and is therefore called the <i>Year of Confusion</i> .
4669	3959	4	709	45	Battle of Munda, in Spain, gained over Pompey's son and lieutenants, on the 17th of March, and Cæsar returns to Rome in October.
4670	3960	184-1	710	44	Cæsar stabbed in the senate-house, by Brutus, Cassius, Casca, &c., on the 15th of March, aged 56; having, it is said, conquered 300 nations, taken 800 cities, and defeated three millions of men, of whom one million fell in the field of battle.—His death was preceded, as many authors mention, by uncommon prodigies; and immediately after it, a large comet made its appearance over Rome, which was also seen in China.
4671	3961	2	711	43	Marc Antony, who had been master of the horse to Julius Cæsar, having taken up arms against the conspirators, is defeated in two battles at Mutina, in Cisalpine Gaul, by Octavius Cæsar, nephew of Julius, who had, with the consuls, been sent by the senate against him.—Antony unites his interest to those of Lepidus, and, the consuls soon afterwards both dying, Octavius joins them, and the second triumvirate for the division of the commonwealth is thus formed, on the 27th of November.—A proscription at Rome, and, among many others, Cicero is put to death, on the 7th of December.—Cleopatra poisons her brother, and assumes the sole government of Egypt.
4672	3962	3	712	42	Brutus and Cassius, defeated at Philippi by the forces of the triumvirate, kill themselves, about the end of October.
4674	3964	185-1	714	40	The Parthians make an incursion into Syria and Judea, cut off the ears of Hyrcanus the high-priest, whom they send into captivity, and assist his nephew, Antigonus, in seizing the crown.—Herod, son of Antipater, the Idumæan, goes to Rome, to implore the assistance of the senate.—Marc Antony marries Cleopatra, queen of Egypt.
4675	3965	2	715	39	Ventidius, the Roman, defeats the Parthians, whose general, Pacorus, is slain in battle, and recovers Syria and Palestine, on the 9th of June.
4676	3966	3	716	38	The Roman senate creates 67 new prætors.—The era of Spain begins.
4677	3967	4	717	37	Jerusalem taken by Sosius and Herod, on the first of January; Antigonus is soon afterwards put to death, with whom ends the Asmonean family, 126 years after Judas Maccabeus: Herod, having received the title of king of the Jews from the Roman senate, begins to reign under their protection.—The younger Pompey is master of the seas.

Julian Period.	A. M.	Olymp.	U. C.	B. C.	
4678	3968	186-1	718	36	Octavius and Lepidus defeat Sextius Pompey, in Sicily; Lepidus is soon after degraded from the triumvirate, and banished to Circeli.
4680	3970	3	720	34	Antony subjugates Armenia, and takes Artabazus, <i>alias</i> Artaxias II. prisoner.
4682	3972	187-1	722	32	After a long misunderstanding, Octavius and Antony openly prepare for war; the former in Italy, the latter in Egypt.
4683	3973	2	723	31	The battle of Actium, in which Antony and Cleopatra are defeated by Octavius, on the 2d of September; from which period the Roman emperors properly begin.—An earthquake in Judea.
4684	3974	3	724	30	Alexandria taken by Octavius, on the first of August, whereupon Antony and Cleopatra put themselves to death, and Egypt becomes a Roman province.
4685	3975	4	725	29	Octavius triumphs three days at Rome, and the temple of Janus is shut.—A census at Rome: 4,101,017 citizens.
4687	3977	181-2	727	27	The Roman senate confer the title of <i>Augustus</i> on Octavius Cæsar, January 13; then the power of <i>Imperator</i> , for ten years, next the censorship, then the tribuneship, and lastly an absolute exemption from the laws.—The pantheon at Rome built.—A great famine in Palestine.
4689	3979	4	729	25	The Egyptians adopt the Julian year, and fix their <i>Thoth</i> to begin always on the 29th of August.
4690	3980	189-1	730	24	The senate, by a solemn oath, on the first of January, confirm to Octavius (henceforward to be called Augustus) the tribuneship, with an exemption from the laws.—Ælius Gallus makes an unsuccessful expedition into Arabia.
4691	3981	189-2	731	23	Marcus Agrippa retires to Mitylene, from a pique between him and Marcellus, where he continues two years, till Augustus sends for him, and gives him his daughter Julia in marriage.
4692	3982	3	732	22	A conspiracy, by Muræna and others, against Augustus, discovered and suppressed.—A great pestilence in Italy.
4693	3983	4	733	21	Augustus, going upon his travels into Greece and Asia, recalls Agrippa, makes him his son-in-law, and intrusts him with the government during his absence.
4691	3984	190-1	734	20	Tiberius, son of the empress Livia, recovers the Roman ensigns from the Parthians, which had been taken from Crassus, B. C. 53.—Porus, king of India, solicits an alliance with Augustus.
4695	3985	2	735	19	Rome at the meridian of her glory; all the known world being either subject to her, or bound by treaties. Agrippa constructs the magnificent aqueducts of Rome.—Herod repairs, or rather rebuilds, the temple at Jerusalem.
4696	3986	3	736	18	Augustus reduces the senators to 300; but this being complained of, he afterwards limits them to 600.—Celibacy discouraged at Rome.
4697	3987	4	737	17	The Secular games revived at Rome.
4698	3988	191-1	738	16	M. Lollius defeated by the Germans, in Gaul, on which account Augustus goes thither for three years, and thereby covers his intrigue with Terentia, the wife of his friend and minister Mæcenas.—Agrippa goes into Syria and Judea for four years.
4699	3989	2	739	15	Drusus conquers the inhabitants of Rhætia and Vindilicia, on the first of August, being exactly three lustra, or 15 years, from the taking of Alexandria, by Augustus.
4700	3990	3	740	14	A great conflagration at Rome.—Polemon, whom the Romans had made king of Pontus and Armenia, by marrying Dinamis, queen of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, unites the three kingdoms.
4701	3991	4	741	13	Augustus, on his return from Gaul, assumes the office of Pontifex Maximus, and burns all the pontifical books, about 2000 in number, reserving only the Sibylline oracles.
4702	3992	192-1	742	12	The Pannonians conquered by Tiberius.—Agrippa, returning from Pannonia, dies in Campania.—Many <i>prodigies</i> said to have appeared in China.
4703	3993	2	743	11	Drusus conquers several German nations, as the Sicambri, Chauci, &c.
4704	3994	3	744	10	Herod builds the city of Cesarea.
4705	3995	4	745	9	Drusus goes upon an expedition into Germany, against the Chatti and Cherusci, and dies in Friesland.

Julian
Period. A. M. Olymp. U. C. B. C.

- 4706 3996 193-1 746 8 Augustus corrects the calendar, by ordering the twelve ensuing years to pass without intercalation; the month Sextilis receives the name of *Augustus*, by a decree of the senate.—A census at Rome: 4,233,000 citizens.—The temple of Janus shut, in consequence of a universal peace.
- 4708 3998 3 748 6 Tiberius invested with the tribunate for five years; but, jealous of the favour shown by Augustus towards the sons of Agrippa, he retires in disgust to Rhodes.—Conception of John the Baptist announced to his father Zacharias.
- 4709 3999 4 749 5 Our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST born at Bethlehem, in Judea, on Monday, the 25th of December (according to the Romish church), four years and six days before the common era.—Q. Varus appointed governor of Syria, and Cyrenius of Jude.—A comet seen in China.
- 4710 4000 194-1 750 4 JESUS CHRIST circumcised on the 1st of January (according to the church of Rome): the wise men, or magi of the East, guided by a star, arrive in Judea to make their offerings.
- 4711 4001 2 751 3 Joseph and Mary take the holy child into Egypt, during which Herod cruelly orders all infants under two years of age to be slaughtered, hoping that among them Jesus might perish.
- 4712 4002 3 752 2 Herod dies on the 25th of November, and the Roman emperor and senate divide his kingdom among his sons: Herod Archelaus has Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, with the title of ethnarche, or prince; Herod Antipas is created tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, or the country beyond Jordan; and Philip is made tetrarch of Trachonitis and the adjacent country.—Joseph and Mary return from Egypt, and settle at Nazareth, in Galilee.—Augustus banishes Julia, widow of Agrippa, to the little isle of Pandatarium, off Campania, on account of her incontinence.—Caius Cæsar goes as general in the Armenian war.
- 4713 4003 4 753 1 An interview, in the island of Samos, between Caius Cæsar and Tiberius, whereby their mutual aversion is rather increased.

EPOCH A XI.

FROM THE CHRISTIAN ERA TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE: 476 YEARS.

FIRST CENTURY OF THE VULGAR CHRISTIAN ERA.

- Julian
Period. U. C. A. D.
- 4714 754 1 Augustus in the 32nd year of his reign.—Caius Cæsar makes peace with the Parthians.
- 4715 755 3 Tiberius returns to Rome; and, soon afterwards, Lucius Cæsar, one of the sons of Augustus, dies at Marseilles.
- 4716 756 3 Caius Cæsar, another son of Augustus, dies at Lymira, in Lycia, in consequence of a wound received in Armenia.
- 4717 757 4 Tiberius, returning from Rhodes, is adopted by Augustus, and a second time invested with the tribunate.—Cinna's conspiracy detected.—The temple of Janus re-opened, in consequence of fresh disturbances in Germany, whither Tiberius repairs.—Bis-sextile, or leap-year, which had been observed every third year, changed to every fourth.
- 4718 758 5 Tiberius, having extended his conquests to the Elbe, grants the Germans peace.
- 4719 759 6 A great famine at Rome.—Revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, against whom Tiberius and his nephew Germanicus are sent.
- 4720 760 7 Herod Archelaus, king of Judea, against whom the Jews and Samaritans had complained, is deposed, and his dominions added to the province of Syria; Coponius being the first governor of Judea.—Judas of Galilee appears about this time: *Acts v. 37*.
- 4721 761 8 JESUS CHRIST, at the age of twelve years, questions and disputes with the Jewish doctors in the temple, in April, the passover being ended.—The Pannonians reduced.
- 4722 762 9 Dalmatia subjected by the Romans.

Julian Period.	U. C.	A. D.	
4723	763	10	Three legions, under Varus, cut to pieces in Germany, by Arminius; Varus stabs himself, and the barbarians send his head to Augustus.
4724	764	11	Tiberius reduces the Germans, for which service Augustus makes him his colleague in the empire, August 28.
4727	767	14	A census at Rome: 4,037,000 citizens.—Augustus dies at Nola, on the 19th of August, aged 76, and is succeeded by Tiberius.
4728	768	15	Achaia and Macedonia become provinces to Cæsar.—The war renewed in Germany.
4729	769	16	Arminius defeated by Germanicus, in two battles.—The mathematicians and magicians expelled Rome.—Conspiracy of Drusus discovered.
4730	770	17	An earthquake in Asia destroys twelve cities.—Cappadocia made a Roman province.—Germanicus triumphs for his successes in Germany, May 26.—The first African war, under Tacfarinus, begins, and continues four years.
4731	771	18	The city of Tiberias, in Galilee, built by Herod Antipas.—A new island appears in the Archipelago.—Germanicus goes on an expedition to the East.
4732	772	19	Germanicus, poisoned by Piso, dies at Antioch, about the beginning of December.—Caiaphas high-priest of the Jews.—The Jews banished Rome.
4733	773	20	Agrippina, widow of Germanicus, brings her husband's ashes to Rome.
4734	774	21	The theatre of Pompey, at Rome, consumed by fire.—Silius reduces Gaul, which had revolted.—Tacfarinus defeated and driven into the deserts by the Roman governor Blesus, which ends the war.
4737	777	24	Tacfarinus slain by Dolabella, which ends his second war.
4739	779	26	Tiberius retires to the island of Caprea, leaving the management of public affairs to Sejanus.—John the Baptist begins his ministry in the wilderness of Judea; and, towards the close of the year, Jesus is baptized by him in the river Jordan, being about 30 years of age.—Pontius Pilate made governor of Judea.
4740	780	27	A conflagration at Rome consumes all the quarter of Mount Cælius.—50,000 persons said to have been killed by the fall of an amphitheatre at Fidenæ.
4741	781	28	John the Baptist beheaded about this time, by order of Herod Antipas.
4742	782	29	Our Saviour JESUS CHRIST crucified by the Jews, on Friday, April 15; rises from the grave on the following Sunday, April 17; and ascends to heaven on Thursday, the 26th of May.—Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, 5th June.
4743	783	30	Ananias and Sapphira struck dead for their hypocrisy.
4744	784	31	Sejanus disgraced, and put to death.—Nero, eldest son of Germanicus, dies.—Stephen, the first Christian martyr, stoned to death by the Jews, Saul of Tarsus assisting.—A great persecution of the followers of Christ in Judea ensues.
4745	785	32	Philip baptizes the Ethiopian eunuch.
4746	786	33	Saul of Tarsus, converted, becomes an eminent preacher and apostle, better known by the name of Paul.—Drusus, son of Germanicus, dies.
4747	787	34	Peter cures Eneas of the palsy, at Lydda, and restores Tabitha to life, at Joppa.
4749	789	36	A fire at Rome destroys part of the circus, and the quarter of Mount Aventine.—Tiberius declares himself friendly to the followers of Christ, but is prevented by the senate from enrolling Jesus among the gods.
4750	790	37	Tiberius dies at Misenum, near Baia, on the 16th or 26th of March, aged 78, and is succeeded by Caligula, son of Germanicus.—Disgrace and death of Pontius Pilate.
4752	792	39	St. Matthew writes his gospel.
4753	793	40	Cornelius the centurion converted about this time.
4754	794	41	Caligula, put to death by Chæreas and others, is succeeded by Claudius, brother to Germanicus.—Seneca banished to Corsica.—Mauritania reduced, and made a Roman province.
4755	795	42	The name of <i>Christians</i> first given to the followers of Jesus Christ, at Antioch.
4756	796	43	Claudius undertakes an expedition to Britain.
4757	797	44	St. Mark writes his gospel.—St. James, the brother of John, put to death, and Peter imprisoned, by Herod Agrippa, at Jerusalem. Vespasian, having fought 30 battles with the Britons, taken 20 of their towns, and subdued two British nations, establishes himself in the Isle of Wight.
4758	798	45	A dreadful famine, foretold by Agabus, Acts xi. 28, rages in Judea at this time.
4759	799	46	Thrace becomes a Roman province.—A new island, called Therasia by Seneca, appears in the Ægean sea.
4760	800	47	The Secular games celebrated at Rome.—Caractacus, the British king, conquered by the Romans.—Claudius adds three new letters to the Roman alphabet, of which the names of two only remain, viz., the Æolic <i>digamma</i> , answering to our <i>v</i> , and

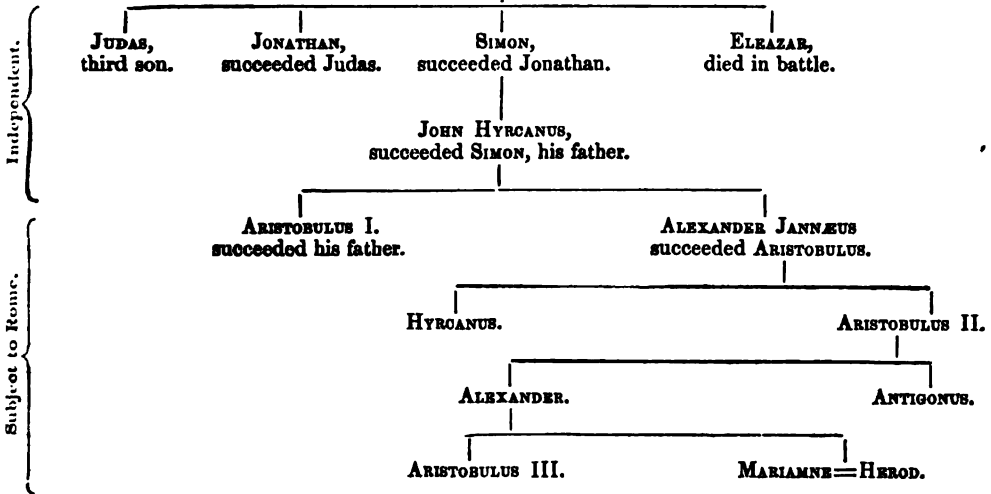
Julian Period.	U. C.	A. D.	
			the <i>antisigma</i> , answering to <i>ps</i> .—Claudius puts many noble Romans to death, to gratify his wife Messalina.—The canal between the Rhine and the Maese cut.
4761	801	48	The empress Messalina, having filled Rome with her debaucheries, publicly marries Caius Silius, during the emperor's life-time, for which they are both put to death by Claudius.—The Gauls admitted into the senate.
4762	802	47	Miserable death of Herod Agrippa, Acts xii. 23.—Seneca recalled from banishment, and made preceptor to Nero Cæsar, son of the empress Agrippina.
4763	803	50	The city of London built by the Romans about this time.—Cologne founded by Agrippina.
4765	805	52	Caractacus, sent in chains to Rome, receives his liberty from Claudius.—The apostles hold a council at Jerusalem.—St. Paul preaches at Athens.—Astrologers expelled Italy.
4767	807	54	Claudius, poisoned by his empress Agrippina, is succeeded by Nero, son of the empress, and grandson of Germanicus.
4769	809	56	The city of Rotterdam built about this time.
4772	812	59	Nero puts his mother Agrippina to death, and begins his public debaucheries. St. Paul pleads at Cæsarea, before Felix, governor of Judea, Syria, &c.
4773	813	60	St. Paul makes his defence before Festus, the successor of Felix, and appeals to the court of Rome; soon afterwards, he preaches before Herod Agrippa, king of the Jews.—A remarkable comet appears.
4774	814	61	Boadicea, queen of a part of Britain, defeats the Romans, and burns the city of London; but is soon afterwards conquered by Suetonius, and poisons herself in the year 64.
4775	815	62	St. Mark, the Evangelist, dies about this time.—St. Paul, sent in bonds to Rome, by sea, from Sidon, in the beginning of winter, is shipwrecked at Melita, or Malta: the ensuing spring he pursues his voyage, and arrives safe in Italy.
4776	816	63	A great earthquake on the 5th of February destroys part of the city of Pompeii, at the foot of Vesuvius, and greatly damages Herculaneum.
4777	817	64	The city of Rome, set on fire by Nero, burns for six days; upon which the first Gentile persecution of the Christians begins.—The Jews begin their revolt by pelting the governor Florus with stones.
4778	818	65	Seneca, Lucan, and many other eminent characters, put to death, at Rome.—The city of Lyons destroyed by fire.
4779	819	66	Nero goes into Greece, and holds public trials of skill with tragedians, musicians, dancers, and charioteers.—The Jewish war begins in May, under Vespasian, in consequence of Nero having decided the controversy relative to Cæsarea, in favour of the Syrians.
4780	820	67	Simon Magus, founder of the sect of Gnostics, causes St. Peter and St. Paul to be cast into prison, and shortly afterwards put to death, the former by crucifixion, the latter by decapitation.—Vespasian defeats the Jews, and takes Josephus, the historian, prisoner.
4781	821	68	Nero, deposed by the senate, kills himself, and Galba is proclaimed.
4782	822	69	Civil wars between Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian; the latter remains master of the empire.—The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus destroyed by fire.
4783	823	70	Vespasian orders the capitol to be rebuilt, the first stone of which is laid on the 21st of June.—Titus, son of Vespasian, takes Jerusalem, on the 7th of September, which puts an end to the Jewish war. The city and temple are levelled with the ground, and the lands of Judea sold.
4784	824	71	Vespasian triumphs for his victories over the Jews.—The temple of Janus is shut, for the sixth time, the empire being at peace.

No. V.

Although the Table No. III. gives a full as well as a synchronical view of the reigning princes in all the countries connected with Scripture history, it is scarcely explicit enough in showing the succession of the Asmonæans and Herodians in Judea. The following will supply the information, which is of some importance to a clear perception of those periods of the Jewish history during which these princes flourished :—

ASMONÆAN PRINCES.

MATTATHIAS,
took up arms against Antiochus Epiphanes.



HERODIAN OR IDUMÆAN PRINCES.

ANTIPAS.

ANTIPATER.

HEROD = MARIAMNE = MARIAMNE = MATTHÆ = CLEOPATRA.

2d daughter
of Simon.

ARISTOBULUS,
put to death by
Herod.

HEROD PHILIP,
Mark vi. 17;
Luke iii. 1.

ARCHÆLAUS,
Ethnarch of Judæa,
Samaria, Idumæa.
Matt. ii. 22.

HEROD ANTIPAS = HERODIAS.
to whom Christ
was sent by Pi-
late.

AGRIPPA I.,
imprisoned Peter, put to death James,
brother of John, and was himself struck
with death, publicly, Acts xii.

HERODIAS,
first the wife of Phi-
lip the tetrarch, then
of Herod Antipas.

SALOME,
whose dancing pleased Herod
Antipas, and procured the
death of John the Baptist.

AGRIPPA II.,
before whom
Paul pleaded.

DRUSUS.

BERENICE,
before whom
Paul pleaded.

DRUSILLA = FELIX,
the proconsul, before
whom Paul pleaded.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL MEMORANDA.

ALTHOUGH it forms no part of our object to give an analysis or summary of the Scripture narrative, there are some two or three topics connected with the history of the Hebrews that call for distinct notice, inasmuch as a knowledge of them is intimately connected with the interpretation of the Scriptures. Of these, the principal are, Forms of Government, Jurisprudence and Legal Procedure, and Military and Fiscal Affairs; each of which may properly furnish the subject of a section.

SECTION I.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT.

Patriarchal—Theocratical—The Hebrew Commonwealth—Tributary Condition of the Hebrews—Of the Maintenance of the Kings.

1. THE earliest form of government among the Hebrews, of which we have any knowledge, was the patriarchal, as exercised by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is quite natural to suppose that Adam, the progenitor of mankind, would be acknowledged as supreme among his children, and that the authority he exercised over them would be unlimited. When his posterity separated into distinct families, the respective fathers of each tribe were acknowledged as princes, maintaining the chief power and command, without being accountable to any other authority. They also officiated as priests in their respective families. This form of government appears to have been continued, under some modifications, to the time when Moses was invested with the supreme authority, to liberate his oppressed brethren from the yoke of Egypt; for during the negotiations which preceded their deliverance, the applications and messages were all addressed to the patriarchal rulers of the people. "Go, gather the Elders of Israel together," was the command of Jehovah to the son of Amram, when the latter received authority to rescue the descendants of Isaac from the hand of the tyrant.

2. During the pilgrimage in the wilderness, and more particularly when the tribes approached the confines of the devoted nations of Canaan, the original jurisdiction of the family chiefs was rendered subordinate to the military power of their inspired leader, who, as the commander of the armies of Israel, was obeyed and esteemed by his

followers as the lieutenant of the Lord of Hosts. In truth, the martial labours to which his office called him, placed the successor of Moses at the head of his countrymen in the quality of a general, guiding them on their march, or forming their array in the field of battle, rather than as a teacher of wisdom, or the guardian of a peculiar faith and worship. Until the conquered lands were divided among the victorious tribes, Joshua was a soldier, and nothing more; while, on the other hand, the congregation of the Hebrews, who seconded so well his military plans, appear at that juncture on the page of history in no other light than that of veteran troops, rendered hardy by long service in a parching climate, and formidable by the arts of discipline, under a skilful and warlike leader. From the exode, in short, till towards the end of Joshua's administration, we lose sight of that simple scheme of domestic superintendence which Jacob established among his sons. The princes of tribes, and the heads of families, were converted into captains of thousands, of hundreds, and of fifties; regulating their movements by the sound of the trumpet, and passing their days of rest amid the vigilance and formality of a regular encampment.*

3. With the Levitical law, another and extraordinary form of government was introduced, which has obtained the distinctive appellation of a *theocracy*; Jehovah assuming a marked and visible relation to the posterity of Abraham; becoming their lawgiver, king, and judge. Under this character he gave the Law from Sinai, appointed judges and magistrates, made peace and war, and received the half-shekel as a tribute or revenue. Whatever may have been the authority possessed by the various orders in the Jewish state, it stopped short of making and promulgating the laws, which was a prerogative retained by the divine Head of the tribes:—"Now, therefore, hearken, O Israel, unto the statutes, and unto the judgments, which I teach you, for to do them; that ye may live, and go in and possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers giveth you. Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish ought from it, that ye may keep the commandments of the Lord your God which I

* Russell's Palestine, p. 47.

command you," Deut. iv. 1, 2, xii. 32. Indeed, without the sanction of Jehovah, as revealed by Urim and Thummim, no measure of importance could be undertaken. It is only by taking this view of the Hebrew government that we can understand the reason of various prescribed laws and institutions, under that dispensation. Thus, we must regard the tabernacle and temple as the palace of the great King; the priests and Levites as his attendants; the sacrifices, the libations of wine, and the shew-bread, as the daily provision for his household; and the mercy-seat as his royal throne. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten, that God was the king of Israel in a spiritual as well as in a temporal sense. The one tended to strengthen the other; and they jointly opposed a strong barrier against the introduction of idolatry, by restricting the intercourse of the Israelites with foreign nations, and making polytheism a crime against the state.

4. The first events that occurred after the demise of Joshua appear to establish the fact, that to every tribe was committed the management of its own affairs, even to the extent of being entitled to wage war and make peace, without the advice or sanction of the rest. It seems evident, that as soon as the people found rest for the sole of their foot, in the land of which they had, under the direction and by the aid of the Lord, taken possession, they were eager to return to their ancient and patriarchal form of society; which they were permitted to do, under such modifications as rendered it compatible with that theocratic character to which we have referred. In every tribe there was a chief, called the prince of the tribe, or the head of thousands; and under him were the princes of families, or commanders of hundreds.* It is probable that the first-born of the senior family of each tribe was usually received as the prince of that tribe, and that the eldest son of every subordinate family succeeded his father in the honours and duties which belonged to the rank of a patriarch. The heads of the respective tribes presided over their affairs, administered justice in all ordinary cases, and led the troops in time of war. In the discharge of these duties they were assisted by the subordinate officers, the chiefs of families, who formed the council in such matters of policy as affected their

particular districts, supported the decisions of the prince in civil or criminal inquiries, and, finally, commanded under him in the field of battle. These heads of tribes and heads of families constituted the national senate, whose deliberations guided the administration of affairs in all cases of difficulty or hazard, and thus formed the bond of a federative state. See Judg. xx. 2, &c. During this period of the Hebrew history, the supreme power was occasionally exercised by judges, who appear to have been raised up by God, as occasion required, to deliver the people from the hand of an oppressor, and upon whom they conferred, in consequence, the highest functions of the government.

5. The period during which the theocracy continued has been a subject of dispute. Some writers are of opinion that it terminated when the Israelites unadvisedly asked for and obtained a king; while others, with more reason, maintain that it continued until the coming of the Messiah. The Jewish monarchs appear only to have been viceroys, bound to govern by certain laws, and accountable for their conduct to Jehovah, the supreme magistrate in the state. They were raised up and displaced under the immediate direction of God; whilst a succession of prophets was established, to perpetuate the intercourse between Jehovah as sovereign, and the Jews as his peculiar people. Hence, the changes which the Hebrew government underwent at various times only interrupted, and did not destroy, the theocratic relation subsisting between God and the seed of Abraham.†

6. After the division of the twelve tribes, the two kingdoms were governed by their respective sovereigns, till the times of the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities. On the return of the two tribes from Babylon, they were ruled by Zerubbabel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, for a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years, B. C. 408. From the death of Nehemiah till the year B. C. 166, they subsisted as a commonwealth, governed by the high-priest and the council of seventy-two; and were successively tributary to the Persians, Greeks, Macedonians, Egyptians, and Syrians. Under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews were miserably persecuted, and compelled to take up arms in their own defence. Judas and his valiant brothers maintained a religious war for twenty-six years, with five of the Syrian kings; and after destroying 200,000 of their enemies,

* The land having been divided by lot among the twelve tribes, each tribe was put in possession of a separate district or province, in such manner that, to use the words of Lowman, each tribe may be said to have lived together in one and the same county, and each family in one and the same hundred; so that every neighbourhood were relations to each other, and of the same families, as well as inhabitants of the same place.

† On this subject the reader may consult Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i., p. 188, &c.; Jennings's Jewish Antiq., p. 94; Warburton's Divine Legation, b. v., a. 8; and Jahn, Archæol. Bib. § 213—222.

re-established the independence of their country. For a period of one hundred and twenty-nine years the Jews maintained their liberty under a succession of the Asmonean princes, when they were rendered tributary to the Roman empire. During this period the Herodian family was invested with the government of Judea, the last of whom was Agrippa, whose death is recorded Acts xii. 21—23. On the death of Herod the Great, however, the Jewish kingdom may be said to have expired; for it was shortly afterwards reduced to the form of a Roman province, and was governed by procurators sent from Rome.

7. We may not close this section without noticing the funds appropriated to the maintenance of the Jewish kings; but our information here is meagre and unsatisfactory. Michaëlis conceives them to have been derived from the following sources: (1) *Voluntary offerings*, or presents, 1 Sam. x. 27, xvi. 20. (2) *A tithe* of all the produce of the fields and vineyards* (1 Sam. viii. 15), and probably a tax in money, 1 Kings x. 14. (3) The *royal domains*, consisting of unappropriated lands, or the property of state criminals, 1 Kings xxi. 15; 1 Chron. xxvii. 28. (4) The produce of the *royal flocks*, of which there seem to have been very large ones under the care of Arabian herdsmen, 1 Chron. xxvii. 29—31. (5) The *mowing of the best grass* of the public pastures. (6) The *plunder and tribute* of the conquered nations, 2 Sam. viii. 1—14; 1 Kings iv. 21; 1 Chron. viii. 1—11; Ps. lxxii. 10. (7) The customs paid by foreign merchants, who passed through the dominions of Solomon (1 Kings x. 15), and also the produce of the extensive merchandise which he carried on, 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 10, 14, 15, 28, 29.†

SECTION II.

JURISPRUDENCE, AND FORMS OF LEGAL PROCEDURE.

Perfection of the Jewish Law—Courts of Judicature and Legal Proceedings; Tribunals; Judicial Procedure; the Sacred Lot; Judicial Usages of the Romans—The Criminal Law of the Hebrews—The Civil Law—Modes of Punishment, and the Treatment of Prisoners.

It is evident, from what we have said in a former section, as to the source of law amongst the Hebrews, that the science of jurisprudence must, in all respects, have been in the very highest

degree of perfection, viewed in relation to the character of the people and the purposes of their social organization. Jehovah was himself the Lawgiver, as also the Judge, in all cases of appeal and of difficulty: the statutes and the judgments were his; and there was no authority in Israel, either to amend the one or alter the other. To administer the laws thus promulgated, and execute the judgments thus pronounced, constituted the business of those subordinate judges who, under God, the supreme magistrate in the state, were appointed and clothed with judicial functions. We proceed to notice, in detail, the various branches of this subject.

§ 1.—*Courts of judicature and legal proceedings.*

I.—1. OUR information respecting the judicial tribunals amongst the Hebrews is not very satisfactory; the notices of them in the writings of Moses are very imperfect; and the Jewish rabbins and the generally acute historian, Josephus, are strangely at variance. It appears, however, that every city had its elders, who formed a court of judicature, with the power to determine lesser matters in their respective districts (see Deut. xvi. 18, xvii. 8, 9, xxi. 1—9). According to the rabbins, every city which contained a hundred inhabitants, possessed a court of judicature, consisting of three judges; but all cities with a larger population had, according to Maimonides and others, twenty-three of these officers. Josephus, on the other hand, states that in every city Moses ordained seven judges of known integrity and virtue, to whom two ministers were added, out of the tribe of Levi: so that each city had nine judicial functionaries, seven laymen, and two Levites.‡ Leaving these discrepancies, which are, after all, of no very great consequence, we may speak with confidence as to the duties and obligations of these administrators and executors of the law. The Hebrew legislator, as the prime minister of Jehovah, enjoined upon them the strictest impartiality, in the discharge of their judicial functions, and prohibited the taking of gifts by them, under any circumstances that they might be offered (Exod. xxiii. 8); reminding them, that as a judge sits in the seat of God, no man should have any pre-eminence in his estimation, and neither ought he to be afraid of any man in administering the law (Exod. xxiii. 6, 7; Lev. xix. 15; Deut. i. 17, xxi. 18—20).

2. The numerous references to the “gate of the

* Sir John Malcolm states, that in India the same proportion is mentioned in their sacred books, as having been established at the commencement of monarchy, for the support of the monarch. *Memoir on Central India*, vol. ii., p. 2.

† Comment. on the Laws of Moses, vol. i., pp. 299—307.

‡ Antiquities, b. iv., chap. 14; Wars, b. ii., chap. 20.

city" that occur in the Old Testament, show, as Fleury remarks, that here the seat of justice was originally set up. As the Israelites were all husbandmen, who went out in the morning to their work, and did not return till the evening, the gate of the city was the place where they most frequently met; and we must not be astonished to find that the people laboured in the fields and dwelt in the towns. These were not cities like our provincial capitals, which can hardly subsist on what is supplied to them by twenty or thirty leagues of the surrounding soil. They were the habitations for as many labourers as were necessary to cultivate the nearest fields; hence, as the country was very populous, the towns were very thickly scattered. For a similar reason, among the Greeks and Romans, the scene of meeting for all matters of business, was the market-place, or forum, because they were all merchants.* The judges took their seats immediately after morning prayers, and continued till the end of the sixth hour, or twelve o'clock.† See Gen. xxiii. 10, 18, xxxiv. 24; Deut. xvi. 18; Ruth iv. 1—10, &c.

3. It appears, by Deut. xvii. 8—11, that appeals lay from these local courts to a supreme tribunal. But the earliest mention of any such tribunal is under the reign of Jehoshaphat, and which, it is expressly stated, was erected for the decision of such cases, 2 Chron. xix. 8—11. The Jewish writers insist that this was the Sanhedrin, to which there are so many allusions in the New Testament, and which they also assert to have existed from the time of Moses, and to have possessed the supreme authority in all civil matters. Of this, however, there is not a vestige of proof: indeed, this assembly seems not to have been instituted till the time of the Maccabees. After this period, it is frequently spoken of as the supreme judicial tribunal. It consisted of seventy, seventy-one, or seventy-two members, chosen from among the chief priests, Levites, and elders of the people (of whom the high-priest was the president), and took cognizance of the general affairs of the nation. It gave judgment, however, only in the most important causes, reserving inferior matters for the lower courts; appeals from which, as we have before stated, lay here.‡

4. By images taken from these Jewish courts, our Lord, in a very striking manner, represents the different degrees of future punishment to which wicked men will be doomed, according to the

respective heinousness of their crimes. "But I say unto you, that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment; whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the council; but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell fire," Matt. v. 22. That is, Whosoever shall indulge causeless and unprovoked resentment against his Christian brother, shall be punished with a severity similar to what is inflicted by a court of judgment; he who shall suffer his passions to transport him to greater extravagances, so as to make his Christian brother the object of derision and contempt, shall be exposed to a punishment still severer, corresponding to what the council imposeth; but he who shall load his fellow-Christian with odious names and abusive language, shall incur the severest degree of all punishments, adequate to that of being burnt alive in the valley of Hinnom.||

II. Of judicial procedure, or *form of process*, as we call it, our information is still more scanty than with regard to the courts of judicature.

1. In the early period of the Hebrew commonwealth, judicial procedure was no doubt very summary, as it still continues to be in many parts of Asia; and therefore very few rules are prescribed for conducting it. Of advocates such as ours, there is no appearance in any part of the Old Testament. Every man managed his own cause; of which an instance is furnished in 1 Kings iii. 15—28. From a passage in Job xxix. 15—17, Michaëlis infers that men of wisdom and influence might be asked for their opinions in difficult cases, and that they might also interfere to assist those who were not capable of defending themselves against malicious accusers. The exhortation in Isai. i. 17 he also thinks to have a reference to such a practice.

2. In criminal cases, the judge's first business was to exhort the accused person to confess the crime with which he stood charged, "that he might have a portion in the next life." Thus Joshua exhorted Achan to "make confession, and give glory to the Lord God of Israel," Josh. vii. 19. The oath was then administered to the witnesses (Lev. v. 1),§ who offered their evidence against him; after which the accused was heard in defence," John vii. 51. In matters where life

* Mœurs des Israélites, xxv.

† Lewis, Orig. Heb., lib. i. 6.

‡ Godwyn's Moses and Aaron, b. v.; Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple, chap. xxii.; Lamy's Apparatus Biblicus, b. i., cap. 12; Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i., p. 247, &c.

|| Bourne's Sermons, vol. i., p. 393. See also Lamy, b. i., c. 12; Macknight and others on the place; and Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 188, 189.

§ In general the person to be sworn did not pronounce the formula of the oath; he only heard it pronounced, subjecting himself to the curse it contained, by pronouncing Amen. See Matt. xxvi. 63.

was concerned, *one* witness was not sufficient (Numb. xxxv. 30; Deut. xvii. 6, 7, xix. 15); but in those of lesser moment, particularly those merely relating to money and value, it seems that a single witness, if unexceptionable, and upon oath, was enough to decide between the plaintiff and defendant. From the account of our Saviour's trial before the supreme council, we see that witnesses were examined separately, and without hearing each other's declaration, and that it was necessarily in the presence of the accused. This is evident from the contradiction in the evidence of the two witnesses brought against the Redeemer (Mark xiv. 15), which would doubtless have been avoided, had they been admitted into court together.

3. Sentence having been pronounced on a person found guilty of a capital crime, he was hurried away to the place of execution; and in cases where the punishment of stoning was inflicted, the witnesses were compelled to take the lead, Deut. xvii. 7, Acts vii. 58, 59. It was also customary for the judge and the witnesses to lay their hands on the criminal's head, saying, "Thy blood be upon thine own head." To this usage, which was a declaration of the justice of the sentence, the Jews alluded, when they said with reference to our Lord, "His blood be upon us and our children," Matt. xxvii. 25. In Matt. xxvi. 39, 42, where our Lord says, "Father, if it be possible, let this *cup* pass from me," there is an allusion to the practice which obtained among the Jews, of giving the malefactor a cup of wine, in which there was infused a grain of incense, for the purpose of intoxicating and stupifying him, that he might be the less sensible of pain.*

III. For the purpose of deciding in disputed cases of property, where no other means of decision remained, recourse was had to the sacred lot, which was regarded as the determination of God, Prov. xvi. 33, xviii. 18. It was for this purpose that the *Urim* and *Thummim* was employed; which was also used in criminal cases, for the purpose of *discovering* the guilty, but never for convicting them.†

IV. We have already noticed the subjugation of Judea by the victorious arms of the Romans, and the administration of the law by procurators or governors sent thither from Rome. During the time of the New Testament history, the Roman tribunal was of necessity the last resort, in cases of a criminal nature: the Jews could

put no man to death without the consent of the governor (John xviii. 31), though they had the power of inflicting inferior punishments, and in most other respects lived according to their own laws. Hence the allusions to the Roman law, mode of trial, &c., in the New Testament, are numerous, and demand consideration. The following sketch is chiefly compiled from Dr. Harwood, who has availed himself of the best authorities in the consideration of the subject.

1. The Roman law, in conformity to the first principle of nature and reason, ordained that no one should be condemned and punished without a previous public trial. This obtained not only in Italy, but also in the provinces; and hence there are several allusions to it in the New Testament. Paul, who, with the rest of the apostles, availed himself of every legal method which the usages and maxims of the times had established, to avoid persecution, and extricate himself from calamity and suffering, on several occasions pleaded this privilege with success. When Lysias, the Roman tribune, ordered him to be conducted into the castle, and to be examined by scourging, he said to the centurion, as the soldiers were fastening him with thongs to the pillar for this purpose, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?" Acts xxii. 25. The centurion, upon hearing this, reported it to the tribune, who, upon hearing the fact from the apostle himself, immediately set him at liberty, much alarmed for having thus bound a Roman citizen. In like manner, when Paul and Silas were treated with such indignity at Philippi, by the multitude, countenanced by the magistrates—were beaten with rods—thrown into the public jail, and their feet made fast in the stocks—Paul said to the lictors whom the magistrates had sent to set them at liberty, "We are Roman citizens; your magistrates have ordered us to be publicly scourged without a legal trial—they have thrown us into a dungeon—and would they now have us steal away in a silent and clandestine manner? No! let them come in person, and conduct us out themselves." The lictors returned, and reported this answer to the magistrates, who were greatly alarmed when they understood that Paul and his companion were Roman citizens. They therefore went in person to the jail, addressed them with great civility, and begged them in the most respectful terms that they would quietly leave the town, Acts xvi. 37—39.

2. The conduct of the tribune Lysias toward the apostle was of the most humane and honourable description. On one occasion he rescued him from an infuriated mob, who were about to inflict violence on his person, Acts xxi. 27—36. And

* Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, b. v., c. 6.

† Michaelis on the *Laws of Moses*, vol. iv., pp. 313—362; Lamy's *App. Bib.*, b. i., c. 12.

afterwards, when about forty Jews associated and bound themselves with an oath that they would neither eat nor drink till they had assassinated him, Lysias, to secure the person of the apostle from their determined fury, ordered seventy horsemen and two hundred spearmen to escort the prisoner to Cæsarea, where the procurator resided; writing a letter, in which he informed the governor of the vindictive rage of the Jews, from whose violence he had snatched the prisoner, and whom he afterwards* discovered to be a Roman citizen. In consequence of this epistle, Felix gave the apostle a candid reception; when he read it, he turned to him and said, "When your accusers come hither before me, I will give your cause an impartial hearing."† And, accordingly, when the high-priest Ananias, and the Sanhedrin, went down to Cæsarea, with the orator Tertullus, whose eloquence they had hired to aggravate the apostle's crimes before the procurator, Felix, though a man of a mercenary and profligate character, did not depart from the Roman honour in this regard, would not violate the usual processes of judgment to gratify this body of men, though the most illustrious personages of the province he governed, by condemning the apostle unheard, and yielding him, friendless as he was, to their fury, merely on *their* impeachment. He allowed the apostle to offer his vindication, and exculpate himself from the charges they had alleged against him; and was so far satisfied with his apology as to give orders for him to be treated as a prisoner at large, and for all his friends to have free access to him; disappointing those who thirsted for his blood, and drawing down upon himself the relentless indignation of the Jews, who, undoubtedly, from such a disappointment, would be instigated to lay all his crimes and oppressions before the emperor. The same strict honour in observing the usual forms and processes of the Roman tribunal appears in Festus, the successor of Felix. Upon his entrance into his province, when the leading men among the Jews waited upon him to congratulate him upon his accession, and took that opportunity to inveigh with great virulence and bitterness against the apostle (Acts xxv.), soliciting it as a favour that he would send him to Jerusalem—designing, as it afterwards appeared, had he complied with their request, to have hired ruffians to murder him on the road—Festus told them it was his will that Paul should

remain in custody at Cæsarea, but that any persons whom they had fixed upon, might go down along with him, and produce at his tribunal what they had to allege against the prisoner, Acts xxv. 1—5. How importunate and urgent the priests and principal magistrates of Jerusalem were with Felix, when in this capital, to pass sentence of death upon the apostle, merely on *their* impeachment, appears from what the procurator himself told king Agrippa and Berenice: "I have here," said he, "a man whom my predecessor left in custody, when he quitted this province. During a short visit I paid to Jerusalem, upon my arrival, I was solicited by the priests and principal magistrates to pass sentence of death upon him. To these urgent entreaties I replied, that it was not customary for the Romans to gratify any man with the death of another—that the laws of Rome enacted that he who is accused *should have his accuser face to face*; and have license to answer for himself concerning the crimes laid against him." Acts xxv. 14—16.

3. It appears, also, from numberless passages in the classics, that a Roman citizen could not legally be *scourged*,—a punishment which was deemed to the last degree dishonourable, and the most daring indignity and insult upon the Roman name.‡ To this privilege of Roman citizens, there are references in the New Testament. Paul pleads this immunity, Acts xxii. 25: "Is it lawful for you to scourge a Roman?" So, also, at Philippi he told the messengers of the magistrates: "They have *beaten* us openly, uncondemned, being *Romans*," Acts xvi. 37. Neither was it lawful for a Roman citizen to be *bound*, to be examined by the *question*, or to be the subject of any ingenious and cruel arts of tormenting to extort a confession from him. These punishments were deemed *servile*; torture was not exercised but upon slaves.|| This will illustrate what Luke says, concerning Lysias the Tribune. This officer, not knowing the dignity of his prisoner, had, in violation of this privilege of Roman citizens, given orders for the apostle to be *bound* and *examined* with thongs, Acts xxii. 24, 25. When he was afterwards informed by his centurion that Paul was a freeman of Rome, the sacred historian observes, that, upon receiving this intelligence, the chief captain was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had *bound* him, ver. 29.

* "I have since learned that he is a Roman citizen." The particle is in the *second aorist*.

† Hear it *through*; give the *whole* of it an attentive examination.

‡ Cicero in Verrem, lib. v., 162, 163; Appian. Bell. Civil., lib. ii., p. 731, *Tollii*, &c.

|| Cicero in Verrem, lib. v. 170; Dion. Cassius, lib. lx., p. 963. *Reimar*, &c.

4. When the apostle discovered that Festus was disposed to gratify the Jews, we find him appealing from a provincial court to the imperial tribunal—from the jurisdiction of the Procurator to the decision of the Emperor, Acts xxv. 9—11. This appears to be another singular advantage enjoyed by a citizen of Rome. Festus, after deliberating with the Roman council, turned and said to him, "Have you appealed to the emperor?—By the emperor, then, you shall be judged," ver. 12. Suetonius informs us that Augustus delegated a number of consular persons at Rome to receive the appeals of people in the provinces, and that he appointed *one* person to superintend the affairs of each province.* This right, which the Roman freemen enjoyed, is confirmed by a passage in the famous epistle of Pliny to Trajan, in which he says, that the contumacious and inflexibly obstinate Christians (that is, those who would not apostatize) he ordered to be immediately punished; but others, being citizens of Rome, he directed to be carried thither.†

§ 2.—The Criminal Law.

THE Jewish code of criminal laws is distributed by Michaëlis into six classes; viz., those which take cognizance of *Crimes against God; Crimes of Lust; Crimes of blood; Crimes against property; Crimes of malice; and Crimes against parents and rulers.*‡

I. CRIMES AGAINST GOD.—As the maintenance of the worship of the only true God was one of the fundamental objects of the Mosaic polity, and as that God was at the same time regarded as the king of the Israelitish nation, so we find,

1. *Idolatry*, that is, the worship of other gods, occupying, in the Mosaic law, the first place in the list of crimes. It was indeed a crime, not merely against God, but also against a fundamental law of the state, and thus a species of high treason. It must be remarked, however, that the crime consisted, not in ideas and opinions, but in the *overt act* of worshipping other gods. Thus a person was guilty of idolatry, (1.) if he *made images* of strange gods, or *kept* such images, so as to make it manifest that he revered them as gods, Deut. xvii. 15. Indeed the prohibition in

Exod. xx. 4, 5, prohibits all *image worship*, whether it refer to the true God, or to the idols of the Gentiles. (2.) *Prostration* before strange gods, in an attitude of adoration or worship, which was so universally prevalent in the East, constituted the crime of idolatry, Exod. xx. 5: the prohibition included the adoration of the heavenly host, Deut. iv. 19; (3.) *offering sacrifices* to idols, in which the religion of the heathen principally consisted, Lev. xvii. 1—7; (4.) having *altars or groves dedicated to idols*. These were expressly ordered to be destroyed for the purpose of obliterating the memorials of the idolatrous practices of the Canaanites, Exod. xxxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5; xii. 3. (5.) *Eating offerings made to idols*, or attending the festivals of other gods, though no special law was framed against this, is presupposed to be unlawful, in the prohibition of Exod. xxiv. 15. Indeed, its unlawfulness is sufficiently obvious; because for a person to have gone to any such offering feast, was a solemn declaration of his belief in the idol to whom it was made, and a full participation in the religion of the offerer, Acts xv. 20—29; 1 Cor. x. 14—28. || (6.) *Offering human sacrifices* (Lev. xviii. 31; Deut. xii. 31, &c.), which prevailed to a frightful extent among the heathen, and which, notwithstanding the severity of the laws enacted against it (Lev. xx. 1—5), was adopted by the Israelites (Deut. xii. 31; 2 Chron. xviii. 3; Ps. cvi. 37, 38; Jer. vii. 31; xix. 5; Ezek. xvi. 21), was most strenuously forbidden. The ground of the prohibition, *as an idolatrous act*, appears to have been its universal prevalence among idolatrous nations. Nearly akin to this was, (7.) *eating or drinking of blood*. (Lev. iii. 17; vii. 26, 27; xvii. 10—14; xix. 26; Deut. xii. 16, 23, 24; xv. 23), the principal reason of which prohibition seems, as in the former case, to have been the adoption of the practice in the pagan nations of Asia, in their sacrifices to idols, and in the taking of oaths: it was therefore regarded as expressive of a conversion to heathenism. § (8.) *Propheying in the name of a strange god*, which was a virtual recognition of his deity, and, as such, an act of idolatry, Deut.

* Vit. August. cap. 33., p. 208, Edit. Var. Lugd. Bat. 1662.

† Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 190—202.

‡ There is a very useful Harmony of the Mosaic Law, digested under proper heads, with a reference to all the passages of Scripture in which the details are to be found, in the Critica Biblica, vol. iv., pp. 108—112, which we have transferred to our pages, at the end of this section.

|| How this injunction is to be understood we see from various parts of the epistles of Paul, especially from Rom. xv., and 1 Cor. viii. and x. The propositions which he lays down are these: (1) Idol offerings eaten in an idol temple, or at an idol banquet, forms a participation in idolatrous worship. But (2) exclusive of this case, it is lawful to eat of idol offerings: for the idol is a nonentity, and has no property; every thing on the face of the earth, even the idol offering itself, belonging to the true God. (3) Yet ought we, for the sake of the weak, to abstain from eating of any such offering, if they are thereby scandalized, and tell us, for warning, that it is an idol offering. Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iv., p. 27.

§ Michaëlis, *ubi supra*, vol. iii., pp. 248—254.

xiii. 2—6. (9.) Every audacious transgression of the ceremonial law was regarded as an abandonment of the service of the true God; and, of course, as a transition to the service of other gods.—"The same reproacheth JEHOVAH; and that soul shall be cut off from among his people, because he hath despised the word of the Lord," Numb. xxi. 30, 31. The chief of these presumptuous crimes, or transgressions "in contempt of the law," were, The neglect of circumcision—(Gen. xvii. 14)—neglect of eating the paschal lamb (Numb. ix. 9, 14)—eating of a sacrifice in a state of legal uncleanness (Lev. vii. 20, 21)—neglect of purification after a legal defilement (Numb. xix. 20)—eating the fat pieces or blood of oxen, sheep, and goats (Lev. vii. 23—27)—imitating the sacred incense, which was to be offered to none but God, (Exod. xxx. 38)—profaning the Sabbath by doing servile work (Exod. xxxi. 14—16; xxxv. 2). Every trespass of the Levitical law which did not proceed from presumption, was termed an *error*, and was atoneable by an offering, Numb. xv. 27, 28. The punishment for idolatry, or for seducing others to the commission of that crime, was death, by stoning, Deut. xvii. 2—5; Lev. xx. 2, &c. And when a whole city became guilty of idolatry, it was considered as in a state of rebellion against the government, and treated according to the laws of war. Its inhabitants, and all their cattle, were put to death. No spoil was made, but every thing it contained was destroyed with itself; nor durst it ever be rebuilt, Deut. xiii. 13—19. The appropriate term, by which the punishment denounced against any such idolatrous city was expressed in the law, is *cherem*, to consecrate to Jehovah, or to put under the ban; to outlaw, or proscribe. See Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 15—17. We have, however, no intimation that this law was ever enforced. The Israelites, generally, were so prone to the sin of idolatry themselves, that they in most cases overlooked it in a city that became notoriously idolatrous; and thus the evil soon overspread the entire nation. Under these circumstances, God reserved to himself the infliction of the punishment denounced against that national crime; which consisted in wars, famines, and other heavy judgments; and, when the measure of their iniquity was complete, in the destruction of their polity, and the transportation of the people as slaves into other lands, Lev. xxvi; Deut. xxviii; xxix.; xxxii.

2. *Blasphemy*, or speaking injuriously of the name of God, was another crime which incurred capital punishment, Lev. xxiv. 10—14.

3. *Divination* and *incantation*, of which there were various kinds, were also crimes incurring capital punishment, Lev. xix. 26—31; xx. 6, 23,

27; Deut. xviii. 9—12; Exod. xxii. 17; Deut. xviii. 10—17. In the case of a person consulting a diviner, God reserved to himself the infliction of his punishment, the transgressor not being amenable to the secular magistrate, Lev. xx. 6.

4. *Perjury* is prohibited most peremptorily, as a heinous sin against God, to whom the punishment is left, and who expressly threatens to visit it on the offender, without ordaining any punishment to be inflicted by the temporal magistrate, Exod. xx. 7.

II. CRIMES OF LUST. The more flagrant and abominable of these were punished with *death*, others with *extirpation*, and some only by the imposition of fines and the exaction of offerings. For a consideration of this branch of the criminal law, the reader is referred to Michaëlis's Commentaries.*

III. CRIMES OF BLOOD. Of these,

1. *Murder* demands the first notice, Exod. xx. 13; xxi. 14; Lev. xxiv. 17; Numb. xxxv. 16—21, 31; Deut. xix. 11—13. The accessory circumstances, whereby Moses describes murder, and which express the marks that distinguish it from homicide, are the following: (1) When it proceeds from hatred or enmity. (2) When it proceeds from a thirst of blood, or a desire to satiate revenge with the death of another. (3) When it is committed premeditatedly and deceitfully. (4) When a man lies in wait for another, falls upon him, and slays him. Besides enmity, Moses deemed it as essential to the crime of murder, that it be caused by a *blow*, or a *thrust*, or a *cast*, or other thing of such a nature as was likely to prove fatal; as the use of an *iron tool*, a *stone*, or *piece of wood*, of such a description as was likely to cause death; *striking with the fist*, out of enmity, *pushing* a man, or throwing any thing at him, in a manner that was likely to occasion death, Numb. xxxv. 16—21.

2. *Homicide*, or, as we call it, *manslaughter*, is discriminated by the following adjuncts and descriptive circumstances:—(1) That it takes place without hatred or enmity, Numb. xxxv. 22, 23; Deut. xix. 4—6. (2) Without thirst of blood, Exod. xxi. 13; Numb. xxxv. 22. (3) When it happens from mistake, Numb. xxxv. 14, 15. (4) When it arises from accident, Deut. xix. 5.

3. The crime of murder was punished with death, without any power of redemption; and that of homicide subjected the guilty person to the vengeance of the nearest kin of the deceased, unless he fled to one of the six cities of refuge. Here he was obliged to remain till the death of the high-priest, when a general amnesty took

place, and the right of blood-avengement ceased. But if, at any time previous to this event, the homicide went beyond the limits of his asylum, the avenger of blood, if he met him, had a right to kill him, Exod. xxi. 13; Numb. xxxv. 9—35; Deut. xix. 1—13.

4. There were two species of homicide, however, to which no punishment was annexed:—(1) The killing of a *nocturnal thief*, Exod. xxii. 2; (2) the killing of an innocent homicide, by the blood-avenger, while the former was without the boundaries of the asylum, Deut. xix. 6; Numb. xxxv. 26, 27. In order to increase the abhorrence of murder and homicide among the Hebrews, and to represent it as polluting both the land and the people, and also to induce every person to give such information as he was possessed of, there was a certain ceremonial ordained by way of expiation, the statute relative to which is recorded in Deut. xxi. 1—9.

5. The statutes relative to *corporal injuries* of less magnitude than those just specified, will be found in Exod. xxi. 18—27; Lev. xxiv. 19, 20, 22; Deut. xxv. 11, 12, to which the reader is referred.

IV. CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY. These were,

1. *Theft*, for which crime Moses imposed the punishment of *double*, and in certain cases still *higher*, restitution (Exod. xxi. 37; xxii. 3; Prov. vi. 30, 31); and if the thief were unable to make such restitution, he was to be sold for a slave, and payment was to be made to the sufferer out of the purchase-money, Exod. xxi. 37; xxii. 3. This, as Michaëlis remarks, is the most equitable and rational of all punishments, and that which will most effectually deter from the commission of the crime, if carried into effect. It can only be carried into effect, however, in a state constituted upon principles similar to those of the Mosaic polity. If a thief, after having denied, even upon oath, any theft with which he was charged, retracted his perjury by the confession of guilt, instead of double restitution, he had only to repay the amount stolen, and one-fifth more, Lev. vi. 1—5.

2. *Man-stealing*, that is, forcibly taking the person of a free-born Israelite, either to use him as a slave, or to sell him as a slave to others, was punished with death; and no mitigation of punishment was allowed, Exod. xxi. 16; Deut. xxiv. 7.

3. *Denying any thing taken in trust or found*, subjected the guilty person to the punishment of double restitution, Exod. xxii. 8. But the same provision was made for a confession of guilt in this case as in that of theft, Lev. vi. 1—5.

V. CRIMES OF MALICE. The Hebrew legis-

lator struck at the root of this species of crime by rendering informers odious in the eyes of the law, except in the cases of idolatry and blasphemy (Lev. xix. 16—18; Deut. xiii. 7—9); and by expressly prohibiting the publication of all false reports, Exod. xxiii. 1. There was no specific punishment, however, annexed to these crimes of malice, that being left to the discretion of the judge, excepting the case of a man unjustly reproaching his bride, whose punishment is specified, Deut. xxii. 13—19. All manner of false witness, either against an innocent person or in favour of a guilty one, was also strictly prohibited, Exod. xx. 13; xxiii. 1—3. We find no punishment positively annexed to the latter species of false witness; but with regard to the former, the case was widely different. When false testimony was given against an innocent man, the matter was ordered to be investigated with the utmost strictness, and, as a species of falsehood altogether extraordinary, to be brought before the highest tribunal, where the priests and judges of the whole people sat in judgment. After conviction, the false witness was subjected to punishment, according to the law of retaliation, beyond the possibility of reprieve; so that he suffered the very same punishment which attended the crime whereof he accused his innocent brother, Deut. xix. 16—21.

VI. CRIMES AGAINST PARENTS AND RULERS. In the Hebrew form of government, we trace much of the patriarchal spirit which invested the fathers with very great rights over their families.† The most heinous offences of which children could be guilty towards their parents were,

1. *Cursing them* (Exod. xxi. 17; Lev. xx. 9), which included the use of all rude and reproachful language, as well as the imprecation of evil. An example of this crime, and one altogether in point, is given in Matt. xv. 4—6, where the Pharisees are upbraided with giving, from their deference to human traditions and doctrines, such an exposition of the divine law, as converted an action, which, by the law of Moses, would have been punished with death, into a vow, both obligatory and acceptable in the sight of God. It seems that it was not then uncommon for an undutiful and degenerate son, who wanted to be rid of the burden of supporting his parents, and, in his wrath, to turn them destitute upon the world, to say to his father and mother, “Corban”—“Be thou Corban [consecrated] which I should appropriate to thy support;” that is, “Every thing wherewith I might ever aid or serve thee,” and, of course, “every thing which I ought to devote

to thy relief in the days of helpless old age, I here vow unto God."—A most abominable vow, and one which God would, unquestionably, as little approve or accept, as he would a vow to commit the most obviously abominable crimes. And yet some of the Pharisees pronounced on such vows this strange decision—that they were absolutely obligatory, and that the son, who uttered such words, was bound to abstain from contributing in the smallest article to the relief of his parents; because every thing that should have been so appropriated had become consecrated to God, and could no longer be applied to their use, without sacrilege and a breach of his vow. But on this exposition, Christ not only remarked, that it abrogated the fifth commandment, but he likewise added, as a counter-doctrine, that Moses, their own legislator, had expressly declared, that "the man who cursed father or mother deserved to die." Now, it is impossible for a man to curse his parents more effectually than by a vow like this, when he interprets it with such rigour as to preclude him from doing any thing in future for their benefit. It is not merely imprecating upon them a curse, which may evaporate into air; but it is *fulfilling* the curse, and making it, to all intents and purposes, effectual.

2. *Striking* a parent is, if possible, a higher species of moral delinquency than that already noticed, because it must proceed from a state of inveterate wickedness. It was accordingly denounced as a heinous crime, and, like the former one, punished with death, Exod. xxi. 15.

3. There is a statute in Deut. xxi. 18—21, which inflicts the punishment of death upon a *mischievous, profligate, and disobedient son*. Michaëlis conceives that this law does not apply so much to the punishment of any particular crime against parents, as to the case of parents having a son addicted to drinking, and who, in his fits of drunkenness, was apt to pick quarrels, and endanger the safety of others. The statute has been deemed severe; but there are circumstances connected with it, which, if taken into consideration, will abate its apparent rigour. *First*, The stoning to death of such persons was to be inflicted with all proper solemnity, and as an example; "that others in Israel might hear, and be deterred from the like wickedness;" and not until his parents had found themselves compelled, after many unsuccessful efforts with him, and the trial of every possible method to reclaim him, *judicially* to acknowledge, that they were not capable of keeping him in order, and answering for the safety of others. *Secondly*, The just remark of Montesquieu also claims attention; that in *southern* countries, drunkenness is attended with far more formidable

consequences than in *northern*, and must be regarded by a legislator in a different light. And as imprisonment for crime was a thing altogether unknown to the Hebrews, they were precluded from the means of so securing drunkards, as to prevent them from effecting mischief.

4. The magistrate, being the appointed minister of God, and administering justice under his authority, was regarded as inviolably sacred in his person, and preserved against the utterance of all reproachful words or curses, Exod. xxii. 28. The punishment of persons guilty of this offence is nowhere specified, being modified according to the degree of guilt. It probably generally consisted of stripes, before the institution of the regal government, after which crimes against the king's person were punished with death. See 2 Sam. xix. 22—24, compared with 1 Kings ii. 8, 9, 36—46.*

§ 3.—*The Civil Law.*

OF the civil laws instituted by Moses, the following only require to be noticed.

1. Concerning DEBTS.—In nothing, perhaps, do the Israelitish laws deviate so far from our own, as in regard to matters of debt. We have already remarked, that imprisonment was unknown amongst the Hebrews, and they were equally free from those long and expensive modes of procedure to which we are subjected for the recovery of debts. Their laws in this respect were simple, but efficient. Where a pledge was lodged with a creditor for the payment of a debt, which was not discharged, the creditor was allowed to appropriate the pledge to his own benefit, without any interposition of a magistrate, and to keep it as rightfully as if it had been bought with the sum which had been lent for it. But, besides the *pledge*, every Israelite had various pieces of property, on which execution for debt might readily be made: as, (1) *His hereditary land*, the produce of which might be attached till the year of jubilee.—(2) *His houses*, which, with the sole exception of those of the Levites, might be sold in perpetuity, Lev. xxv. 29, 30.—(3) *His cattle, household furniture, and ornaments*, appear also to have been liable to have been taken in execution. See Job xxiv. 3; Prov. xxii. 27. From Deut. xv. 1—11, we see that no debt could be exacted from a poor man, in the *seventh* year; because the land lying fallow, he had no income whence to pay it.—(4) *The person of the debtor* might be sold, along with his wife and children, if he had any. See Lev. xxv. 39; Job xxiv. 9; 2 Kings iv. 1; Isai. i. 1;

* Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iv., pp. 1—312.

Neh. v. We have no intimation in the writings of Moses that *suretyship* was practised among the Hebrews, in cases of debt. In the Proverbs of Solomon, however, there are many admonitions respecting it. Where this warranty was given, the surety was treated with the same severity as if he had been the actual debtor; and if he could not pay, his very bed might be taken from under him, Prov. xxii. 27. There is a reference to the custom observed in contracting this obligation, in Prov. xvii. 18, "A man void of understanding *strikeeth hands*," &c.; and also in chap. xxii. 26, "Be not thou one of them that *strike hands*," &c. It is to be observed, that the hand was given, not to the creditor, but to the debtor in the creditor's presence. By this act the surety intimated that he became in a legal sense one with the debtor.

2. OF PLEDGES.—We have above noticed the practice of lending on pledge; but as this was liable to considerable abuse, the following judicial regulations were adopted.—(1) The creditor was not allowed to enter the house of the debtor to fetch the pledge; but was obliged to stand without the door, and wait till it was brought to him, Deut. xxiv. 10, 11. This law was wisely designed to restrain avaricious and unprincipled persons from taking advantage of their poor brethren in choosing their own pledges.—(2) The *upper garment*, which served by night for a blanket (Exod. xxii. 25, 26; Deut. xxiv. 12—13), and *mills*, and *mill-stones*, if taken in pledge, were to be restored to the owner before sun-set. The reason of this law was, that these articles were indispensable to the comfortable subsistence of the poor; and for the same reason it is likely that it extended to all necessary utensils. Such a restoration was no loss to the creditor. For he had it in his power at last, by the aid of summary justice, to lay hold of the whole property of the debtor, and if he had none, of his person; and in the event of non-payment, as before stated, to take him for a bond slave.

3. OF USURY, OR INTEREST.—In the first and second laws relative to the taking of interest (Exod. xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 35—37), mention is made of *poor* Israelites only, from whom it is expressly prohibited to be taken, not only for money, but also for victuals, and of course for fruits and corn. It was therefore still lawful to lend upon interest to a *rich* man. But as this was found to give rise to many abuses, and covert violations of the law, it was ultimately rendered unlawful to take interest of any Israelite, whatever his circumstances may have been, Deut. xxii. 19, 20.

4. OF INJURIES DONE TO THE PROPERTY OF OTHERS.—Although the Hebrew legislator has nowhere enjoined, by a general statute, restitution in

the case of injuries committed upon the property of another, he has nevertheless made some express ordinances on this subject, from the analogy of which we may conclude that this was the tenor of his law. See Lev. xxiv. 18; Exod. xxi. 23, 24, 32, 35, 36, xxii. 5.*

§ 4.—Modes of Punishment, and Treatment of Prisoners.

I. The purpose of inflicting punishment is expressed by Moses to be, the determent of others from the commission of crime. His language is, "That others may hear and fear, and commit no more any such evil," Deut. xvii. 13, xix. 20.† The punishments among the Jews were either capital or inferior. Some of them were expressly ordained by Moses; others were introduced from the surrounding nations, by whom they were successively subdued, at various periods of their history. Of these the only distinction we shall make is into *inferior* and *capital*.

1. The *inferior punishments* were, Restitution for theft, in certain proportions, Exod. xxii. 1—4. Deprivation of the delinquent's beard, 2 Sam. x. 4. Destroying their houses, Exod. vi. 11; Dan. ii. 5, iii. 29. Imprisonment in a dungeon (Jer. xxxviii. 6—aggravated by fetters (Judg. xvi. 21)—by a wooden yoke round the neck (Jer. xxvii. 2, xxviii. 13)—by the stocks (Prov. vii. 22; Jer. xx. 2)—by hard labour, &c., Judg. xvi. 21; 1 Kings xxii. 27. Confinement in the cities of refuge till the death of the high-priest, Numb. xxxv. 25—28. Whipping, with a scourge of three cords, so as to give the culprit forty, save one, Deut. xxv. 2, 3; 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25. Cutting off the hands and feet, Judg. i. 6, 7; 2 Sam. iv. 12. Putting out the eyes, Judg. xvi. 21.‡ Sealing up the eyes; which is alluded to in Isai. xlv. 18, where it is said, that God hath shut up the eyes of idolaters, that they cannot see; whence we infer that it was a judicial punishment.|| Fighting with wild beasts, which was sometimes not mortal (1 Cor. xv. 32), though it generally was so. Slavery till the sabbatical year, or till compensation was made for theft, Exod. xxi. 2. Sale of children for their father's debts, 2 Kings iv. 1; Matt. xviii. 25. Talio, or like for like, either literally (Exod. xxi. 23—25), or by compen-

* Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii., pp. 294—367.

† Ibid., vol. iii., p. 404, and iv., p. 371.

‡ This mode of punishment is still practised in the East. See Malcolm's Persia, vol. ii., chap. xix., p. 198, note.

|| See Harmer's Observations, vol. ii., p. 277, &c.

nation with money.* To these punishments we must add three others, which are generally and not improperly classed among ecclesiastical punishments; but the Hebrew form of government being *theocratic*, they necessarily partook of a civil as well as of an ecclesiastical nature.

(1) The *Nedui*, or separation, was inflicted on him who had despised the admonition given in private by the minister or leading man in the synagogue, or had been guilty of refusing to pay any debt to which he had been found liable, or had been guilty of certain offences, which have been collected out of the Talmud by Dr. Lightfoot† and Dr. Owen.‡ The time of its continuance was commonly thirty days; but if the person neglected to apply for a remission at the end of that time, he became virtually liable to the next higher degree of censure, although it was not always inflicted. During the continuance of this sentence, he was not prevented from hearing the law, or even from teaching it, if a master in Israel, provided he kept four paces distant from other persons. Nay, he might even go into the temple to attend divine service, under the same restrictions. If he died while under this sentence, they threw a stone upon his bier, to signify that he deserved stoning. This degree of excommunication is what is meant in the New Testament by *casting out of the synagogue*.||

(2) The second degree of excommunication was called *Cherem*, or "cutting off," to which Paul alludes, when he speaks of giving one over to Satan, 1 Cor. v. 5. It was an authoritative and public censure, pronounced by the synagogue, and lasted for thirty days. With persons under this malediction it was not lawful so much as to eat.

(3) But the highest degree of separation was the *Shemetha*; so called from a word which signifies to exclude, expel, or cast out; meaning that the persons on whom it was pronounced were cast out from the covenant of promise, and the commonwealth of Israel; and that they should be accounted by the Jews as heathen men and publicans. Some, however, interpret it as equivalent to *Maranatha*—the Lord cometh, i. e., to execute vengeance; or, There is death, i. e., an excommunication to death. It was inflicted on those who despised the *cherem*, and was by the greater part of the Jews esteemed total and final; the person who fell under it being left to

the judgment of God, without hope of reconciliation with the church. It included an utter exclusion from the congregation, confiscation of property, and exposure to death by the visible interposition of God. Hence it is called in the Targum, "the curse and execration of God;" and by the Talmudists, "the anathema of the God of Israel." This punishment is referred to in 1 Cor. v. 11, xvi. 22; Ezra x. 7, 8. And it is thought by some that there is a reference to it in 1 Cor. xi. 30, where the apostle tells the Corinthians, that in consequence of their improper observance of the Lord's supper, "many were weak and sickly among them, and many slept," or died by the visitation of heaven. And perhaps it is to this visible judgment of God, in the apostolic age, against egregious offenders, rather than to the unpardonable sin against the Holy Ghost, that the apostle John also refers in his first epistle (v. 16), when he says, "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and God shall give him life for them that sin not unto death. But there is a sin unto death: I do not say that he should pray for it." He might pray for offenders in general, and even for the souls of those who were under this visible judgment; but he might not pray for their restoration to health, since God was more glorified, and men more awed, by its continuance.§

(4) To the inferior punishments already enumerated, Michaëlis adds the *sin* and *trespass-offerings*, in consideration of which punishments were either entirely remitted, or capital punishments commuted for others less severe. Such offerings were, therefore, in themselves a kind of punishment. *First*, as *finis*; and, *secondly*, as an exposure to *shame*, in a public acknowledgment of guilt, which probably bore some resemblance to our ecclesiastical penance. They were to be offered in the following cases: (1) For every *unintentional transgression* of the Levitical law. Even if it was a sin of commission, a sin-offering being made, the legal punishment was thereupon remitted; which in the case of wilful transgression was nothing less than extirpation, Lev. iv. 2, v. 1, 4—7. (2) For every *rash oath* which was not kept. This was not for the inconsideration, however, but for the *neglect*, Lev. v. 4. (3) For *concealing* any thing against a guilty person, on his trial, and where the witness was sworn to depose to all he knew, Lev. v. 1. (4) For in-

* Lightfoot, *Horse Heb.*, Matt. v. 38.

† *Ibid.*, 1 Cor. v. 5.

‡ Exposition of the Heb., Exerc. 21.

|| Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, b. v., chap. 2.

§ Godwyn's *Moses and Aaron*, b. v., chap. 2; Lamy's *Apparat. Bib.*, b. i., chap. 12; Brown's *Antiq. of the Jews*, vol. ii., p. 25; Parkhurst's *Greek Lexicon*, *Μαράθα*; and Macknight on 1 Cor. v. 11.

curing a debt to the sanctuary; that is, not conscientiously paying the tithes. In addition to the trespass-offering in this case, the delinquent must make up his deficiencies, with twenty per cent. over and above, Lev. v. 14, 15. (5) The same was the rule, where a person denied any thing given him in trust, or any thing lost, which he had found, or any promise he had made; or where he had acquired any property dishonestly, and had his conscience awakened on account of it—even where it was a theft, of which he had once cleared himself by oath, but was now moved by the impulse of his conscience to make voluntary restitution, and wished to get rid of the guilt, Lev. vi. 1—7. By the offering made on such an occasion, the preceding crime was wholly cancelled; and because the delinquent would otherwise have had to make restitution, from two to five fold, he now gave twenty per cent. over and above the amount of his theft. (6) In the case of adultery committed with a slave, an offering was appointed (Lev. xix. 20—22); which did not, however, wholly cancel the punishment, but mitigated it from death, which was the established punishment of adultery, to that of stripes. That such measures as these must have had a very great effect in prompting to the restitution of property unjustly acquired, and to the retraction of false oaths, is quite obvious. But in cases of crimes, of which the good of the community expressly required that the legal punishment should be put in execution, no offering could be accepted.*

2. The capital punishments were—

(1) *Stoning*, which was the most general punishment denounced in the law against criminals who incurred capital punishment. It seems that *lapidation* was performed in two ways. The first was when stones were thrown on the guilty person till he was killed, in which the witnesses always threw the first stones, Deut. xvii. 17.† The second mode was, when the criminal was carried to a steep place twelve or fourteen feet in height, whence one of the two witnesses threw him headlong, and the other rolled a large stone upon his body. To the latter method there is supposed to be an allusion in Matt. xxi. 44: "Whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken; but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder;" for he that was thus stoned was first flung upon a stone, and then a stone was dashed upon

him.‡ The Jews generally stoned criminals outside of the city; but in some cases, as blasphemers, idolaters, or adulterers, they stoned them wherever they were found. Thus, when they brought to Jesus a woman taken in adultery (John viii. 7), he said to her accusers, "Let him who is without sin cast the first stone at her." And the Jews, pretending he blasphemed, took up stones to stone him, even in the temple, verse 59, x. 31. On such occasions they dispensed with the usual formalities, and followed the transports of their passion. This they called "the judgment of zeal."|| There were nineteen offences which subjected to this punishment, according to the rabbins; only six or seven of which are specified in the law. See Lev. xx. 2, 27, xxiv. 14; Deut. xiii. 10, xvii. 5, xxi. 21, xxii. 21, 24.

(2) *Strangling*, which was effected by two persons with a handkerchief, for the following offences: adultery, striking of parents, man-stealing, elders notoriously rebellious against the law, false prophets, and those who prognosticated future events in the name of false gods.

(3) *Slaying* with the sword, which was the punishment affixed to the two following offences: the voluntary manslayer, and the inhabitants of a city who had fallen into idolatry, Deut. xiii. 13—16; 1 Sam. xv. 33; 2 Sam. iv. 7; 2 Kings x. 7.

(4) *Drowning*, with a weight suspended from the neck, Matt. xviii. 6.

(5) *Sawing asunder*. It is said that Isaiah was subjected to this horrible death; and Paul alludes to it in Heb. xi. 37.

(6) *Braying in a mortar*, Prov. xxvii. 22. This punishment is still resorted to by the Turks.

(7) *Crucifixion*. This punishment was introduced among the Jews by the Romans, who had borrowed it from the Greeks. It obtained among the Egyptians, Persians, and Carthaginians. As this is the punishment to which our blessed Lord was subjected, we may be allowed to notice it more at length than we have any of the former punishments mentioned. Dr. Harwood has written very largely upon it, and from his work we have borrowed the following particulars:—Crucifixion is one of the most cruel and excruciating deaths which the art of ingeniously tormenting and extinguishing life ever devised. The person doomed to this dire end was distended on a cross;

* Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii., pp. 482—488.

† The wisdom of this law is apparent. It would seem that few men could become so hardened as to bear false witness against their neighbour, when they knew that they would be obliged to inflict the punishment of death themselves.

‡ Selden de Synedriis, lib. i., c. v., ii. 13; Lightfoot, Temple Service, chap. xxii.

|| Calmet's Bib. Ency., art. "Stoning."

§ See the authorities referred to in Fragments to Calmet, No. xxi.; and for further particulars relative to the various kinds of punishment adopted by the Hebrews, see his Bib. Ency., art. "Punishment."

had great nails driven through his hands and feet, the most exquisitely tender and sensible parts of the human frame; and he was left slowly to consume and die in this lingering and most miserable manner. There are instances of crucified persons living in this exquisite torture several days. The rites of sepulture were denied them. Their dead bodies were generally left on the crosses on which they were first suspended, and became a prey to every ravenous beast and carnivorous bird. It was generally a servile punishment, and chiefly inflicted on vile, worthless, and incorrigible slaves. In reference to this, the apostle, in describing the condescension of our Saviour, and his submission to this most opprobrious death, represents him as taking upon him the form of a SERVANT, and becoming obedient to death, even the death of the cross, Phil. iii. 7, 8. It was universally reputed the most shameful and ignominious death to which a wretch could be exposed. In such an exit were comprised every idea and circumstance of odium, disgrace, and public scandal. Hence the apostle magnifies and extols the benevolence and magnanimity which our blessed Lord displayed, who for the joy set before him endured the cross, despising *the shame* (Heb. xii. 2); regarding, with a generous disdain and contempt, every circumstance of public indignity and infamy with which such a death was loaded. It was from the idea they connected with such a death, that the Greeks treated the apostles with the last contempt and pity, for publicly embarking in the cause of a person who had been brought to this reproachful and dishonourable death by his own countrymen. The preaching of the cross was to them foolishness (1 Cor. i. 23); the promulgation of a system of religion that had been taught by a person who, by a national act, had publicly suffered the punishment and death of the most useless and abandoned slave, was, in their ideas, the last infatuation; and the preaching Christ crucified—publishing in the world a religion whose founder suffered on a cross, appeared the last absurdity and madness. The same inherent scandal and ignominy had crucifixion in the estimation of the Jews. They, indeed, annexed more complicated wretchedness to it; for they esteemed the miscreant who was adjudged to such an end, not only to be abandoned of men, but forsaken of God. "He that is hanged is accursed of God," Deut. xxi. 23. Hence Paul, representing to the Galatians the grace and benevolence of Jesus, who released us from that curse to which the law of Moses devoted us, by being made a curse for us, by submitting to be treated for our sakes as an execrable malefactor, to show the horror of such a death as

Christ voluntarily endured, adds, "It is written in the law, Cursed is every one that is hanged on a tree!" chap. iii. 13. And from this express declaration of the law of Moses, concerning persons thus executed, we account for that aversion the Jews discover against Christianity, and perceive the reason of what Paul asserts, that their "preaching of Christ crucified was to the Jews a stumbling-block," 1 Cor. i. 23.* The punishment of the cross caused them to stumble at the very gate of Christianity. The several circumstances related by the four evangelists, as accompanying the crucifixion of Christ, were conformable to the Roman custom in such executions, and not only reflect beauty and lustre upon these passages, but happily corroborate and confirm the narrative of the sacred penmen. Thus, when Pilate had pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and publicly adjudged him to be crucified, he gave orders that he should be scourged, Matt. xxvii. 20; Mark xv. 15. Among the Romans, this was always inflicted previously to crucifixion. After they had inflicted this customary whipping, the evangelists inform us that they obliged our Lord to carry to the place of execution the cross, or at least the transverse beam of it, on which he was to be suspended. Lacerated, therefore, with the stripes and bruises he had received—faint with the loss of blood—his spirits exhausted by the cruel insults and blows that were given him, when they invested him with robes of mock royalty—and oppressed with the incumbent weight of his cross; in this condition our Saviour was urged along the road. Fatigued and spent with the treatment he had received, our Lord could not support his cross. The soldiers, therefore, who attended him, compelled one Simon, a Cyrenian, who was coming from the country to Jerusalem, and happened then to be passing, to bear it after him. The circumstance here mentioned, of our Lord bearing his cross, was agreeable to the Roman custom. Slaves and malefactors were compelled to carry the whole or part of the fatal gibbet on which they were destined to die; and this constituted a principal part of the shame and ignominy of such a death. "Cross-bearer" was a term of the greatest reproach among the Romans. All along the road to the place of execution, the unhappy criminal was loaded with every wanton cruelty. He was pushed, thrown down, stimulated with goads, and impelled forward by every act of insolence and inhumanity that wretchedness

* Trypho the Jew every where affects to treat the Christian religion with contempt, on account of the crucifixion of its author. He ridicules its professors for centering all their hopes in a man who was crucified.

is heir to.* There is great reason to think that our blessed Redeemer, in his way to Calvary, experienced every abuse of this nature. Might not the scourging that was inflicted—the blows he had received from the soldiers, when in derision they paid him homage—and the abuse he suffered in his way to Calvary, greatly contribute to accelerate his death, and occasion that speedy exit, at which one of the evangelists tells us, “Pilate marvelled?” When the malefactor had carried his cross to the place of execution, a hole was dug in the earth, in which it was to be fixed—the criminal was stripped—a stupifying potion was given him†—the cross was laid on the ground—he was distended upon it—and four soldiers, two on each side, were at the same time employed in driving four large nails through his hands and feet. After they had deeply fixed and riveted these nails in the wood, they elevated the cross with the sufferer upon it; and in order to infix it the more firmly and securely in the earth, they let it violently fall into the cavity they had prepared to receive it. This vehement precipitation of the cross must have occasioned a most dreadful convulsive shock, and agitated the whole frame of the malefactor in a dire and most excruciating manner. These several particulars were observed in the crucifixion of our Lord. Upon his arrival at Calvary, he was stripped—the medicated cup was offered to him—he was fastened to the cross; and while they were employed in piercing his hands and his feet, it is probable that he offered to heaven that most benevolent and affecting prayer for his murderers, “Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!” In conformity with the Roman custom, a title or inscription, by Pilate’s order, was fixed above the head of Jesus, written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, specifying what it was that had brought him to this end. After the cross was erected, a party of soldiers were appointed to keep guard, and to attend at the place of execution, till the criminal breathed his last. So it was in the case of our Lord, Matt. xxvii. 54. While they were thus attending him, it is said our Saviour complained of thirst. This is a natural circumstance. The exquisitely tender and sensible extremities of the body being thus perforated, the person languishing and faint with loss of blood, and lingering under such acute and excruciating torture, must necessarily kindle and inflame a vehement and excessive thirst. One of the guards,

hearing his request, hasted and took a sponge, and filled it from a vessel that stood by, that was full of vinegar. The usual drink of the Roman soldiers was vinegar and water.‡ After receiving this, Jesus cried with a loud voice, “It is FINISHED!”—the divine plan and scheme of human redemption is completed: after which his head sunk upon his bosom, and he gave up the ghost, Matt. xxvii. 50. The last circumstance relative to the crucifixion of our Lord which demands notice, was the petition of the Jews to Pilate, that the death of the sufferers might be accelerated. There is an express prohibition in the law, that the bodies of those who were hanged should remain all night upon the tree, Deut. xxi. 23. The next day, therefore, after the crucifixion, being, as one of the evangelists says, a *high day* (John xix. 31), a number of leading men among the Jews waited on Pilate in a body, to desire that he would hasten the death of the malefactors hanging on their crosses. Pilate, therefore, dispatched his orders to the soldiers on duty, who broke the legs of the two criminals who were crucified along with Christ. But, when they came to Jesus, finding he had already breathed his last, they thought this violence unnecessary; but one of them pierced his side with a spear, whose point appears to have penetrated into the pericardium of the heart: for John, who says that he was an eye-witness of this, declares that there issued from the wound a mixture of blood and water. This wound, had he not been dead, must necessarily have proved fatal. This circumstance John saw; “and he that saw it bare record, and his record is true: and he knoweth that he saith true, that ye might believe,” John xix. 35. He thus attested it from a conviction of the great importance of the event, and conscious that on this single fact rested the whole fabric of the Christian religion.|| The rites of sepulture were commonly denied to such as were crucified. The bodies of the malefactors were generally devoured by wolves, dogs, and other animals; or, if the crosses were higher than usual, they either became a prey to the birds, or putrefied and fell to pieces. Among the Hebrews, as before remarked, the body was not suffered to remain on the cross all night; but they did not permit them to be placed in the tombs of their families, till their flesh had been first consumed in the public sepulchres. It was for this reason, perhaps, that Joseph desired leave from

* This is questioned by Godwyn. See Rom. Antiq., book iii., sect. 3, chap. 4.

† This was for the purpose of rendering him in some measure insensible to the pain. But our blessed Lord refused this potion.

‡ Dr. Husham’s Method for preserving the health of Seamen, in his Essay on Fevers.

|| Harwood’s Introd. to the New Testament, vol. ii., pp. 335–353.

Pilate to lay the body of Jesus in his own tomb; that it might not be thrown, undistinguished, among the criminals in the public burial-place, which adjoined the place of crucifixion. From this circumstance we also learn, that the Roman governors had the power of dispensing with this part of the ignominious sentence, by delivering the body to the friends of the deceased. The punishment of crucifixion was so common among the Romans, that, by a very usual figure, pains, afflictions, troubles, &c., were called *crosses*. Hence our Saviour says, that his disciple must take up his *cross* and follow him, Matt. xvi. 24. The cross is the sign of ignominy and suffering: yet it is the badge and glory of the Christian. Christ is the way we are to follow; and there is no way of attaining that glory and happiness which is promised in the gospel, but by the cross of Christ.* Such were the chief capital punishments among the Jews, in various periods of their history. But we must not dismiss this subject, without noticing that species of punishment which consisted in—

(8) *Posthumous insults*, and was designed to brand with infamy those who were its subjects. Michaëlis notices three punishments of this description:—1. *Burning*, Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9. The Jewish rabbis have supposed, and in this they have been followed by some Christian commentators, that the punishment here spoken of was inflicted on the criminal while alive; by pouring molten lead down his throat. No such sanguinary law, however, appears among the enactments of Moses. That burning was a posthumous punishment, inflicted on the lifeless corpse of the criminal, is evident from Josh. vii. 15, 25. In the former verse it is ordained that the person who had committed the crime of sacrilege, and who was yet undiscovered, should be *burnt with fire*; and in the latter, we find that the execution of the sentence upon him consisted, in his being first *stoned* and then *burnt*. 2. *Hanging*, Deut. xxi. 22; Josh. x. 16. This was considered as a mark of the greatest infamy; because, by the explanation of Moses himself, a person hanged was held as “accursed of God,” and for this reason, that his death did not sufficiently atone for his crime; and, therefore, the law considered him as a person who carried the curse of God with him into the other world, and was punishable even there. 3. *Heaping stones* upon the bodies of criminals, who had been already put to death, or ‘upon their remains when consumed by fire; in order to serve as a perpetual monument of their infamy, in having there suffered any such ignominious punishment. See

Josh. vii. 25, 26, viii. 29; 2 Sam. xviii. 17.† This custom was prevalent among the ancient Arabs, and obtains even in the present day.‡

II. Of the *treatment of prisoners* we have necessarily said something, in noticing the punishments to which they were subjected. But there are two or three additional circumstances which require to be adverted to, as they illustrate some parts of the New Testament writings. The Roman method of fettering and confining criminals was singular. One end of a chain, that was of a commodious length, was fixed about the right arm of the prisoner, and the other end was fastened to the left of a soldier. Thus a soldier was coupled to the prisoner, and every where attended and guarded him. Thus was Paul confined; and fettered in this manner, he delivered his apology before Festus, Agrippa, and Bernice, Acts xxvi. And it was this circumstance which occasioned one of the most pathetic and affecting strokes of true oratory that was ever displayed either in the Grecian or Roman senate—“Would to God that not only thou, but also ALL that hear me this day, were not ALMOST, but ALTOGETHER such as I am—except these bonds!” What a prodigious effect must this striking conclusion, and the *sight* of the irons *held up* to enforce it, have made upon the minds of the audience! During the two years that Paul was a prisoner at large, and lived at Rome in his own hired house, he was subjected to this confinement; he was suffered to dwell with a soldier that kept him, Acts xxviii. 16. The circumstance of his *publicly wearing this chain*, and being thus coupled to a soldier, was very disgraceful and dishonourable, and the ignominy of it would naturally occasion the desertion of former friends and acquaintance. Hence the apostle immortalizes the name of Onesiphorus, and fervently intercedes with God to bless his family, and to remember him in the day of future recompence, for a *rare* instance of distinguished fidelity and affection to him when all had turned away and forsaken him:—“The Lord give mercy to the house of Onesiphorus, for he oft refreshed me, and was not *ashamed* of my *chain*; but immediately upon his arrival in Rome he sought me out very diligently till he found me. The Lord grant unto him that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day,” 2 Tim. i. 16—18. Sometimes the prisoner was fastened to two soldiers, one on each side—wearing a chain both on his

† Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii., pp. 423—431.

‡ It is said that the pillar of Absalom, which stands in the valley of Jehoshaphat, is heaped round with stones, which are thrown at it by the Turks, as an expression of their indignation at his crime.

* Calmet's Biblical Encyclopædia, art. “Cross.”

right and left hand. Paul was at first so confined. When the tribune received him from the hands of the Jews, he commanded him to be bound with two chains, Acts xxi. 33. In this manner was Peter fettered and confined by Herod Agrippa:—"The same night Peter was sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains," chap. xii. 6. It further appears, that if the soldiers, who were thus appointed to guard criminals, and to whom they were chained, suffered the prisoner to escape, they were punished with death. Thus, when Peter was delivered out of prison by a miracle,

the next morning there was no small confusion among the soldiers, who were appointed his guards, and to whom he was chained, as to what had become of Peter, Acts xii. 18. Whence it appears that this deliverance had been effected without their knowledge, when they were sunk in repose. Upon which Herod, after making a fruitless search for him, ordered all those who had been intrusted with his custody, to be put to death, ver. 19. See also Acts xvi. 27.*

* Harwood's Introd., vol. ii., pp. 207—211.

§ 3. A Harmony of the Mosaic Law,

ARRANGED UNDER PROPER HEADS, WITH REFERENCES TO THE SEVERAL PARTS OF THE PENTATEUCH, WHERE THE RESPECTIVE LAWS ARE FOUND. FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST'S COLLEGE, PRESENTED BY ARCHBISHOP LAUD.

FIRST CLASS.

THE MORAL LAW, WRITTEN ON THE TWO TABLES, CONTAINING THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

	Exodus, chap.	Leviticus, chap.	Numbers, chap.	Deuteronomy, chap.
<i>The First Table, which includes</i>				
The first commandment	20, 13.	. . .	. . .	5, 6.
The second commandment	20, 23, 34.	19, 26, 18.	. . . {	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 5. 6, 10.
The third commandment	20, 23.	. . .	. . .	5.
The fourth commandment {	20, 23, 31, 34, 35.	19, 23, 26.		
<i>The Second Table, which includes</i>				
The fifth commandment	20, 22.	19.	. . .	5.
The sixth commandment	20.	19.	. . .	5.
The seventh commandment	20.	18, 19.	. . .	5, 23.
The eighth commandment	20, 22.	19.	. . .	5.
The ninth commandment	20, 23.	19.	. . .	5.
The tenth commandment	20.	. . .	. . .	5.
The sum of both tables	. . .	19.	. . .	6.

SECOND CLASS.

THE CEREMONIAL LAW.

Of the holy place	20.	17.	. . .	12.
Of the matter and structure of the tabernacle.	25, 26, 27, 35.			
Of the instruments of the same, viz.,				
Of the laver of brass	30.			
The altar of burnt-offerings	27.			
The altar of incense	30.			
The candlestick of pure gold	25.			
The table of shew-bread	25, 26.			
The ark	25, 26.			
Of the priests and their vestments, for glory and beauty	28.			
Of the choosing of the Levites	. . .	. . .	18, 3, 8.	. . .
Of the priests' office in general	. . .	. . .	3, 18.	. . .
Of their office in teaching	. . .	19, 10.	. . .	18, 12, 17, 31.
Of their office in blessing	. . .	. . .	6.	

	Exodus, chap.	Leviticus, chap.	Numbers, chap.	Deuteronomy, chap.
Of their office in offering; which function, largely spreading itself, is divided into these heads:				
What the sacrifices ought to be	.	22.	.	15, 17.
Of the continual fire	.	6.	.	
Of the manner of the burnt-offerings . . .	.	6, 7.	.	
Of the manner of the peace-offerings . . .	.	3, 7.	.	
Of the manner of the sacrifices, according to their several kinds, viz.,				
For sin committed through ignorance of the law	.	4.	5.	
For sin committed through ignorance of the fact	.	5, 7.		
For sin committed wittingly, yet not through impiety	.	6.	5.	
The special law of sacrifice for sin	.	6, 7.		
Of things belonging to the sacrifices . . .	.	2, 6, 7.	15.	
Of the shew-bread	.	24.		
Of the lamps	27.	24.	8.	
Of the sweet incense	30.			
Of the use of ordinary oblations, whereof there were several kinds observed by the priests:				
Of the consecration of the high-priest, and other priests	29, 30.	6, 8.		
Of the consecration and office of the Levites .	.	.	8.	
Of the dwellings of the Levites	.	.	35.	
Of the anointing of the altar, and all the in- struments of the tabernacle	29, 30.	.		
Of the continual daily sacrifice	29.	.	28.	
Of the continual sabbath-day's sacrifice . .	.	.	28.	
Of the solemn sacrifices for feast-days, which were divers, and had peculiar rites, dis- tinguished into these chapters, viz.,				
Of trumpets	.	.	10.	
Of kalends, or beginnings of months . . .	.	.	28.	
Of the three most solemn feasts in general .	23, 34.	23.	.	16.
Of the feast of passover	12, 13, 23, 34.	23.	9, 28.	16.
Of the feast of pentecost	23, 24.	23.	28.	16.
Of the feast of tabernacles	23, 34.	23.	29.	16.
Of the feast of blowing the trumpets . . .	.	23.	29.	
Of the feast of expiation	30.	16, 13.	29.	
Of first-fruits	22, 23, 34.	2.	15.	26.
Of tithes	.	21.	18.	12, 14, 26.
Of fruits growing, and not eaten of . . .	.	19.		
Of the first-born	13, 22, 24.	.	.	15.
Of the sabbatical year	23.	25.		
Of the year of jubilee	.	25.		
Of vows in general	.	27.	30.	13.
What persons ought not to make vows . . .	.	.	30.	
What things cannot be vowed	.	27.		23.
Of redemption of vows	.	27.		
Of the vows of the Nazarites	.	.	6.	
Of the laws proper for the priests viz.,				
Of pollutions	.	22.		
Of the high-priest's mourning	.	21.		
Of his marriage	.	21.		
Of the mourning of the ordinary priests .	.	21.		
Of their marriage	.	21.		
Of their being forbid the use of wine, &c. .	.	10.		
Of sanctified meats	.	6, 17, 19, 22.	5, 18.	12, 15, 18.
Of the office of the Levites:				
In teaching	.	.	.	17, 27, 31.
In offering	.	.	3, 4, 18.	10.
Other promiscuous ceremonial laws:				
Of uncleanness in general	.	15, 19.	5.	
Of uncleanness in meats, viz.,				
Of blood Gen. 9.	23.	7, 17, 10.	.	12.
Of fat	.	3, 7.	.	
Of dead carcases	22.	17.	.	14.
Other meats, and divers kinds of living crea- tures	.	11, 20.	.	14.

	Exodus, chap.	Leviticus, chap.	Numbers, chap.	Deuteronomy, chap.
Of uncleanness in the issue of seed and blood	.	15, 12.	.	23.
In the dead bodies of men	.	.	19.	.
In the leprosy	.	13, 14.	5.	24.
Of circumcision Gen. 17.	.	12.	.	.
Of the water of expiation	.	.	19.	.
Of the mourning of the Israelites	.	19.	.	14.
Of mixtures	.	19.	.	22.
Of their garments; and writing the law privately	.	.	15.	6, 11, 22.
Of young birds not to be taken with the dam	.	.	.	22.
Of their paddle-staves	.	.	.	23.

THIRD CLASS.

THE POLITICAL LAW.

The magistrate is the keeper of the precepts of both tables, and to have respect to human society; therefore the POLITICAL LAWS of the Israelites are referred to both the tables, and are to be reduced to the several precepts of

THE MORAL LAW.

LAWS REFERRED TO THE FIRST TABLE, NAMELY,

I. To the First and Second Commandments, viz.,

Of idolaters and apostates	22.	20.	.	13, 17.
Of abolishing idolatry	23, 24.	.	33.	7, 12.
Of diviners and false prophets	22.	19, 20.	.	18.
Of covenants with other gods	23, 34.	.	.	7.

II. To the Third Commandment, viz.,

Of blasphemies	.	24.	15.	
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III. To the Fourth Commandment, viz.,

Of breaking the sabbath	31, 35.	.	15.	
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POLITICAL LAWS REFERRED TO THE SECOND TABLE, NAMELY,

I. To the Fifth Commandment, viz.,

Of magistrates, and their authority	18, 30.	.	11.	1, 16, 17, 23.
Of the power of fathers	21.	20.	.	21.

II. To the Sixth Commandment, viz.,

Of capital punishments in general	.	.	.	21, 24.
Of wilful murder	21.	24.	35.	19.
Of manslaughter, unwittingly committed; and of the cities of refuge	21.	.	35.	19, 21, 22.
Of heinous injury	21.	24.	.	25.
Of punishments, not capital	.	.	.	25.
Of the law of war	.	.	.	20, 23.

III. To the Seventh Commandment, viz.,

Of unlawful marriages	.	18, 20.	.	7, 22.
Of fornication	.	19.	.	23.
Of whoredom	22.	21.	.	22.
Of adultery and jealousy	.	19, 20.	5.	22.
Of copulation against nature	22.	18, 20.	.	.
Of divorcements	.	.	.	24.
Other matrimonial laws	21.	18, 20.	.	21, 22, 24, 25.

IV. To the Eighth Commandment, viz.,

	Exodus, chap.	Leviticus, chap.	Numbers, chap.	Deuteronomy, chap.
Of the punishment of thefts	22.	.	5.	
Of sacrilege Joshua 7.				
Of not injuring strangers	22, 23.	19.	.	10.
Of not defrauding hirelings	.	19.	.	28, 25.
Of just weights	.	10.	.	25.
Of removing the land-mark	.	.	.	19.
Of lost goods	22.	.	.	
Of stray cattle	22, 23.	.	.	22.
Of corrupted judgments	23.	19.	.	16, 24.
Of fire, breaking out by chance	22.	.	.	
Of men-stealing	.	.	.	24.
Of the fugitive servant	.	.	.	23.
Of gathering fruits	.	19, 23.	.	23, 24.
Of contracts, viz.,				
Of borrowing	.	.	.	15.
Of the pledge	22.	.	.	24.
Of usury	22.	25.	.	23.
Of selling	21.	25.	.	15.
Of a thing lent	22.	.	.	
Of a thing committed to be kept	22.	.	.	
Of heirs	.	.	26, 27, 33, 36.	21.

V. To the Ninth Commandment viz.,

Of witnesses	.	5.	.	17, 19.
The establishing of the political law	.	.	.	4.
The establishing of the divine law in general	.	.	.	6, 11, 29, 30, 31.
From the dignity of the lawgiver	.	19, 20, 22.	15.	4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 26, 27.
From the excellency of the laws	.	.	.	4, 28.
From the promises	15, 19, 23, 24.	18, 26.	.	4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 28.
From the threatenings	23.	26.	.	4, 7, 11, 27, 28, 29, 30.

SECTION III.

MILITARY AFFAIRS.

The whole Hebrew Nation liable to be called to Arms: Exemptions from Military Service—Strength of the Israelitish Armies—Military Officers—Order of Battle and of Encampment—Treatment of Enemies—Division of the Spoil—Arms—Chariots—Qualifications of a Warrior—Return of a Conquering Army—Reward of the Victors.

1. THE maxim of ancient states, *Quot cives, tot milites*—whoever would be defended, must defend, was, as Michaëlis remarks, so fully established in the Mosaic code, that we find every man of twenty years old and upwards distinguished by this epithetical characteristic, that *he goes forth to war*, Numb. i. 3, 45, xxvi. 2.* It is hardly to be supposed, however, that the services of a whole nation would ever be required for the purpose of

bearing arms. Hence, out of those who were thus qualified to serve in the militia, Moses generally orders the selection of a certain number, suitable to the service required, Exod. xvii. 9, 10, &c.; Numb. xxxi. 1–6. There are two memorable instances on record, however, where the whole people took the field, Judg. xx. 11; 1 Sam. xi. 7.†

2. The following exemptions from military service were allowed by the Mosaic law:—(1) Whoever had built a house, and had not yet occupied it, was at liberty to return, lest, falling in battle, another should enjoy the fruits of his labour, Deut. xx. 5. (2) Whoever had planted a vineyard or olive-yard, and had not yet eaten of its produce freely, was exempt for the same reason, Deut. xx. 6. This statute exempted the establisher of a vineyard or olive-yard for five whole

* The melancholy circumstances attending the military execution of the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, simply because they did not join the Israelitish armies, as related in Judges xxi. 8–12, show with what rigour the law was, in this respect, put in force.

† An interesting paper on the practice alluded to in these passages may be seen in the *Critica Biblica*, vol. iii., pp. 489–497.

years. For if a tree bore fruit the first year, it could not be used for food before the fifth year of its growth. During the first three years it could not be eaten at all; and in the fourth year it was consecrated to God, and could only be eaten at the sacred feasts, Lev. xix. 23—25. (3) Whoever had betrothed a wife, but had not yet consummated marriage, was likewise exempted, lest he should fall in battle, and another take his bride, Deut. xx. 7. (4) Every new-married man was, during the first year after marriage, freed from military service, and all other personal burdens. (5) Whoever was fearful and faint-hearted was allowed to retire, that he might not infect others with cowardice, Deut. xx. 8. The four former immunities, independent of their manifest equity, were attended with two very great political benefits, in promoting, first, marriages, and secondly, the culture of the soil, which are never more necessary than in the time of war. The latter ground of exemption, however, was not quite so honourable. It must have cost a coward a great struggle to avail himself of it; and no doubt many, rather than do so, would repress their fears, and, of course, fight so much the better.*

3. The Israelitish armies being thus levied on the nation, *en masse*, it is easy to see how they were able to bring such large numbers into the field. Thus they mustered 400,000 footmen to revenge the perfidy and cruelty of the Benjamites, Judges xx. 17. When Saul marched against the Ammonites he had 330,000 (1 Sam. xi. 8), and when he went to destroy Amalek, he had 210,000, ch. xv. 4. It was not till a later period in their history, however, that the Israelitish armies assumed a regular warlike character, and became, as a whole, properly effective. They were called out from their agricultural occupations, according to the exigency of the times, each one bringing his own arms and provisions;† and after the termination of the war, which was seldom more than short skirmishes with the surrounding nations, they were disbanded, and returned to their homes, 1 Sam. xi., xiii. The earliest instance on record of any military force being kept in time of peace, is in the reign of Saul, 1 Sam. xiii. 1, 2. This force was evidently augmented during the reigns of the subsequent kings; for in Jehoshaphat's reign the military force in Judah was 780,000, and in Benjamin

380,000, making a total of 1,160,000, besides those in the fenced cities to garrison them, 2 Chron. xvii. 14—18.

4. The officers in the Israelitish armies were (1) The *Generalissimo*, or commander-in-chief; called, also, the captain of the Lord's host: such as, Joshua under Moses, Abner under Saul, Joab under David, and Benaiah under Solomon. (2) The *princes of the tribes*, or of the fathers, or of the families of Israel, who were at the head of their respective tribes. (3) *Princes of a thousand*, or tribunes, captains of a hundred, heads of fifty men, thirds-men, whose functions are unknown, and decurions, or chiefs of ten men. (4) Scribes, or *muster-masters*, who kept exact registers of all who bore arms in their districts. (5) *Inspectors*, or provosts, who had authority to command the troops under their inspection, and to punish delinquents. It was quite common for the kings to go to war in person, and in the earlier times they fought on foot. After Solomon had introduced cavalry into his armies, they headed their troops in chariots. See the Kings and Chronicles, *throughout*.

5. We have no certain information of the precise manner in which the Israelitish armies were drawn up for battle. The Jewish writers state that the whole army was ranged into one single line, twenty or thirty deep. In the front of these were placed the light infantry, viz., the archers, slingers, and spearmen, who commenced the onset with a warlike shout, and with a shower of arrows and stones directed against the enemy's front. It is probable that the cavalry was disposed in large squadrons on the two wings. Before the battle commenced, the following ceremonies were observed:—(1) The priest approached the army, and said, "Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day into battle against your enemies; let not your hearts faint; fear not, and do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them; for the Lord your God is He that goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, and to save you." (2) The officers then proclaimed the exemptions from military service which have been enumerated above, and then (3) The whole who remained were led forward to the battle, the method of which was directed as circumstances permitted. Before the invention of fire-arms, fenced cities were of the utmost importance, and on them the greatest dependence was placed. When the Israelites were about to besiege a city, they either drew lines of circumvallation, to prevent escape, or hewed down trees, and built forts against them round about (2 Kings xxv. 1; 2 Sam. xvii. 20; Isa. xxix. 3; Jer. vi. 6); or planted battering-rams and other engines of destruction (Jer. vi. 6

* Michaelis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii., pp. 26—37.

† On some occasions one part of the army foraged for the rest, Judges xx. 10. And it was sometimes the case that part of the nation remained at home, to provide provisions for those who marched against the enemy. See 1 Sam. xvii. 13, 17; and Josephus, Jewish Wars, b. ii., ch. 20.

Ezek. iv. 2; xxi. 22); or endeavoured to enter them by burning the gates, and cutting down the wooden towers, Ezek. xxvi. 9.

6. Of the order observed in the encampment of the armies, we have no precise information. The castramentation in the wilderness, the plan of which was laid down by God himself (Numb. ii.), consisted of three principal divisions: The first, which was the most powerful, occupied the centre; this was the tabernacle, or the *throne of God*. The second, which was composed of the priests and Levites, surrounded this in a quadrangular form. And the third consisted of the remaining tribes who pitched around, each under his own banner, at a distance of about a mile from the tabernacle.*

* Reyher, who is followed by Scheuchzer, assigns the following space to the soldiers of each of the tribes, whilst remaining close to each other in their ranks, allowing one square cubit to each; but if we take in the arrangement, not only the soldiers, but the tents, the families, &c., a much larger extent of ground is requisite.

TRIBE OF JUDAH.
Breadth.....398 3-5 cubits.
Length.....250

Total.....74,600

TRIBE OF ISSACHAR.
Breadth.....217 3-5 cubits.
Length.....250

Total.....54,400

TRIBE OF GAD.
Breadth.....140 5-11 cubits.
Length.....325

Total.....45,650

TRIBE OF ZEBULUN.
Breadth.....229 3-4 cubits.
Length.....250

Total.....57,400

TRIBE OF EPHRAIM.
Breadth.....202 1-2 cubits.
Length.....200

Total.....40,500

TRIBE OF REUBEN.
Breadth.....143 1-5 cubits.
Length.....325

Total.....46,500

TRIBE OF MANASSEH.
Breadth.....161 cubits.
Length.....200

Total.....32,200

TRIBE OF SIMEON.
Breadth.....182 6-13 cubits.
Length.....325

Total.....59,300

TRIBE OF BENJAMIN.
Breadth.....177 cubits.
Length.....200

Total.....36,400

The diagram occupying the following page affords a good idea of this camp.

TRIBE OF DAN.
Breadth.....156 3-4 cubits.
Length.....400

Total.....62,700

TRIBE OF ASHER.
Breadth.....103 3-4 cubits.
Length.....400

Total.....41,500

TRIBE OF NAPHTALI.
Breadth.....133 1-2 cubits.
Length.....400

Total.....53,400

If we make the ichnography, or even the scenography, of the camp on this plan, in following it, we must first, in the *centre*, form a *parallelogram* of 100 cubits long, and 50 broad, for the *court of the tabernacle*, with an empty space all round of 50 cubits broad. We must then place the camp of the Levites towards the west, viz.,

The Gershonites.
Breadth.....30 cubits.
Length.....250

Total.....7,500

South, The Kohathites.
Breadth.....86 cubits.
Length.....100

Total.....8,600

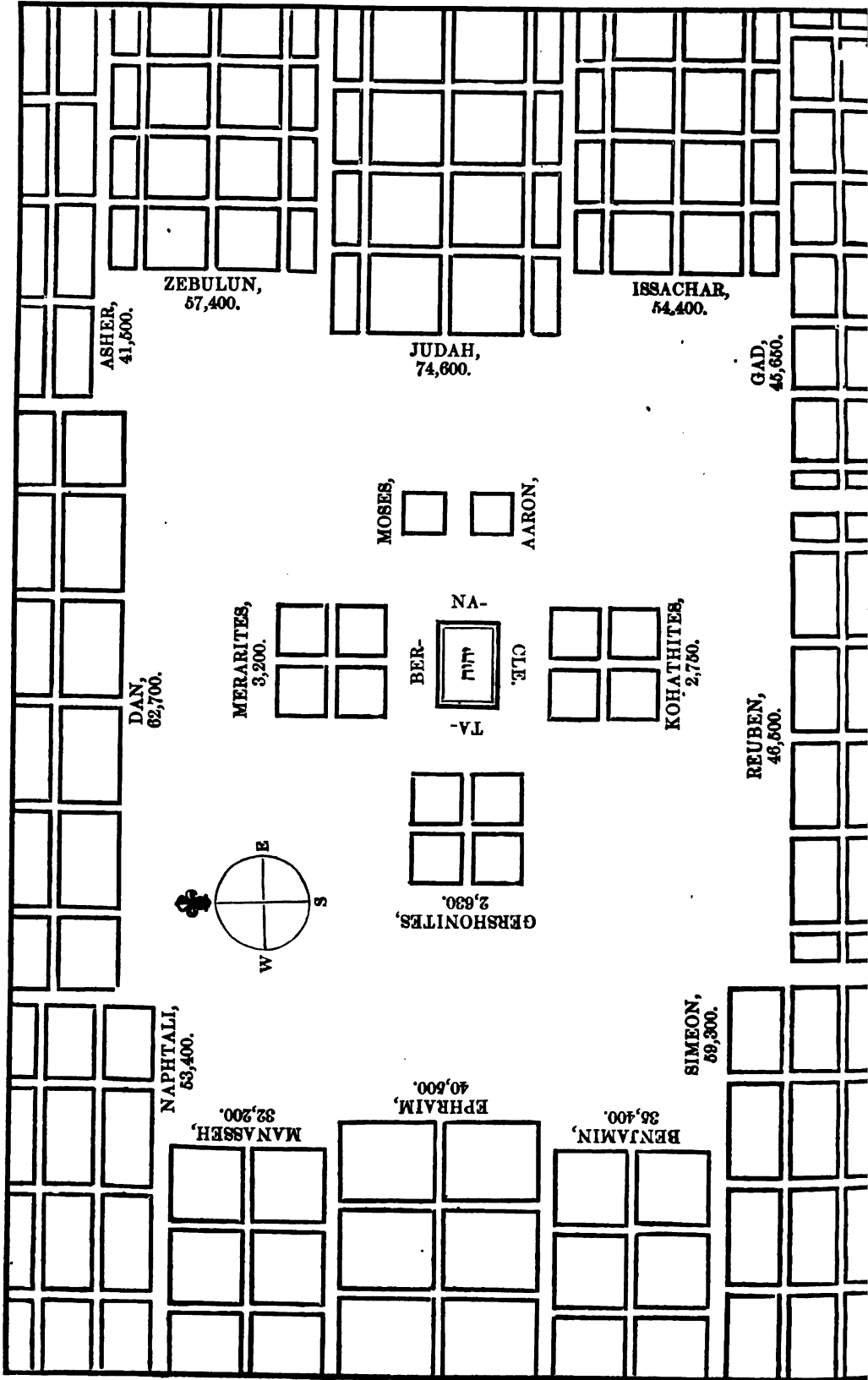
North, The Merarites.
Breadth.....62 cubits.
Length.....100

Total.....6,200

On the east, we must place the tents for Moses, and Aaron and his sons; and at the place where the camp of the Levites ends, a space must be left of 2000 square cubits; after which we must take the dimensions of the camp of the twelve tribes. To represent the whole camp of the Israelites in that order which appears most proper, we must extract the square roots of the preceding spaces, in order to assign to each tribe square areas, or rectangular parallelograms. We find, therefore, for

Judah	3049
Issachar	3298
Gad	3019
Zebulun.....	3388
Ephraim.....	2846
Reuben.....	3049
Manasseh.....	2537
Simeon.....	3443
Benjamin.....	2660
Dan.....	3541
Asher.....	2880
Naphtali.....	3268
Gershonites.....	1224
Kohathites.....	1311
Merarites.....	1113

The tabernacle, which was 100 cubits long and 50 broad, being placed in the centre of the camp, 840 feet from the camp of the Levites, the whole space of the camp was therefore 259,600,000 feet. Now, according to the above division of the camp, the sum total being 125,210,000, it follows that the space between the tents contained 134,390,000. Now, if we reckon 21,141,604 square feet to the Roman mile, the Israelitish camp will contain a little more than twelve such square miles.



The admirable order of this encampment drew from Balaam the following exclamation: "How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob, and thy tabernacles, O Israel! As the valleys are they spread forth, as gardens by the river's side, as the trees of lign-aloes which the Lord hath planted, and as cedar-trees beside the waters," Numb. xxiv. 2—6. But it is not likely that there were any regularly formed camps among the Hebrews, similar to those of the Romans and other warlike nations. In 1 Sam. xxvi. 7, we read that the spear of Saul was stuck at his head while he slept. This was equivalent to the place of the general's tent.* His armour-bearer and principal officers slept around him, and the rest of the army, in their several divisions, in a circle without. This was probably the general manner of their encampment.

7. It is impossible to avoid noticing, in reading the historical books of the Old Testament, the barbarities which were mutually practised in the wars carried on between the Israelites and the adjoining nations. Some were decapitated (1 Sam. xxxi. 9), others had their noses and ears cut off (Ezek. xxxiii. 25), or their hands and feet, (2 Sam. iv. 12). Some were put under saws and harrows of iron, and made to pass through the brick kiln (2 Sam. xii. 31); mothers were destroyed with their children (Esth. iii. 13); infants were dashed against the stones (2 Kings viii. 12; Ps. cxxxvii. 9; Isai. xiii. 16—18); women with child were ripped up (2 Kings xv. 16; Hos. xiii. 16; Amos i. 13); and persons of rank reduced to the most degrading slavery (Isai. xlvii. 2).

8. With regard to the spoil taken in war, Moses distinctly recognized the right of the people to it; and the following regulations may be collected out of his writings, relative to its distribution.—1. The spoil in persons and cattle did not belong to the individuals who took it, but was collected, reckoned, and distributed in the following proportions:—(1) One half to those who went to the field, out of which they had to give every five hundredth individual to the priests, Numb. xxxii. 26—29. (2) The other half went to the rest of the Israelites, with the deduction of every fiftieth individual for the Levites, ver. 30. 2. Things inanimate belonged to the individual who seized them, ver. 48—54. David enacted a wise and equitable law relative to the division of spoil in the army; giving equally to those who fought, and those who remained with the stuff or baggage, 1 Sam. xxx. 24, 25.†

9. The arms of the Jewish warriors were adapted to the exigencies of the occasion. Some of them wore complete armour; consisting of a helmet of brass (1 Sam. xvii. 5), an habergeon, cuirass, or breastplate of brass, a defence for the back, a girdle for the loins, and greaves of brass for the legs and feet (1 Sam. xvii. 6), with a sword for the right hand, and a shield or buckler for the left. Hence the beautiful allusion to all these in St. Paul's description of the Christian soldier (Eph. vi. 13—17), where nothing is left undefended but the back; to teach us that Christ hates a coward and an apostate; that as long as we undauntedly face the foe, we are safe; but if we turn our backs, we do it at our hazard.‡ But although some of the soldiers were thus equipped, the greater part wore their ordinary clothing, and were arranged in companies according to their armour. Thus one part had swords and bucklers; another, spears and javelins; a third, battle-axes (Jer. li. 20); a fourth, slings (Judg. xx. 16; 2 Kings iii. 25); and a fifth, bows (1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 1 Chron. v. 18, xii. 2). There are several highly expressive and beautiful metaphors in the New Testament, which are derived from various parts of the Roman armour. See Rom. xiii. 12; 2 Cor. vi. 7, &c.

10. In so mountainous a country as Judea, cavalry could be of no great service, and therefore in the more early periods of their history the Hebrews did not adopt them. Absalom is the first of whom we read making use of them (2 Sam. xv. 1); and they appear to have been of no further service to him than to facilitate his flight (chap. xviii. 9, &c.). Solomon, indeed, sent to Egypt for a considerable number of horses, and a proportionable number of chariots (1 Kings x. 26, &c.); but it seems they were more for splendour than actual service; and hence Rabshakeh, when he marched against Jerusalem, taunted Hezekiah with the remark, that if he should lend him 2000 horses, none of his subjects were capable of riding them (2 Kings xviii. 23). And yet that the Jewish monarchs sometimes employed chariots in their armies is evident from several passages in the books of Kings, Chronicles, &c. Those used by the Canaanites are called "chariots of iron" (Judg. i. 19), because their poles, wheels, and axles were armed with sharp scythes.

11. The qualifications of a Hebrew warrior were so very different from those which are considered essential in modern times, that we are at a loss, without a knowledge of this circumstance,

* See *Iliad*, x., 150—155.

† Michaelis on the *Laws of Moses*, vol. iii., pp. 37—53.

‡ See Macknight on Eph. vi. 17, and Brown's *Antiquities of the Jews*, vol. ii., p. 449.

to understand the propriety of some of the commendations bestowed upon them in the Old Testament writings. The discipline of modern tactics was unknown in ancient times, when the meanest soldier had an opportunity of distinguishing himself by his strength and agility. His bodily strength, if great, enabled him to bear down his opponent; and when that was wanting, his dexterity in the use of arms, his pretended flight and sudden return, were all employed to deceive and defeat his adversary; whilst the closeness of the combat rendered the disarming or death of his antagonist the only means of preserving himself. Bodily strength, therefore, complete presence of mind, experience in the art of war, and swiftness as a roe, when swiftness was necessary, either to pursue after or avoid the foe, were indispensable ingredients in an ancient warrior; whilst his eye acquired an animation, his countenance an expression, his voice a variety of cadence, and his whole frame a degree of athletic force, which are in vain sought for in the mechanical mass of a modern army. Nor should we forget that the valour of the Jews had often peculiar motives to strengthen it, viz., the motives of religion; for they frequently went to the field under the immediate direction of Jehovah, and with the positive assurance of success.* It is well known, that for the purpose of keeping the military disembarassed from the cares and distractions of secular life, the Romans prohibited marriage to their soldiery. To this the apostle refers, 2 Tim. ii. 4: "No one that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier."

12. The return of the conquering army has ever been an occasion of the most enthusiastic rejoicing. The circumstances attending the return of Jephthah (Judg. xi. 34), the victory of David over Goliath, and the defeat of the Philistines (1 Sam. xviii. 6, 7), as also that of Judith over the Assyrians (Judith xvi. 1—17), are well known to every reader of the Bible. On a similar occasion was that beautiful lyrical composition, known as the Song of Moses (Ex. xv.), also composed.† But there are several beautiful allusions to the return of a triumphant army in the writings of the New Testament, which must not here be passed over.‡ The splendour and

pomp of a Roman triumph were of the most magnificent description. After a decisive battle gained, and the complete conquest of a kingdom, the most illustrious captives in war—kings, princes, and nobles, with their wives and children, were, with the last dishonour and ignominy, led in fetters before the general's chariot, through the public streets of Rome, which were crowded by all classes of persons, in the highest excesses of joy. On these occasions, indeed, Rome was a scene of universal festivity: the temples were all thrown open, were adorned with garlands, and filled with clouds of incense and the richest perfumes; the spectators were clothed in white garments, hecatombs of victims were slain, and most sumptuous entertainments were given. The illustrious captives, after having been dragged through the city in this procession, and thus publicly exposed, were generally imprisoned, frequently strangled and dispatched in dungeons, or sold for slaves.|| The first allusion to such a spectacle is in Col. ii. 15, where the Redeemer is represented as a great conqueror, who, after having totally vanquished and subjugated all the empires and kingdoms of false religion, and overturned the mighty establishments of Judaism and Paganism, supported by the great and powerful, celebrates a most magnificent TRIUMPH over them, leads them in procession, openly exposing them to the view of the *whole world*, as the captives of his omnipotence, and the trophies of his gospel! "Having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them!" § The second passage, whose beautiful and striking imagery is taken from a Roman triumph, occurs 2 Cor. ii. 14—26: "Now thanks be unto God, who always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savour of his knowledge by us in every place. For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish: to the one we are a savour of death unto death; and to the other, of life unto life." In this passage, God is represented, in very striking language and sentiment, as leading the apostles in triumph¶ through

|| A translation of Plutarch's minute description of the triumphal procession of Paulus Æmilius, who took Perseus, king of Macedon, prisoner, and put a final period to that ancient empire, may be seen in Kennett's *Antiquities of Rome*, p. 228, &c.

§ The original is, *leading them in triumph*.

¶ The original here, also, is *leadeth us about in triumph*. "The Greek word, which we render *causeth us to triumph*, properly signifies to triumph over, or to lead in triumph, as

* Brown's *Antiq.*, vol. ii., p. 458.

† A metrical translation of this song may be seen in *Critica Biblica*, vol. i., pp. 319, 320.

‡ For the remarks which follow, we are indebted to Dr. Harwood.

the world, showing them every where as the monuments of his grace and mercy, and by their means *diffusing* in every place the *odour* of the knowledge of God; in reference to a triumph, when all the temples were filled with fragrance, and the whole air breathed perfume. And the apostle, continuing the allusion, adds, that this odour would prove the means of the *salvation* of some and *destruction* of others—as in a triumph, after the pomp and procession were concluded, some of the captives were *put to death*, others saved *alive*.*

13. Among the other military honours and recompences, rich and splendid crowns,† frequently of gold, were publicly bestowed on the illustrious conqueror, and upon every man who, acting worthy the Roman name, had distinguished himself by his valour and his virtue. In allusion to this custom, how beautiful and striking are those many passages of Scripture which represent the Saviour, before *angels* and the whole assembled *world*, acknowledging and applauding distinguished goodness, and publicly conferring crowns of immortal glory upon persevering and victorious holiness. See 2 Tim. iv. 8; James i. 12; 1 Pet. v. 4; Rev. ii. 10.‡

SECTION IV.

TRIBUTE AND MONEY.

I. Under Moses.—II. After the Captivity.—III. The Publicans.

1. As the law of Moses was the only body of law enacted by God, the King of Israel, for the government both of church and state, and as the priests were appointed to dispense it, they are properly to be considered the ministers of state,

our translators themselves have rightly rendered it in another place, Col. ii. 15. And so the apostle's true meaning is plainly this: Now thanks be to God, who always triumpheth over us in Christ; *leading us about in triumph*, as it were, in solemn procession. This yields a most congruous and beautiful sense of his words. And in order to display the force of this fine sentiment, in its full compass and extent, let it be observed, that when St. Paul represents himself and others as being *led about in triumph*, like so many *captives*, by the prevailing power and efficacy of gospel grace and truth, his words naturally imply and suggest *three* things worthy of particular notice and attention, viz., a *contest*, a *victory*, and an *open show* of this victory.—“While God was *leading about* such men in triumph, he made them very servicable and successful in promoting Christian knowledge in *every place* wherever they came.”—Breckell's Discourses, pp. 141, 142, 151.

* Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 29–34.

† See Kennett's Rom. Ant., p. 224, &c.

‡ Harwood, vol. ii., pp. 56, 57.

as well as of religion; and therefore the tithes, and the portion of sacrifices which the law assigned for their maintenance, were in the nature of taxes payable for the support of the government. Besides these, we read of no other stated taxes, appointed by the law, except a poll-tax of half a shekel, which, when the people were numbered in the wilderness, was levied upon every man from twenty years old and upwards; and it is said to be designed for “a ransom, or atonement for his soul,” and to be “appointed for the service of the tabernacle of the congregation,” Exod. xxx. 12–16. This tax, however, appears only to have been resorted to as circumstances required, until the later periods of the Jewish history, when it became a stated annual payment,|| and was demanded of our Saviour, Matt. xvii. 24.§

2. After the captivity, the Jews were tributary, first to the Persians (Ezek. iv. 13, vii. 24), and then to the Greeks; from the latter of whom they were freed by the Maccabees, 1 Mac. x. 29, 30; xi. 35, 36, &c. When Pompey conquered Judea (about *ante* A. D. 60), the Jews became tributary to the Romans; and in the reign of Augustus (A. D. 8) Judea was reduced into a Roman province, and the people were laid under a direct tax to the state, according to a census held by P. Sulpicius Quirinus, while Coponius was Procurator of Judea. See Luke ii. 2; Acts v. 37. To this tribute the Jews submitted with the utmost reluctance; and it gave rise to several tumults and insurrections. Our Saviour expressly enjoined upon them the obligation to pay it, in which he was followed by his inspired apostles, Matt. xxii. 17–21; Rom. xiii. 8; 1 Pet. ii. 13.

3. The collectors of the Roman taxes in Judea are well known to every reader of the New Testament, under the appellation of *Publicans*. Of these there appear to have been two kinds; the collectors of the taxes, and the receivers-general. Of the latter order was Zaccheus, who is called a “chief publican,” Luke xix. 2. From the extortion and rapacity which was too generally practised by the inferior order of these officers, added to the odium which attached to such an employment in the estimation of the Jews, they were held in the utmost contempt; so that a “publican,” and a “sinner,” or a notoriously profligate character, were synonymous terms in the time of

|| Josephus, Jew. Wars, b. vii., c. 6.

§ That this was the tribute demanded of our Lord is evident, as Jennings remarks, from the reason alleged by him why he might have been excused from paying it (ver. 25, 26), and which would not hold good were it a tribute paid to the Roman Emperor, as Salmasius and others have thought.

our Saviour. Nor were they more respected by the heathen themselves. For Theocritus, being once asked which was the most cruel of all beasts, replied, that among the beasts of the wilderness, they were the bear and the lion; among the beasts of the city, they were the publican and the parasite. The Pharisees would hold no sort of communication with the publicans; which may explain Matt. xviii. 17—"Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a *publican*." It is even said they would not allow them to enter the temple or synagogues, to partake of the public prayers, fill offices of judicature, or give testimony in a court of justice. Neither would they receive their presents at the temple, any more than the price of blood, of prostitution, or of any thing of the like nature.*

4. The original *form* of the precious metals, as media of exchange, appears to have been in the state of bullion. This was weighed in the balance, and was either increased or diminished till the parties were satisfied. It was in favour of these metals, that they could be divided and subdivided, without injuring their value. They were, therefore, a convenient symbol of commodities. But whilst they continued in the form of bullion, they were liable to some inconveniences; for it was troublesome to weigh them at every transaction, and they might be adulterated. Hence the invention of bars of a certain size, and of a determinate purity, ascertained by some mark generally known. So early as the days of Abraham, we read of weighing pieces of silver, which were current money with the merchant, or of the legal purity, Gen. xxiii. 16. And when Jacob bought the parcel of ground from Hamor (Gen. xxxiii. 19), it would appear that the hundred pieces which he gave had a determinate mark upon them, for they are called a hundred *kesiths*, in the original. Now *kesiths* signifies *lambs*, yet the animal so called could not have been given; for we are told in Acts vii. 16, that the price was in *money*. Might not these 100 pieces, then, have been so called, because the figure of a lamb was impressed upon them, to ascertain their purity? The most convenient improvement in the form and value of precious metals, as media of exchange, was that of coinage. It ascertained their fineness and value

at first sight, whilst by their variety, they could easily be accommodated to every transaction.

5. The following are the principal pieces of money mentioned in Scripture:—

The *shekel of silver*, or *silvering* (Isai. vii. 23), originally weighed 320 barley-corns, but it was afterwards increased to 384 barley-corns; its value, being considered equal to 4 Roman denarii, was 2s. 7d.; or, according to Bishop Cumberland, 2s. 4½d. It is said to have had Aaron's rod on the one side, and the pot of manna on the other.

The *bekah* was equal to half a shekel, Exod. xxxviii. 26.

The *denarius* was one-fourth of a shekel; 7½d. of our money.

The *gerah* (Exod. xxx. 13) or *manah* was the sixth part of the *denarius* or *diner*, and the 24th part of the shekel.

The *assar*, or *assarion* (Matt. x. 29), was the 96th part of a shekel. Its value was rather more than a farthing.

The *farthing* (Matt. v. 26) was in value the 13th part of a penny sterling.

The *mite* was the half of a farthing, or the 26th part of a penny sterling.

The *mina*, or *maneh* (Ezek. xlv. 12), was equal to 60 shekels, which, taken at 2s. 7d., was 7l. 15s.

The *talent* was 50 minas, and its value therefore, 387l. 10s.

The gold coins were as follows:—

A *shekel of gold* was about 14½ times the value of silver, i. e., 1l. 17s. 5½d.

A *talent of gold* consisted of 3000 shekels.

The *drachma* was equal to a Roman denarius, or 7½d. of our money.

The *didrachma* (Matt. xvii. 24), or tribute-money, was equal to 15½d. It is said to have been stamped with a harp on one side, and a vine on the other.

The *stater*, or piece of money which Peter found in the fish's mouth (Matt. xvii. 27), was two half shekels.

A *daric* (*drams*, 1 Chron. xxix. 7; Ezra viii. 27) was a gold coin struck by Darius the Mede. According to Parkhurst its value was 1l. 5s.

A *gold penny* is stated by Lightfoot to have been equal to 25 silver pence.†

* Lightfoot. Horæ Heb., Matt. v. 46; Whitty on Matt. ix. 11; Godwyn's Moses and Aaron, b. i., ch. 2; Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. iii., pp. 1—19; Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, b. ii., ch. 2.

† See his Harmony, on John ii. 6; Horæ Heb., Matt. v. 26; and Prospect of the Temple, ch. x.; Godwyn's Moses and Aaron, b. vi., ch. 9; Lamy, l. i., c. 8, 9; Cumberland's Essay on the Jewish Weights and Measures; Prideaux's Corner. A. A. C. 538; Brown's Jewish Antiq., pt. ix., s. 9; Parkhurst's and Calmet's Dictionaries, under the respective words.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORICAL AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY.

Of the utility or importance of the subject to which this chapter refers, there can be but one opinion, with readers in general, and with the student of Scripture in particular. The earth is the theatre on which all the grand affairs recorded in the Bible have been transacted. How is it possible that we should trace the wanderings of Abraham, that great patriarch, and the various toils and travels of Jacob, and the seed of Israel, in successive ages, without some geographical knowledge of those countries? How can our meditations follow the apostles in their laborious journeys through Europe and Asia, their voyages, their perils, their shipwrecks, and the fatigues they endured for the sake of the gospel, unless we are instructed by descriptions, maps, and tables? A topographical review of sacred history, then, with brief notices of the several countries and places mentioned in connexion with sacred history, will furnish the topics of the following sections.

SECTION I.

JUDÆA, OR THE HOLY LAND.

I. Names. II. Situation and Limits. III. Inhabitants. IV. Divisions. V. Face of the Country: 1. Rivers; 2. Mountains; 3. Valleys, Plains, and Deserts. VI. Atmosphere and other Phenomena: Climate, Rains, Winds, Tornadoes, &c. VIII. Fruitfulness of the Land.†

§ 1. *Various Names of the Country.*

The land given by covenant to the seed of Abraham, "for an everlasting possession," is distinguished by various appellations, both in the Holy Scriptures, and in the Jewish and Pagan writers. Of these the following are the principal:

1. THE LAND OF CANAAN.—This name is derived from the descendants of Canaan, the grandson of Noah, who were its earliest inhabitants. These were either destroyed, expelled, or rendered tributaries by the Israelites, in conformity with

the prediction of the patriarch Noah, Gen. ix. 25. It should be remarked, however, that under this name the *whole* of the land was not comprehended, but only that part of it which lay west of the river Jordan. See Numb. xxxv. 14, xxxiii. 51; Josh. xxii. 11, &c.

2. THE LAND OF ISRAEL was a name given to it after its conquest by Joshua, and its division among the tribes (see 1 Sam. xiii. 19; 2 Kings vi. 23, &c.); and comprehended the whole of the territory possessed by the twelve tribes, on each side of the river Jordan. See 2 Kings xiv. 25; 1 Chron. xiii. 2.

3. THE LAND OF GOD, not in that sense in which the entire world is said to be the Lord's, but in a peculiar sense. See Lev. xxv. 23; Ps. lxxxv. 1; Hos. ix. 3; Joel i. 6, iii. 2. He was the sovereign, and granted the use of his territories to the children of Israel. He brought them in with a strong arm, expelling its former inhabitants for their impieties. His sovereignty was acknowledged by his people, in the presentation of their first-fruits, and in the consecration of the sabbatic years. Besides this, he fixed his habitation here, saying, "This is my rest for ever: here will I dwell; for I have desired it," Ps. cxxxii. 14. His temple, his priests, and his worship consecrated the favoured land.

4. THE LAND OF PROMISE.—So called (Heb. xi. 9) from the promise made to Abraham, that it should be given to his seed as their inheritance, Gen. xii. 7, &c. This designation did not include the region on the East of the Jordan, that not having formed part of the promise.

5. THE HOLY LAND.—So called by the Jews, because it was the chosen and consecrated spot in which the one true God was acknowledged and worshipped; and by Christians, because it was the scene of the manifestation and mediatorial work of the Messiah. The Jews entertained very high notions of the exclusive sanctity of their own land, esteeming its very dust to be holy, and every other part of the world to be profane and polluted. Hence they were accustomed, on their arrival in Judea, from any of the places without its limits, to rub off the dust from their shoes, lest their inheritance should be defiled. Lightfoot thinks there is an allusion to this custom in Matt. x. 14, where our Saviour commands his disciples to shake off the dust from their feet, when leaving a city where their message had been

* Watts's Works, vol. viii., p. 219.

† In this section we have adopted, with some slight alterations, the plan laid down by Reland, in his admirable work, "Palestina Illustrata," &c., availing ourselves of the materials furnished by the most intelligent and recent travellers, concerning the present state of the Holy Land.

rejected. "Show, by shaking off the dust from your feet, that ye esteem that city, though it should be a city of Israel, as a heathen, profane, impure city."*

6. **THE LAND, AND THE EARTH.**—The Holy Land is frequently spoken of under these terms (see Ruth i. 1; Jer. iv. 20, xxii. 29; Luke iv. 25, &c.), by way of eminence or distinction; or, perhaps, out of contempt to the Gentile nations, whom the Jews considered as nothing—a people who had no being—who were yet to be created. See Ps. xxii. 31, cii. 18; Hos. i. 10, &c.†

7. **JUDÆA**; a name that originally distinguished the southern part of the land, occupied by the tribe of Judah; but which, after the return from the captivity, appears to have been given to the whole country.

8. **PALESTINE** was a name derived from the Philistines, who had settled on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and with whom the Israelites were frequently at war.

9. By profane writers, the Holy Land has been variously termed **SYRIA**, **SYRIA-PALESTINE**, **CELESTRIA**, **IDUMÆA**, and **PHœNICIA**.‡

§ 2. *Situation and Limits of the Country.*

1. The Jews affirm that the Holy Land is situated in exactly the centre of the world; be this as it may, it is situate in the centre of the three continents that were anciently inhabited, and therefore most wisely chosen to be the depository of the oracles of God. The Africans could not go out of Suez, their only passage between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, to enter into Arabia, without making Palestine in their way. The Arabians, coming out of their deserts, met the river Jordan. The Europeans, when at the end of their longest courses on the Mediterranean, arrived in Greater Asia, upon the confines of Palestine. And the Persians, and other eastern nations, could not pass the Euphrates, and visit the provinces of the west and the south, without coming into the countries near Syria and Palestine.||

2. In the map, this country presents the appearance of a narrow slip, extending along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; from which, to the river Jordan, the utmost width does not exceed fifty miles. It is situate in the fifth climate,

between the 31st and 34th degrees of north latitude; having the Mediterranean Sea on the west; Lebanon and Syria on the north; Arabia Deserta, and the land of the Ammonites, Moabites, and Midianites, on the east; the river of Egypt (the Sihor, Josh. xiii. 3; Jer. ii. 18); the desert of Zin, the southern shore of the Dead Sea, and the river Arnon, on the south; and Egypt, on the south-west. Near the northern boundary stood the city of Dan, and near the southern extremity, Beersheba; hence in the sacred writings the expression, "from Dan to Beer-sheba," is used to denote the whole length of the country. Its extreme length was about 190 miles, and its width about 80. The boundaries of the land are most accurately described by Moses, in Numb. xxxiv. 1—15.

3. But the real boundary of the Holy Land, on the western side, did not continue so distinct and simple in the succeeding periods as the law would have made it, because the Israelites desisted from expelling the Philistines and the Canaanites; David having first fully executed what the lawgiver commanded on this head.§

4. The kingdom of this prince and his son Solomon, however, extended far beyond these limits. In a north-eastern direction it was bounded only by the river Euphrates, and included a considerable part of Syria. It is stated that Solomon had dominion over all the region on the western side of the Euphrates, from Thiphsah (or Thapsacus) on that river, in lat. 35° 20', to Azzah, or Gaza. "Tadmor in the wilderness" (Palmyra), which the Jewish monarch is said (2 Chron. viii. 4) to have built (that is, either founded or fortified), is considerably to the north-east of Damascus, being only a day's journey from the Euphrates; and Hamath, the Epiphania of the Greeks (still called Hamah), in the territory belonging to which city Solomon had several "store cities," is seated on the Orontes, in lat. 34° 45' N. On the east and south-east, the kingdom of Solomon was extended by the conquest of the country of Moab, of the Ammonites, and of Edom; and tracts which were either inhabited or pastured by the Israelites, lay still further eastward. Maon, which belonged to the tribe of Judah, and was situated in or near the desert of Paran (Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xxiii. 24; xxv. 2), is described by Abulfeda as the

* Hornæ Heb., Matt. x. 14.

† See Whitty on 1 Cor. i. 28.

‡ Relandi Palestina, b. i., cap. i.—ix.

|| Le Pluche, Truth of the Gospel Demonstrated, vol. i., p. 99.

§ The conquest of Canaan by the Israelites has often furnished a ground of complaint to the impugnors of revelation. For a satisfactory vindication of this transaction, the reader is referred to Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i., b. ii., chap. 3; Paley's Sermons, Sermon xix.; Faber's Orig. of Pagan Idolatry, vol. iii., p. 564, &c.; Townsend's Old Testament, vol. i., p. 444, &c., note; and Critica Biblica, vol. i., p. 161, &c.

furthest city of Syria toward Arabia, being two days' journey beyond Zoar.*

5. Within this district, such were the advantages of the soil and climate, added to the peculiar modes of cultivation adopted, that there existed, in the happiest periods of the Jewish nation, an immense population.† The men able to bear arms in the time of Moses, somewhat exceeded 600,000; including the Levites, nearly 620,000. If, according to the usual principle of calculation, we admit the whole people, women and children included, to have been four times as many, we shall then have nearly 2,500,000 souls for the amount of the population. Allowing something further on account of polygamy and slavery, Michaëlis concludes that the number of people Moses had to carry into Palestine could not have been less than 3,000,000. In the reign of David, when the kingdom was so much extended, the population, women and children included, amounted to 5,000,000, to which we must add the tributary Canaanites, and other conquered nations.‡

§ 3.—*Inhabitants of the Country.*

When the land of Canaan was first promised to the seed of Abraham (Gen. x. 15—18), the people who inhabited it were, the Sidonians on the north-west, afterwards famous for commerce; the Hittites on the south-west, near Hebron; the Jebusites at Jebus, afterwards Jerusalem; the Amorites, between the Hittites and the Dead Sea; the Girgashites, near the Sea of Tiberias; the Hivites, at Hermon; the Arkites, at Arka, opposite the northern extremity of Lebanon; the Sinites, south of the Arkites; the Arvadites, at Arvad, in the island Aradus, and its neighbourhood; the Zemarites, south of the Arvadites; and the Hamathites, at Hamath, in the northern extremity of the land.

§ 4.—*Divisions of the Land.*

The following are the principal divisions to which this country has been subject:

1. JOSHUA, upon the conquest of the land, divided it into twelve portions, which were distributed among the twelve tribes, by lot, according

to their families; so that in this division every tribe and every family received their lot and share by themselves, distinct from all the other tribes. In this division among the tribes, the *northern* parts were assigned to the tribes of Asher, Naphtali, Zebulun, and Issachar; the *middle* parts to that of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh; the *southern* parts to those of Judah, Dan, Benjamin, and Simeon; and the country beyond Jordan, to those of Reuben, Gad, and the other half tribe of Manasseh. The relative situation of the tribes will be seen by consulting a map of Judæa. || The tribe of Levi, who would make a thirteenth, being selected for the immediate service of God, possessed no lands, but was dispersed among the other tribes. Forty-eight cities, thence called *Levitical cities*, were appropriated to the residence of this tribe (Numb. xxxv. 7), with the tenths and first-fruits of the estates of their brethren. Of the cities assigned to the Levites, the Kohathites received twenty-three, the Gershonites thirteen, and the Merarites twelve. Some writers have supposed that all the Levitical cities were *asyla*, or cities of refuge. But this is a mistake; for among the cities given to the Levites (Numb. xxxv. 6), only six are appointed to be cities of refuge, whither the inadvertent manslayer might flee, and find an asylum from his pursuers, and be secured from the effects of private revenge, till cleared by a legal process. And it is observable that the Israelites are commanded to "prepare the way," that is, to make the road good, "that every slayer may fly thither" without impediment, and with all expedition (Deut. xix. 3). The rabbis inform us, among other circumstances, that at every cross-road was set up an inscription: "Refuge, Refuge." It was, probably, in allusion to this circumstance that John the Baptist is described as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight."—He was the Messiah's forerunner, and in that character was to remove the obstacles to men's flying to him as their Asylum, and obtaining the salvation of God. §

2. SOLOMON was the next who made a considerable division of the land, separating it into twelve provinces, or districts, and placing each under a peculiar officer: the names of these, and also of the cantons over which they presided, will be found in 1 Kings iv. 7—19.

* See Michaëlis, as above, p. 78, &c.; and Modern Trav., vol. i., p. 2.

† It has been calculated by Spanheim, that the remotest points of the Holy Land, as possessed by king David, were situated at the distance of three degrees of latitude, and as many degrees of longitude, including in all about 26,000 square miles. —"Charta Terræ Israelis."

‡ Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. i., p. 99, 109.

|| For an investigation into the limits of the several tribes, see Fragments to Calmet, No. 558.

§ Jennings's Jewish Antiquities, book ii., ch. 5; and Calmet's Bib. Encyclopædia, art. "Refuge."

3. REHOBAM'S accession to the throne was soon followed by the revolt of the ten tribes, who erected themselves into a separate kingdom, under Jeroboam, and were distinguished as the *kingdom of Israel*; while the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, continuing faithful to Rehoboam, formed the *kingdom of Judah*. The latter kingdom contained all the *southern* parts of the land, consisting of the allotments of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, and so much of the territories of Dan and Simeon as were intermixed with that of Judah. The royal city, during the continuance of this kingdom, was Jerusalem, in the tribe of Benjamin. The former kingdom contained all the *middle* and *northern* parts of the land, with the country beyond Jordan, consisting of the rest of the tribes; its capital was Samaria, in the tribe of Ephraim, situated about thirty miles north of Jerusalem. This division ceased on the subversion of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser, king of Assyria (B. C. 728), after it had flourished 250 years.

4. The ROMANS were in possession of the land during the times of the New Testament history, when we find several great divisions. Thus the whole space between the Mediterranean and the river Jordan had three; viz., JUDÆA, on the *south*; SAMARIA, in the *middle*; and GALILEE, on the *north*; and the space between Jordan and the heights of Gilead had two; viz., PEREA and IDUMÆA.

(1) JUDÆA, which was the southernmost division, and comprehended the original portions of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Simeon, and Dan. The following is the account which Josephus has given of this part of the country: "The southern parts, if they be measured lengthwise, are bound by a village adjoining the confines of Arabia, called by the Jews who dwell there, *Jordan*; and its northern limit, where it joins Samaria, is the village Annath, also called Borceos: its breadth, however, is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa, on the shore of the Mediterranean. The city of Jerusalem is situated in the very middle, on which account some have, with sagacity enough, called that city the navel of the country. Nor is Judea destitute of such delicacies as come from the sea, since its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais. It was divided into eleven portions, of which the royal city of Jerusalem was the chief; and presided over the neighbouring country, as the head over the body. As for the other cities which were inferior to it, they presided over their several toparchies. Gophna was the second of them; Acrabatta the next; after them Thamna, Lydda, Emmaus, Pella, Idumea, Engedi, Herodium, and Jericho; and after these came Jamnia and Joppa, as presiding over the neighbouring

people."* From the Mishna we learn, that this division was considered under four aspects, viz., the western, which lay along the Mediterranean, and in which was the land of the Philistines; the mountainous or pastoral district; the plain, which lay farther east, and inclined towards Jordan; and the vale or flat, which bordered on the banks of that river. The whole of this division was often denominated *the south country*; because it lay to the south of Samaria, and was, as before stated, the most southern division of the Holy Land. Hasselquist has described the soil and appearance of this part of the land with much accuracy (Travels, pp. 126, 127), to whom the reader is referred.

(2) SAMARIA was the middle division of the country on this side Jordan. It began at Annath and Acrabatta (a day's journey north of Jerusalem), and extended to Ginea, in the Great Plain. The following is Josephus's description of it: "It is entirely of the same nature as Judea, for both countries are made up of hills and vallies, are moist enough for agriculture, and are very fertile. They have abundance of trees, and are full of autumnal fruit, both that which grows wild, and that which is the effect of cultivation. They are naturally watered by many streams, but derive their chief moisture from rain water, preserved in reservoirs during the dry season, of which they have no want; and as for those streams which they have, their waters are exceeding sweet. By reason also of the excellent grass which they have, their cattle yield more milk than those in other places; and what is the greatest sign of excellency and abundance, they each of them are very full of people."† Mr. Buckingham, who visited this spot in 1816, says: "The description given of the face of the country, its soil, and productions, as resembling that of Judea, is so far true, that both are composed of abrupt and rugged hills, and differ essentially from the plains of Galilee. But while in Judea the hills are mostly as bare as the imagination can paint them, and a few of the narrow valleys only are fertile; in Samaria, the very summits of the eminences are as well clothed as the sides of them. These, with the luxuriant vallies which they inclose, present scenes of unbroken verdure in almost every point of view, which are delightfully variegated by the picturesque forms of the hills and vales themselves, enriched by the occasional sight of wood and water, in clusters of olive and other trees, and rills and torrents running among them."‡ From

* Jewish Wars, book iii., ch. 3.

† Ibid.

‡ Travels in Palestine, &c., p. 500.

the life of Josephus we learn, that the length of Samaria, from north to south, was three days' journey; for he states, "that it is absolutely necessary for those who would go quickly to Jerusalem (from Galilee) to pass through that country; for in that road they might in three days' time go from Galilee to Jerusalem."* We see also from this, that there was a natural as well as a moral reason, for the evangelist saying of Christ (John iv. 4), that "he must needs go through Samaria" to Jerusalem. This province comprehended the original possessions of Ephraim and Manasseh.

(3) GALILEE was the most northerly division of Palestine, and contained the inheritances of Issachar, Zebulun, Naphtali, Asher, and part of that belonging to the eastern half-tribe of Manasseh. It was one of the most extensive provinces of the Holy Land; and is divided by Josephus into the *Upper* and the *Lower* Galilee. The *Upper Galilee* abounded in mountains, and was eminently understood by the term "Galilee of the Gentiles," or "Galilee of the Nations;" as the mountainous nature of the country enabled those who possessed the fastnesses to defend themselves against invaders. Strabo enumerates among its inhabitants, Egyptians, Arabians, and Phœnicians.† It extended principally beyond Jordan, inclining toward the Trachonitis, Libanus, and Batanea. In proof of this, Calmet has noticed, among other things, that *Judas Gaulonitis* is called *the Galilean* (Acts v. 37), and we know that Gaulon was beyond Jordan. So also was Bethsaida; but the disciples who were of this city were called Galileans. The testimony of Josephus is to the same effect, who assigns the limits of the entire Galilee thus: "It is terminated west by Ptolemais and Carmel (which do not belong to Galilee); on the south by the country of Samaria and Scythopolis, on the river Jordan; on *the east* by the cantons of *Hippus*, *Gadara*, and *Gaulon*; on the north by the confines of the Tyrians."‡ The *Lower Galilee* contains the Plain of Esdraelon, which is nearly fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. It is described by Dr. Clarke as one vast meadow, covered with the richest pasture, inclosed on all sides by the mountains, and not having a single house or a tree within its extent. Josephus describes Galilee as very populous, containing two hundred and four cities and towns, the least of

which contained 15,000 inhabitants. The district of Galilee, as Dr. Wells remarks, was most honoured with our Saviour's presence. It was here that he was conceived; it was hither that Joseph and Mary returned with him, then a child, out of Egypt; it was here he settled, and lived with his reputed father, and the blessed Virgin, his mother, till he began to be about thirty years of age, and was baptized of John; it was hither he returned after his baptism, and temptation by the devil; and, after his entrance upon his public ministry, though he frequently visited the other provinces, yet it was here that his dwelling-place was, whence he was called a Galilean; and, lastly, it was here our Lord made his first appearance to the eleven disciples after his resurrection. To all which may be added, that the most considerable part, if not all, of his apostles, were of this country; whence they are all styled by the angels, "men of Galilee," Acts i. 11.||

(5) Such were the principal divisions on the west of the Jordan; and if we cross that river, and examine the eastern districts, inhabited by the two tribes and a half, we shall find them to be, Perea on the north, and Idumea on the south.

(1) PEREA, properly so called, had its limits thus: Philadelphia, *east*; the Jordan, *west*; Macheron, *south*; and Pella, *north*.§ But under the appellation of Perea is sometimes included the whole country east of the Jordan, except the extreme south; comprising the cantons of Perea on the *south*; Batanea and Gaulonitis, in the *middle*; and Abilene, Iturea, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, on the *north*.¶ The whole of this district was a fruitful country, abounding with pines, olive-trees, palm-trees, and other plants, which grew in the fields in great plenty and perfection; and even in the excessive hot seasons it was well watered and refreshed with springs and torrents from the mountains. The following is the language in which it is described by Mr. Buckingham: "We had no sooner passed the summit of the second range [of hills beyond the Jordan], going down on its eastern side by a very gentle descent, than we found ourselves on plains of nearly as high a level as the summits of the hills themselves, and certainly eight hundred feet, at least, above the streams of the Jordan. The character of the country, too, was quite different from any thing I had seen in Palestine, from my first landing at Soor to the present moment. We

* Joseph. Vit., cited by Wetstein.

† From such a mixture of people many provincialisms might be expected; hence they are mentioned as having differed from the rest of the Jews in their mode of pronunciation. See Mark xiv. 70, and Lightfoot's Chorog. Cent., chap. lxxvii.

‡ Jewish Wars, book iii., chap. 3.

|| Sacred Geography, pt. 4, chap. i.

§ Josephus, Wars, book iii., chap. iii.

¶ For a detailed account of this part of the Holy Land, the reader is referred to Burckhardt's Travels, a work pre-eminently distinguished for its accuracy.

were now in a land of extraordinary richness, abounding with the most beautiful prospects, clothed with thick forests, varied with verdant slopes, and possessing extensive plains of a fine red soil, now covered with thistles as the best proof of its fertility, and yielding in nothing to the celebrated plains of Zebulon and Esdraelon, in Galilee and Samaria. We continued our way to the north-east, through a country, the beauty of which so surprised us that we often asked each other what were our sensations; as if to ascertain the reality of what we saw, and persuade each other, by mutual confessions of our delight, that the picture before us was not an optical illusion. The landscape alone, which varied at every turn, and gave us new beauties from every different point of view, was, of itself, worth all the pains of an excursion to the eastward of Jordan to obtain a sight of; and the park-like scenes that sometimes softened the romantic wildness of the general character as a whole, reminded us of similar spots in less neglected lands."* Of the district of Batanea the same traveller thus speaks: "We continued our way over this elevated tract, continuing to behold, with surprise and admiration, a beautiful country on all sides of us; its plains covered with a fertile soil, its hills clothed with forests, at every new turn presenting the most magnificent landscapes that could be imagined. Among the trees the oak was frequently seen, and we know that this territory produced them of old. In enumerating the sources whence the supplies of Tyre were drawn in the time of her great wealth and naval splendour, the prophet says, 'Of the oaks of Bashan

have they made thine oars,' Ezek. xxvii. 6. Some learned commentators, indeed, believing that no oaks grew in these supposed desert regions, have translated this word by *alders*, to prevent the appearance of inaccuracy in the inspired writer. The expression of the 'fat bulls of Bashan,' which occurs more than once in the Scriptures, seemed to us equally inconsistent, as applied to the beasts of a country generally thought to be a desert, in common with the whole tract which is laid down in our modern maps as such, between the Jordan and Euphrates;† but we could now fully comprehend, not only that the bulls of this luxuriant country might be proverbially fat, but that its possessors, too, might be a race renowned for strength and comeliness of person."‡

(2) IDUMÆA.—This province composed the extreme southern part of the land, and also a small part of Arabia. During the captivity at Babylon, it seems to have been possessed by the neighbouring Idumæans. Being conquered by the victorious arms of the Maccabees, these people embraced Judaism, and thus became incorporated into the body of the Jewish nation. The tract inhabited by them retained the name of Idumæa, not only during the time of the New Testament history (Mark iii. 8), but also for a considerable time afterwards.||

6. The following table will supply the means of comparing the division of Palestine amongst the twelve tribes, with that adopted by the Romans during the first three centuries of the Christian era, and with that adopted by the Turks at the present day.

Cananitic Division.	Israelitic Division.	Roman Division.	Turkish Division.
Sidonians	Tribe of Asshur (in Lebanon)	Upper Galilee .	{ <i>Tsafad</i> (ancient Galilee). <i>Belad Shekyf</i> (ancient Trachonitis, with Belad-Haran, Auranitis, &c.
Unknown	{ Naphtali (north-west of the Lake of Gennesareth) . .		
Perizzites	{ Zebulun (north-west of the Lake of Gennesareth) . .	Lower Galilee .	{ <i>Areta</i> .
The same	{ Issachar (Valley of Esdraelon, Mount Tabor)		
Hivites	{ Half-tribe of Manasseh (Dora and Cesarea	Samaria	{ Nablous.
The same	{ Ephraim (Shechem, Samaria).		

* Travels in Palestine, &c., p. 322.

† It was because the tribes of Reuben and Gad possessed a multitude of cattle that they entreated Moses to give them this land for their portion, as it was a land of rich pastures, and not to take them over Jordan. See Numb. xxxii. 1–5, and Josephus, Antiq., book iv., chap. 7.

‡ It was called the land of giants, probably from the great

strength of its people, Deut. iii. 13. It contained threescore great cities, with walls and brazen bars, 1 Kings iv. 13. "And Og, the king of Bashan, pre-eminent above his subjects, slept on a bedstead of iron, which was nine cubits long, and four broad, after the cubit of a man," Deut. iii. 11. Buckingham's Travels, p. 328, 329.

|| Wells' Geography, pt. 4, chap. i.

Canaanish Division.	Israelitish Division.	Roman Division.	Turkish Division.
Jebusites	Benjamin (Jericho, Jerusalem)	Judea	<i>El-Kods</i> (Jerusalem, Jericho, &c.)
Amorites, Hittites	Judah (Hebron, Judea Proper)		<i>El-Khaki</i> (Hebron, and the south of Judea.)
Philistines	{ Simeon (south-west of Judah)		<i>Gasa</i> or <i>Palestine</i> (the sea-coast.)
	{ Dan (Joppa) }		
Moabites	Reuben (Peræa, Heshbon)	Peræa	<i>El-Ghaur</i> (ancient Peræa.)
Ammonites, Gilead	Gad (Decapolis, Ammonites).		<i>El-Sharrat</i> (south and south-east of the Dead Sea, with
Kingdom of Bashan	{ Half-tribe of Manasseh (Gaulonites, Batanea) }		<i>El-Djibal</i> , the ancient Galilee.)

(7) We cannot, of course, pretend to mark these divisions with any thing like precision, much less to mark their geographical agreement with each other; but what we have done will answer all the purposes of historical comparison.

§ 5.—The Face of the Country.

WE have incidentally noticed the general character and appearance of the country; but we may here further observe, that the surface of the Holy Land, being beautifully diversified with mountains, plains, and valleys, watered by the river Jordan, and the innumerable streams by which it is intersected, must have presented a delightful appearance when the Jewish nation was in its prosperity, and the land held under the special providence of God. "Under a wise and salutary government, the produce of the Holy Land would exceed all calculation: its perennial harvest, the salubrity of its air, its limpid springs, its rivers, lakes, and matchless plains, its hills and vales; all these, added to the serenity of its climate, prove this land to be, indeed, a field which the Lord hath blessed. God hath given it of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.* The limestone rocks and valleys are even now to be seen entirely covered with plantations of figs, vines, and olive-trees; scarcely a single spot seems to be neglected. The hills, from their bases to their upmost summits, are entirely covered with gardens, and in a high state of agricultural perfection. Even the sides of the most barren mountains are rendered fertile by being divided into terraces, like steps rising one above another. In many parts of the land the scenery is peculiarly grand. Lofty mountains give an outline of the most magnificent character; flowing beds of secondary hills soften the romantic wildness of the picture; gentle slopes, clothed with wood, give a rich variety of tints, hardly to be imitated by the pencil; deep valleys, filled with murmuring streams and ver-

dant meadows, offer all the luxuriance of cultivation; and herds and flocks give life and animation to scenes as grand, as beautiful, and as highly picturesque, as the genius or taste of a Claude could either invent or desire.† But we must descend to particulars, and describe—

I. RIVERS, LAKES, AND SEAS.—Of these the following deserve notice:

1. The *Jordan*, or *river of Dan*, which rises under the lofty peaks of the Anti-libanus, and flows in a direction almost constantly southward, with the lake of Tiberias, through which it passes, and that of Asphaltites (the Dead Sea), which it forms by its discharge, divides Palestine completely from north to south. The lake of Phiala, whence it takes its rise, is situate about fifteen miles north-east of Cesarea, and on the right hand of the road to Trachonitis. It obtained its designation from its resemblance to a bowl, and its waters were brimful at all times. Before the time of Philip the Tetrarch, Panium was considered as the source of the Jordan; but he having thrown a quantity of chaff into the spring of Phiala, which issued out at Panium, a subterraneous passage between the two springs was thereby discovered, and Phiala ascertained to be the true source of this famed river.‡

(2) At its embouchure the Jordan is deep and rapid, rolling a volume of waters from two to three hundred feet in width, with a current so violent that an expert swimmer finds it impracticable to cross it. Dr. Shaw describes it, indeed, as not more than thirty yards broad, and Maundrell, as only about twenty yards over; but they speak of its appearance at some distance from the mouth, where the pilgrims bathe. The former affirms that it runs about two miles an hour, and Chateaubriand represents it as sluggish, reluctantly creeping to the Dead Sea; while the latter speaks of its violent and turbid current, "too rapid to be swam against;" in which he is supported by Pococke, who describes it as "deep

† Buckingham's Travels, p. 330.—For an account of the seasons, &c., of Judea, see page 423, *infra*.

‡ Josephus's Wars, book iii., ch. 10; book iv., ch. 1.

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv., part ii., ch. 16.

and very rapid, wider than the Tiber at Rome, and perhaps about as wide as the Thames at Windsor; the water turbid." But these variations may easily be accounted for, by observing, that the writers not only visited different parts of the river, but that at different times of the year.

(3) There is no doubt that anciently, at certain seasons, this river overflowed its inner bank, Josh. iii. 15; 1 Chron. xii. 15; Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44. "But at present," says Maundrell, "whether it be that the river has, by its rapidity of current, worn its channel deeper than it was formerly, or whether because its waters are diverted some other way, it seems to have forgot its ancient greatness; for we could discern no sign or probability of such overflowings when we were there, which was the 30th of March, being the proper time for these inundations. Nay, so far was the river from overflowing, that it ran at least two yards below the brink of its channel." It is nevertheless a fact, that the Jordan still rises to a height of from nine to ten perpendicular feet, between the months of January and March—a height quite sufficient to produce a very extensive inundation, when its channel was shallower than it now is.

(4) The course and channel of this river have been accurately described by Maundrell, Buckingham, Burckhardt, and other recent travellers. Mr. Buckingham observes, that the whole of the plain, from the mountains of Judea on the west to those of Arabia on the east, may be called the vale of Jordan in a general way; but in the centre of the plain, which is at least ten miles broad, the Jordan runs in another still lower valley, perhaps a mile broad in some of the widest parts, and a furlong in the narrowest. There are close thickets all along the edge of the stream, as well as upon this lower plain, which would afford ample shelter for wild beasts; and as the Jordan might overflow its banks, when swollen with rains, sufficiently to inundate this lower plain, though it could never reach the upper one, it was most probably from these that the lions were driven out by the inundations, which gave rise to the prophet's simile: "Behold, he shall come up like a lion from the swelling of Jordan, against the habitation of the strong," Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44.* Mr. Burckhardt is more particular as to the exact course of the river: "The valley of the Jordan, or El Ghor, which may be said to begin at the northern extremity of the lake of Tiberias, has near Bysan [Bethshan, or Scythopolis] a direction of N. by E., and S. by W. Its breadth is about two hours. The great number of rivulets which descend from the moun-

tains on both sides, and form numerous pools of stagnant water, produce in many places a pleasing verdure, and a luxuriant growth of wild herbage and grass; but the greater part of the ground is a parched desert, of which a few spots only are cultivated by the Bedouins. In the neighbourhood of Bysan the soil is entirely of marle; there are very few trees; but wherever there is water, high reeds are found. The river Jordan, on issuing from the lake of Tiberias, flows for about three hours near the western hills, and then turns towards the eastern, on which side it continues its course for several hours. The river flows in a valley of about a quarter of an hour in breadth, which is considerably lower than the rest of the plain of the Ghor; this low valley is covered with high trees of a luxuriant verdure, which afford a striking contrast with the sandy slopes that border it on both sides. The river where we passed it was about eighty paces broad, and about three feet deep; this, it must be recollected, was in the midst of summer. In the winter it inundates the plain in the bottom of the narrow valley, but never rises to the level of the upper plain of the Ghor, which is at least forty feet above the level of the river. The river is fordable in many places during summer, but the few spots where it may be crossed in the rainy season are known only to the Arabs."† It abounds with fish.

2. The *Lake of Tiberias*, or *Sea of Galilee*, was called in more early times the Sea of Chinnereth, from a city of that name seated on it, belonging to the children of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35); and the edge of this sea on the other side Jordan, eastward, was made the western boundary of the portion of Gad, who occupied all the cities of Gilead, and half the land of the children of Ammon, Josh. xiii. 24—27. Genesareth is considered by Calmet and Buckingham to have been the original name of this sea of Chinnereth, gradually corrupted; Galilee was the name given to it from its situation on the eastern borders of that division of Palestine; and Tiberias, which is its most modern name, must have been bestowed on it after the building of the city bearing the same name by Herod. It is computed to be about eighteen miles in length, and from five to six in breadth.‡ The description which Josephus has left us of this beautiful sheet of water is, like all the other pictures drawn by him, admirably faithful in the detail of local features. "Now, this

† Travels in Syria, &c., pp. 344, 345.

‡ Josephus, Jewish Wars, b. iii., chap. xiii. Dr. Richardson, misled by Sandys, has stated it to be "about twelve miles long, and six broad." Travels, vol. i., p. 426.

* Travels in Palestine, &c., pp. 313, 314.

lake of Genesareth is so called from the country adjoining to it. Its breadth is forty furlongs, and its length one hundred and forty; its waters are sweet, and very agreeable for drinking, for they are finer than the thick waters of other fens; the lake is also pure, and on every side ends directly at the shores, and at the sand; and it is also of a temperate nature when you draw it up, and of a more gentle nature than river or fountain water, and yet always cooler than one could expect in so diffuse a place as this is. Now, when this water is kept in the open air, it is as cold as that snow which the country people are accustomed to make by night in summer. There are several kinds of fish in it, different both to the taste and sight from those elsewhere.* Dr. Clarke speaks of the uncommon grandeur of the memorable scenery of this spot. He describes the lake as being longer and finer than any of our Cumberland and Westmoreland lakes, although, perhaps, inferior to Loch Lomond. It does not possess the vastness of the lake of Geneva, although it much resembles it in certain points of view. In picturesque beauty he states it to come nearest to the lake of Locarno in Italy, although it is destitute of any thing similar to the islands by which that majestic piece of water is adorned.† Viewing it from Tel Hoom, which he erroneously supposed to be the ancient Capernaum, Mr. Buckingham says, "Its appearance is still grand. The barren aspect of the mountains on each side, and the total absence of wood, give, however, a cast of dullness to the picture; which is increased to melancholy by the dead cast of its waters, and the silence which reigns throughout its whole extent, where not a boat or vessel of any kind is to be found. The waters of this lake, lying in a deep bason, surrounded on all sides with lofty hills, excepting only the narrow entrance and outlets of the Jordan at each extreme, are protected from long-continued tempests; and, like the Dead Sea, with which they communicate, are never violently agitated for any length of time. The same local features, however, render it occasionally subject to whirlwinds, squalls, and sudden gusts from the hollow of the mountains, which, as in every other similar bason, are of short duration, and the most furious gust is instantly succeeded by a calm. A storm of this description is evidently alluded to by the evangelist, where he says, "There came down a storm of wind on the lake, and they were filled with water, and were in jeopardy—then he arose, and rebuked the wind and the raging of the

water; and they ceased, and there was a calm," Luke viii. 23, 24.‡ It was the old opinion, that the waters of the Jordan passed through the lake without mingling with it; and Pococke thought he noticed the stream to be of a different colour. The fact is, that the water of the lake is clear, while that of the Jordan is muddy, and of course the strong current, in passing through the former, imparts to it a tinge of its own colour.

3. The *Dead Sea*, or *Lake Asphaltites*, variously called in Scripture the Sea of the Plain, the Salt Sea, and the East Sea (Deut. iii. 17, iv. 49; Numb. xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv. 5; Ezek. xlvii. 18; Joel ii. 20), is a collection of waters of considerable magnitude. It is surrounded by high hills on three sides, some of them exhibiting frightful precipices, and on the north it is bounded by the plain of Jericho, through which the Jordan flows into it. The Kedron, Arnon, and Zerka rush down the hills in torrents, and, along with other streams, discharge themselves into the lake. Its real size is not satisfactorily ascertained, ancient and modern writers materially disagreeing in their statements. Josephus affirms it to be seventy-two miles long, and eighteen broad. Diodorus states it at sixty-two miles long, and seven and a half broad. But the calculation of Pliny is much greater; for he says it is one hundred miles long, and twenty-five wide, in the broadest part. Maundrell and Dr. Clarke agree with Josephus, and Pococke decides with Diodorus; whereas Mr. Bankes confidently affirms, that its utmost extent does not exceed thirty miles. Yet, as the editor of the *Modern Traveller* has judiciously remarked, the ancients were well acquainted with this sea. Josephus, Julius Africanus, and Pausanias describe it from their own ocular evidence. Are we to conclude that the lake has contracted its dimensions, so as to be only half its ancient length? Supposing any change to have taken place in the depth of its bason, in the lapse of ages, during which the bituminous stores contained in the subterranean chambers of the abyss have been in a process of decomposition, this is not impossible. For as the whole of the plain is a flat, on a level with the sea, it is extremely probable that the waters anciently covered that whole extent; and a comparatively slight subsidence of the sea would convert the shallow into a marshy, and at length arid, plain.|| The waters of the Dead Sea are clear and limpid, but their specific gravity exceeds that of all other water known. Josephus and Tacitus say that no fish can live in

* Josephus, *Jewish Wars*, b. iii., chap. x.

† *Travels*, vol. iv., p. 200, &c.

‡ *Travels*, p. 471.

|| *Modern Traveller*, vol. i., pp. 205, 206.

them; and, according to the concurring testimony of other travellers, those carried thither by the Jordan instantly die. Maundrell, nevertheless, states that he found some shell-fish, resembling oysters, on the shore; and Pococke was informed that a monk had seen fish caught in the water. These statements, however, require corroboration: hitherto we are without any satisfactory evidence that the lake contains any living thing. The mud is black, thick, and fetid, and no plant vegetates in the water, which is reputed to have a petrifying quality. Neither do plants grow in the immediate vicinity of the lake, where every thing is dull, cheerless, and inanimate; whence it is supposed to have derived the name of the *Dead Sea*. The water is extremely acrid, and the earth surrounding it is deeply impregnated with the same qualities, too predominant to admit of vegetable life; and even the air is saturated with them. Great quantities of asphaltum and sulphur are found on the edges of the lake; as well as a kind of stone or coal, which on attrition exhales an intolerable odour, and burns like bitumen: this is used by the inhabitants of the country for paving churches, mosques, and other places of public resort. Mr. Maundrell saw some pieces of it in the convent of St. John in the Wilderness, two feet square, carved in bas relief, and polished to as great a lustre as black marble is capable of. As the lake is at certain seasons covered with a thick dark mist, which is dissipated with the rays of the sun, some writers have alleged that black and sulphureous exhalations are constantly issuing from the water. They have been no less mistaken in supposing that birds attempting to fly across are struck dead by pestiferous fumes; for late and reputable travellers declare that numerous swallows skim along the surface, and thence take up the water necessary to build their nests. On this point, indeed, Heyman and Van Egmont made a decisive experiment. They carried two sparrows to the shore, and having deprived them of some of the wing feathers, after a short flight both birds fell on the sea, but got out in safety. An uncommon love of exaggeration is testified in all the older narratives, and in some of modern date, of the nature and properties of the water. Chateaubriand speaks of "a dismal sound proceeding from the lake, like the stifled clamours of the people engulfed in its waters;" that its shores produce fruit beautiful to the sight, but containing nothing but ashes; and that it bears upon its surface the heaviest metals. These properties of the water, however, have all vanished upon a more rigid investigation.

(2) The circumstance of this lake constantly receiving the waters of the Jordan, which Shaw

computes to be about 6,090,000 tons daily, without overflowing its banks, although there is no visible outlet, induced Reland, Pococke, and other writers to suppose, that it must throw off its superfluous waters by some subterraneous channel. This opinion, however, is now relinquished, Dr. Halley having shown that the effect of evaporation in a hot climate will satisfactorily account for the phenomenon. The specific gravity of the water is found to be very great. Pococke, Van Egmont, Heyman, and Captain Mangles affirm, that it is sufficiently buoyant to sustain persons who could not swim on its surface. But the question of its specific gravity has been set at rest by the chemical analysis of the waters made by Dr. Marcet, whence it was found to be 1,211, that of fresh water being 1000.*

(3) The Dead Sea is said to have been produced by the exercise of divine wrath against the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, for their unexampled iniquity. Five cities were involved in the general destruction then overwhelming the fertile vale of Siddim, in which they stood. Various conjectures have been formed as to the agents employed in this signal display of the divine displeasure; but the scriptural account is explicit, that "the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from heaven" (Gen. xix. 24), which may be safely interpreted as implying a shower of inflamed sulphur or nitre.

(4) From an inspection of the map accompanying the volume of Mr. Burckhardt's travels in Syria, it will be perceived that the valley extending from the source of the Jordan to the Dead Sea, and then encompassing that lake on its western and eastern sides, is continued from its southern extremity to the Elanitic Gulf of the Red Sea. This southern Ghor, or valley, is supposed by Mr. Leake to have been the ancient course of the Jordan, before the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, when the bason containing the Dead Sea was probably formed; and, consequently, that instead of its waters being evaporated, as they are now, they emptied themselves, before that awful event, into the Elanitic Gulf.† The direction of the valley, and the immense volume of water contained in the Jordan, render this conjecture extremely probable.

4. The *Arnon* is noticed here chiefly for the purpose of correcting an error relative to its course, which has been copied from D'Anville into most of our maps of Palestine. This river takes its rise at a short distance to the N. E. of Katrane.

* Phil. Trans., 1807, pt. ii., art. 18.

† Preface to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c., p. 6.

north of Kerek (the ancient Karak Moaba), runs in a north-west direction (not a south-west or western direction, as generally but erroneously represented in maps), into the Dead Sea; passing by Ar, and consequently turning towards "the valley in the plains of Moab, and to the top of Pisgah, which looketh towards Jeshimon," Numb. xxi. 14—20. It now divides the province of Belka from that of Kerek, as it formerly divided the small kingdoms of the Moabites and Amorites.*

II. MOUNTAINS.—Of these we shall notice the following:—

1. *Lebanon*, called by the Greeks and Latins *Libanus*, is a long chain of limestone mountains, extending from the neighbourhood of Sidon westward, to that of Damascus eastward, and forming the northern boundary of the Holy Land. It consists of two principal ranges, and forms a kind of horse-shoe in its length, beginning three or four leagues from the Mediterranean, above Smyrna, and running from north towards Sidon; from thence bending from west to east towards Damascus, and returning from the south northward, from the strait of Damascus, as far as Laodicea. The western part of this chain is properly *Libanus*; the other part, eastward, extends from south to north, and is by the Greeks called *Anti-Libanus*, because it is over against the other. *Lebanon* is composed of four inclosures of mountains, which rise one on the other. The first is very rich in grain and fruits; the second is barren, abounding in thorns, rocks, and flints; the third, though higher than this, enjoys a perpetual spring, the trees being always green, and the orchards filled with fruit; the fourth is so high that it is constantly covered with snow, and is uninhabitable in consequence of the extreme cold. The most elevated summit of one of these ridges was called by the Hebrews *Hermon*; by the Sidonians, *Sirion*; and by the Amorites, *Shenir*; Deut. iii. 9. The reader will, perhaps, be gratified by Volney's general description. "A view of the country will convince us that the most elevated point of all Syria is Lebanon. Scarcely do we depart from Lameca in Cyprus, which is thirty leagues distant, before we discover its summit, capped with clouds. This is also distinctly perceivable on the map, from the course of the rivers. The Orontes, which flows from the mountains of Damascus, and loses itself

below Antioch; the Kasmia, which, from the north of Balbec, takes its course towards Tyre; the Jordan, forced by the declivities toward the south; prove that this is the highest point. No one has yet had an opportunity of ascertaining the height of these mountains by the barometer; but we may deduce it from another consideration. In winter their tops are entirely covered with snow, from Alexandretta to Jerusalem; but after the month of March it melts, except on Mount Lebanon, where, however, it does not remain the whole year, unless in the highest cavities, and towards the north-east, where it is sheltered from the sea winds, and the rays of the sun. In such a situation, I saw it still remaining, in 1784, at the very time I was almost suffocated with heat in the valley of Balbec. Now, since it is well known that snow, in this latitude, requires an elevation of fifteen or sixteen hundred fathoms, we may conclude that to be the height of Lebanon, and that it is consequently much lower than the Alps, or even the Pyrenees."†

(2) *Lebanon* was formerly much celebrated for its stately cedars; but they are now considerably reduced, and are verging fast to utter extinction. Bellonius, who visited them in 1550, found them twenty-eight in number. Rauwolf, in 1575, makes them twenty-four. Dandini, in 1600, and Thevenot, about fifty years after, make them twenty-three. In 1696, Maundrell found them reduced to sixteen. Pococke, about forty years afterwards, saw fifteen standing, and the sixteenth recently blown down. Burckhardt, in 1810, counted eleven or twelve. And finally, Dr. Richardson, in 1818, states them to be no more than seven. In less than half a century more, it is probable that not one of these sylvan monuments will be standing.‡

2. *Carmel* is a range of hills, extending six or eight miles, nearly north and south, coming from the plain of Esdraelon, and ending in the promontory or cape which forms the bay of Accho. Its greatest height does not exceed fifteen hundred feet.|| It has, on the east, a fine plain, watered by the river Kishon; and on the west, a narrower plain, descending to the sea. The summits of the hills abound with oaks and other trees; and a few wild vines and olive-trees may still be

† Travels, vol. i., p. 293, &c. Mr. Buckingham states the height of Lebanon to be ten or twelve thousand feet. For a particular account of the towns, villages, &c. of *Libanus*, the reader is referred to Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, pp. 1—51.

‡ Modern Traveller, Palestine, p. 134; and Carpenter's Scripture Natural History, p. 434, &c.

|| Buckingham, Travels, p. 119.

* See CRITICA BIBLICA, where the reader will find an investigation of Numb. xxi. 14—20; a passage which has baffled the ingenuity and critical acumen of every translator and commentator, both ancient and modern.

found, indicating its ancient state of cultivation, to which an allusion occurs in Amos i. 2, where it is denounced, as a punishment upon Israel, that "the top of Carmel shall wither." There was another Carmel, apparently a pastoral district, within the tribe of Judah, not far from Maon (comp. Josh. xv. 55; 1 Sam. xxv. 2; 2 Sam. iii. 3); and it is not always easy to determine to which of these reference is made, or whether, in all cases, the word is used as the specific name of a place.* To this mount, however, on the top of which Elijah sacrificed, the prophet Amos obviously refers, when, speaking in the name of God, he says, "If they hide themselves in the top of Carmel, I will search and take them out thence," Amos ix. 3. But as the height of the mountain will not altogether account for the expression "hide themselves," it is probable that here is an allusion to the caves with which it abounded, and which seem to have been places of refuge in the time of Elijah. "The excellency of Carmel" (Isai. xxxv. 2), if this district be alluded to, may denote either the vineyards and olive-grounds that once clothed the sides of the mountains, or the rich pastures afforded by the range of hills; and which rendered it "the habitation of shepherds," Amos i. 2.†

3. *Tabor* is a large hill rather than a mountain, rising in the plain of Esdraelon, in Galilee, about three hours and a quarter distant from Tiberias. Its shape is that of a truncated cone, and, according to Burckhardt, it is entirely calcareous. Pococke says, "It is one of the finest hills I ever beheld, being a rich soil that produces excellent herbage, and is most beautifully adorned with groves and clumps of trees. The ascent is so easy, that we rode up the north side by a winding road. Some authors mention it as being about four miles high, others as about two: the latter may be true, as to the winding ascent up the hill; but Mr. Buckingham is of opinion that its real height cannot exceed 2000 feet. The top of it, which is not half a mile long,‡ and near a quarter of a mile broad, is encompassed by a wall,|| which Josephus built in forty days: there

was also a wall along the middle of it, which divided the south part, on which the city stood, from the north part, which is lower, and is called the *meidan*, or place, being probably used for exercises when there was a city here, which Josephus mentions by the name of *Artaburion*. Within the outer wall, on the north side, are several deep fosses, out of which it is probable the stones were dug to build the walls; and these fosses seem to have answered the end of cisterns, to preserve the rain water, and were also some defence to the city. There are likewise a great number of cisterns under ground, for preserving the rain water. To the south, where the ascent was more easy, there are fosses cut on the outside, to render the access to the walls more difficult. Some of the gates also of the city remain; as one to the west, and a smaller one to the south. Antiochus, king of Syria, took the fortress on the top of this hill. Vespasian, also, got possession of it; and after that, Josephus fortified it with strong walls."§

(2) During the greater part of the summer, Tabor is covered in the morning with thick clouds, which disperse towards mid-day; and in the night dews fall very copiously. In the wooded parts of the mountain are wild boars, ounces,¶ and great numbers of red partridges.** Hasselquist enumerates among the productions of this mountain, the oak, the carob-tree, the turpentine-tree, the holly, the myrtle, the ivy, oats, onion, artichoke, rue, sage, poppy, wormwood, &c.; and Van Egmont states, that its verdure is beautiful, being every where decorated with small oak-trees, and the ground universally enamelled with a variety of plants and flowers, except on the south side, where it is not so fully covered with verdure. The prospects from the summit of Tabor are very extensive, and are also singularly beautiful. "We had on the north-west," says Mr. Buckingham, "a view of the Mediterranean Sea, whose blue surface filled up an open space left by a downward bent in the outline of the western hills; to the west-north-west a smaller portion of

* The Hebrew *Carmel* denotes a verdant or fruitful place.

† Modern Traveller, Palestine, p. 30.

‡ Mr. Buckingham says, a quarter of a mile in its greatest length.

§ The last-named traveller considers this as the most ancient part. In the book of Judges, where the story of Deborah is related (ch. iv.), Barak is commanded to draw toward Mount Tabor; and afterwards it is said, that he went up there with 10,000 men, accompanied by the prophetess, ver. 10. Again, it is repeated, that they who were encamped with Heber, the Kenite, in the plain of Zaanaïm, showed Sisera that Barak, the son of Abinoam, was gone up to Mount Tabor, ver. 12. And, lastly,

it is said, that when Sisera gathered all his hosts together, with his 900 chariots of iron, to the river Kishon, Barak went down from Mount Tabor, and 10,000 men after him, ver. 14. From this one might infer, that the summit was even then used as a military post; for there is no other part of the mountain on which half the number could stand. It was even then, perhaps, walled and fortified as belonging to Barak; and as its natural position would always preserve its consequence, so these walls and fortifications would be strengthened by each new possessor. —Buckingham's Travels, pp. 104, 105.

§ Jewiah Wars, book iv., c. 1; book ii., c. 20; and Antiq., book xiv., c. 6.

¶ Burckhardt's Travels, p. 335.

** Van Egmont and Heyman.

its waters were seen; and on the west again, the slender line of its distant horizon was just perceptible over the range of land near the sea-coast. From the west to the south, the plain of Esdraelon extended over a large space, being bounded on the south by the range of hills generally considered to be Hermon, whose dews are poetically celebrated (Ps. cxxxiii. 3), and having in the same direction, nearer the foot of Tabor, the springs of *Ain-el-Sherrar*, which send a perceptible stream through its centre, and form the brook Kishon of antiquity, Ps. lxxxiii. 9. From the south-east to the east is the plain of Galilee, being almost a continuation of Esdraelon, and, like it, appearing to be highly cultivated, being now ploughed for seed throughout. Beneath the range of this supposed Hermon, is seated Endor, famed for the witch who raised the ghost of Samuel (1 Sam. xxviii.); and Nain, equally celebrated as the place at which Jesus raised the only son of a widow from death to life, and restored him to his afflicted parent, Luke vii. 11—15. The range which bounds the eastern view is thought to be the mountains of Gilboa, where Saul, setting an example of self-destruction to his armour-bearer and his three sons, fell on his own sword, rather than fall into the hands of the uncircumcised Philistines, by whom he was defeated, 1 Sam. xxxi. The Sea of Tiberias, or the Lake of Genesaret, famed as the seat of many miracles, is seen at the north-east, filling the hollow of a deep valley, and contrasting its light blue waters with the dark brown shades of the barren hills by which it is hemmed around. Here, too, the steep is pointed out, down which the herd of swine, who were possessed by the legion of devils, ran headlong into the sea, Luke viii. 33. In the same direction, below, on the plain of Galilee, and about an hour's distance from Mount Tabor, there is a cluster of buildings, used as a bazaar for cattle; somewhat further on, is a rising ground, from which it is said Christ delivered the long and excellent discourse called the Sermon on the Mount; and the whole view in this quarter is bounded by the high range of *Gebel-el-Tej*, or the mountain of snow. The city of Saphet, supposed to be the ancient Bethulia, a city said to be seen far and near, and thought to be alluded to in the apophthegm, which says, "a city set on a hill cannot be hid" (Matt. v. 14), is also pointed out in this direction. To the north were the stony hills over which we had journeyed thither; and these completed this truly grand and interesting panoramic view.*

(3) Since the time of Jerome this mountain has been considered as the scene of the transfiguration; and there are three altars, which are said to mark the site of the three tabernacles proposed to be erected by Peter, when he beheld the Saviour's glory; as also a grot, where they say Christ charged his disciples not to tell the transactions they had witnessed till after he should be glorified. This story, however, is devoid of probability, for the journey which the Saviour is said to have taken for the purpose of exhibiting his glory to the disciples, places the scene of transfiguration much farther north.†

4. The *mountains of Israel*, or *Ephraim*, were situate in the very centre of the Holy Land, and opposite to the mountains of Judah. The soil of both is fertile, excepting those ridges of the mountains of Israel that look toward the region of the Jordan, which are both rugged and difficult of ascent; and the chain extending from the Mount of Olives, near Jerusalem, to the plain of Jericho. The whole of this road is considered to be the most dangerous in Palestine; the very aspect of the scenery, indeed, is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder; and, on the other, to inspire a dread of it in those who have to pass this way. The bold projecting mass of rocks, the dark shadows in which every thing lies buried below, the towering height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigns around, present a picture which is quite in harmony throughout all its parts. With what propriety did our Saviour choose this spot as the scene of that delightful tale of compassion recorded by Luke, ch. x. 30—34! One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller who rushes on to catch a new view at every pass and turn; one must be alarmed at the very stamp of the horses' hoofs resounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys;‡ one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the good Samaritan can be perceived. Here, pillage, wounds, and death would be accompanied with double terror, from the frightful as-

† Six days before this event our Lord was at Caesarea Philippi, and *after* the transaction he passed through Galilee and came to Capernaum. Compare Mark viii. 27; ix. 2, 30, 33.

‡ It is usual, in travelling this solitary pass, to be attended by a number of armed men, who keep up a continued shout and firing, sent forth from hill to hill, which is re-echoed through all the valleys.

* Travels, p. 107, &c. See also Maundrell, under April 19.

pect of every thing around. Here, the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman. And here, too, the compassion of the good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the motive which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary to admit of a man's exposing himself, by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue a fellow-creature.* The most elevated summit of this ridge, which appears to be the same that was anciently called the rock of Rimmon (Judges xx. 45—47), is at present known by the name of Quarantania, and is supposed to have been the scene of our Saviour's temptation. The mountains of Ebal and Gerizim are situated, the former to the north, and the latter to the south, of Sichem or Napolose, whose streets run parallel to the latter mountain, which overlooks the town.† The cave of Adullam, mentioned in 1 Sam. xxii. 42, is in the mountains of Judah.

5. The *mountains of Gilead* are on the eastern side of the Jordan, and extend from Hermon southward, to Arabia Petrea. The northern part of this chain, known by the name of Bashan, was celebrated for its stately oaks, and numerous herds of cattle. The scenery of this elevated tract, is described as being extremely beautiful.‡ In the southern parts of these mountains were the *Abarim*, or passes, the most eminent of which were Pisgah and Nebo, which form a continued chain, and command a view of the whole land of Canaan, Numb. xxvii. 12, 13.

III. VALLEYS, PLAINS, and DESERTS.—Of these the chief were—

1. The *valley of Hinnom*, lying at the foot of Mount Moriah, and rendered memorable by the idolatrous and inhuman worship there paid to Moloch. See 2 Kings xxiii. 10; 2 Chron. xxviii.

* Buckingham's Travels, p. 292, &c.

† These two mountains are only separated by a valley of about two hundred paces wide, in which stands the town of Shechem. Both mountains are much alike in length, height, and form. Their altitude is described by Mr. Buckingham as not exceeding 700 or 800 feet from the level of the valley. But if they resemble each other in these particulars, they are in others very dissimilar; for Ebal is barren, but Gerizim is beautiful and fruitful. The Jews and Samaritans have great disputes concerning the one on which the blessings were to be pronounced, Deut. xxvii.; Josh. viii. 30, 31.

See p. 414, ante.

3. To render the valley truly detestable, the bodies of those executed for flagitious crimes, and of animals that died of disease, were cast into it; and, that the pestilential vapours which filled the air might not endanger the surrounding country, fires were almost constantly kept burning there. On the south side of the valley, near where it meets with the valley of Jehoshaphat, is shown the spot of ground formerly called the potter's field, but afterwards *Aceldama*, or the field of blood, Matt. xxvii. 7, 8.

2. The *valley of Jehoshaphat*, also called the *valley of Kedron*, lies between the foot of Mount Moriah, as a continuation of Sion, on the east, where the temple of Solomon stood, and on which the eastern front of the city walls lead along. It is about three quarters of a mile in width, and has on its eastern side the Mount of Olives, and the brook Kedron running through it in winter with great impetuosity. The traveller is here shown the well of Nehemiah, where the prophet is said to have restored the fire of the altar after the Babylonian captivity. There are also a great number of grave-stones, with inscriptions in Hebrew characters; and among the rest, two interesting antiquities, reputed to be the tomb of Zacharias and the pillar of Absalom. See 2 Sam. xviii. 18.|| Independently of the celebrity of this valley as the scene of other important and interesting events, the prophet Joel has chosen it for the place of a pleading between God and the enemies of his people, Joel iii. 1, 2. By many Jews and Mahometans, this passage is applied to the general resurrection. Hence the former consider it as the highest honour to obtain a place for their bones to be deposited in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the latter have left a stone jutting out of the wall of the city, for the accommodation of their prophet, who, they say, is to sit on it, and call the whole world from below to judgment.§ Chateaubriand, after summoning up all the images of desolation that the place presents, but without once thinking of the contemptible size of the theatre for so grand a display, says, "One might say that the trumpet of judgment had already sounded, and that the dead were about to rise in the valley of Jehoshaphat."¶

4. The *vale of Siddim* is the spot upon which formerly stood the five cities of the plain, destroyed by fire from heaven on account of the

|| For a description of these, see Buckingham's Travels, p. 191; or Critica Biblica, vol. i., p. 248, &c.

§ Maundrell, April 6.

¶ Travels, vol. ii., p. 39.

impiety of their inhabitants. It is evident, from the description given of this valley, as well as from the circumstance of Lot having made choice of it for the pasturage of his cattle, that it was a fruitful and pleasant place. See Gen. xiii. 10, 11. After the destruction of the cities it was turned into the Salt Sea (Gen. xiv. 3), or, as it is called by the Arabs, Bahar Loth, or Sea of Lot.

5. The *valley of Mamre*, situate about two miles from Hebron, southward, is celebrated in sacred history for Abraham's entertaining three angels under an oak, Gen. xviii. It was a fertile and pleasant place.

6. The *valley of Elah*, or the *Terebinthine vale*, is in the south-west of Canaan, and about three miles from Bethlehem, on the road to Joppa. It is renowned as the field of the victory of David over the uncircumcised champion of the Philistines, who had "defied the armies of the living God," 1 Sam. xvii. "Nothing has ever occurred," says Dr. Clarke, "to alter the appearance of the country. The very brook whence David chose his 'five smooth stones' has been noticed by many a thirsty pilgrim, journeying from Jaffa to Jerusalem, all of whom must pass it in their way. The ruins of goodly edifices attest the religious veneration entertained in later periods for the hallowed spot: but even these are now become so insignificant, that they are scarcely discernible; and nothing can be said to interrupt the native dignity of this memorable scene."*

7. The *Plain* is a tract which extends from Gaza to Joppa, and forms part of the *Plain of the Mediterranean*, which reaches from the brook Bezor to Mount Carmel, on the shore of the Mediterranean, whence it takes its name. The part lying between Joppa and Carmel was called *Sharon*.

8. The *plain of Esdraelon*, the *Great Plain*, or the *Vale of Israel*, we have already spoken of, as being of vast extent, and having on its northern side the abruptly rising *Tabor*. It has been a chosen place for encampment in every contest carried on in the country, from the days of Nabuchodonosor, king of the Assyrians, in the history of whose war with Arphaxad it is mentioned as "the great plain of Esdrelom" (Judith i. 8), until the disastrous march of Napoleon Buonaparte from Egypt into Syria. Jews, Gentiles, Saracens, Christian crusaders and antichristian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors out of every nation which is under heaven, have pitched their tents in the plain of Esdraelon, and have beheld the various banners

of their nations wet with the dews of Tabor and of Hermon.†

9. The *Region round about Jordan* extended from the Sea of Tiberias to the Dead Sea, on each side of the Jordan. Of this district the plain of Jericho forms a part. Josephus says its length is two hundred and thirty furlongs, and its breadth a hundred and twenty; being divided in the midst by Jordan. It is much burned up in the summer-time; and in consequence of the extraordinary heat, contains very unwholesome air. It is all destitute of water, excepting the river of Jordan.‡

10. The *wilderness of Judea* began near Jericho, and extended along the shores of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, to the mountains of Edom. It is necessary to state, that the Hebrews gave the name of *desert* or *wilderness* to all parts that were not cultivated, or thickly inhabited; because we find many parts of this region very far from being what is commonly understood to be a wilderness. It was here that John the Baptist was educated, and began to proclaim the approach of the Messiah's reign, Matt. iii. 1.

11. The *Desert*, so frequently mentioned during the wanderings of the Israelites, and in which they sojourned for forty years after their departure from Egypt, extended from the eastern side of the Red Sea to the confines of the land of Canaan, and is known as part of the vast *Desert of Arabia*.

§ 6.—*Atmosphere and other Phenomena.*

1. FROM the description already given of the geographical situation and local features of Judea, it will be obvious that there must be much variation in the climate, in different parts of the land. The country running along the sea-coast must have its temperature cooled by its proximity to a large body of water; the valley of the Jordan, surrounded by high and barren mountains, must be excessively hot; while the country on the ridges of mountains, on either side the Jordan, will be frequently exposed to a chilling air. The day and night in these climates are directly opposite to each other; for while the former is excessively hot, the latter is intensely cold. See Gen. xxxi. 40. This is occasioned by the copious precipitation of vapour which follows the setting of a vertical sun; and so abundant are these dews, that we are informed by travellers that they have been frequently wetted to the skin by them.

* Travels, vol. iv., p. 422.

† Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. iv., p. 255, &c.

‡ Jewish Wars, book iv., chap. viii.

There is a fine and touching allusion to the early evaporation of the dew, under the warmth of the rising sun, in Hos. vi. 4. The rains in Judea are very different from what they are among us. For months together they are unknown, coming down generally at stated times in spring and autumn, called the former and the latter rain, Deut. xi. 14; Hos. vi. 3; Joel ii. 23.* It not unfrequently happens that they rush down in such torrents as to destroy soil, grain, houses, flocks, and herds, Matt. vii. 25—27. Nor are snow and hail unknown in Judea. In winter the dew often assumes the appearance of hoar-frost; and on eminences the snow is sometimes seen to lie for a considerable time. The hail is sometimes exceedingly large, falling in such masses as to destroy fields of corn, and trees, and endanger the lives of animals. Bruce saw hail-stones in Abyssinia as large as a nutmeg,† and Moses speaks of the “very grievous hail,” which destroyed the cattle of the Egyptians, Exod. ix. 18, &c.

2. In respect to the winds, though their general character is calm and temperate, yet are they subject to occasional visitations of cold and storm. As in other countries, they were classed by the four quarters whence they came; viz., east, west, north, and south. Hence the general name for them in Scripture is the four winds: and when they are named individually, they are distinguished by their peculiar qualities. Thus, the *east wind* is particularly tempestuous and dangerous in the Mediterranean; and to this the Psalmist seems to allude, when he says, “Thou breakest the ships of Tarshish with an east wind,” Ps. xlviii. 7. Isaiah also, when alluding to this wind, says, “He stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind,” chap. xxvii. 8. Such a storm is well known to modern mariners by the name of “a Levanter,”

the Levant meaning that country which lies at the east end of the Mediterranean; and what makes it interesting to the Christian scholar is, that this very wind is the Euroclydon, or stormy north-east wind, which was so fatal to the ship in which Paul and his companions were, when sailing to Rome, Acts xxvii. 14. The east wind is also accounted, both in Egypt and Judea, very hurtful to vegetation, as being the cause of blight (Gen. xli. 6; Ezek. xvii. 10, xix. 12; Hos. xiii. 15), because of its cold and drying quality; carrying off the insensible perspiration from the extremities of plants more rapidly than it could be supplied by the general ascent of the sap, and thereby withering them in a short time. In the summer, however, its leading feature was very different, being very dry and hot; and it was from that quarter, as well as from the south, that they had the suffocating *hot wind* and the *Samiel*. See Jonah iv. 8. The *west wind* coming from the Mediterranean, is called in Exod. x. 19 (Heb.) “a wind from the sea.” It was for this reason that a cloud from the west betokened a shower (Luke xii. 54); and after a drought, in the days of Elijah, a cloud like a man’s hand, rising from the sea, was the sign of a hurricane of wind and rain, 1 Kings xviii. 44, 45. It would appear that thunder and lightning came also in the direction of the east and west; for our Saviour alludes to it in Matt. xxiv. 27, when he says, “As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.” The *north wind* was cold and drying. Hence Solomon says, “It driveth away rain” (Prov. xxv. 23); and Job tells us, that “cold and fair weather are from the north,” chap. xxxvii. 9, 22. In Eccles. xliii. 17, 20, the northern storm and whirlwind are described as terrible; and, even without the whirlwind, we are told, that “when the cold north wind bloweth, and the water is congealed into ice, it abideth upon every gathering together of water, and clotheth the water as with a breastplate.” The *south wind* came from Arabia, and commonly brought heat (Job xxxvii. 17; Luke xii. 55); but it also brought whirlwinds, Job i. 19; xxvii. 9; Isai. xxi. 1; Zech. ix. 14. And from that quarter, as well as from the east, came the *hot winds* and the *Samiel*. It would appear, from our translation, that the spouse thought the north and south winds of advantage to her garden; for she says (Cant. iv. 16): “Awake, O *north wind*, and come, thou *south*; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out.”‡ The fact is, that the south

* There are frequent allusions in Scripture to the importance of these rains, and the anxiety with which they were looked for. Job, in referring to the estimation in which his services were held in the time of his prosperity, says, “They waited for me as for the rain; and they opened their mouth wide, as for the latter rain,” chap. xxix. 23. But their importance may be more fully perceived from the description of a dearth, given by the prophet Jeremiah: “The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah concerning the dearth. Judah mourneth, and the gates thereof languish; they are black unto the ground; and the cry of Jerusalem is gone up. And their nobles have sent their little ones to the waters; they came to the pits, and found no water: they returned with their vessels empty: they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Because the ground is chapt (for there was no rain in the earth), the ploughmen were ashamed; they covered their heads. Yea, the hinds also calved in the field, and forsook their offspring, because there was no grass,” chap. xiv. 1—6. This forcible and graphic description of the horrors attendant upon a dearth of water needs no comment.

† Shaw’s Abridgment, p. 176.

‡ Harmer’s Observ., vol. i., p. 65

winds in Judea are moderate or destructive, according to the season.*

3. Tornadoes, or whirlwinds, are also referred to in Scripture, and have been often fatal to travellers, by overwhelming them in columns of moving sand. The *hot wind* of the desert, which, when it continues for any length of time, is destructive of life, is not unknown in Judæa; and it is probable that by such a "a blast," Sennacherib's army was destroyed, 2 Kings xix. 7. The Arabic version has "a hot pestilential wind." It is in allusion to this phenomenon, that our Saviour is said to be "as a hiding-place from the wind," Isai. xxxii. 2. But the most fatal blast to which the inhabitants of eastern countries are subject, is known by the name of the *Simoom* or *Samiel*. Travellers thus describe it: After the air has been unusually heated for several days, the sky suddenly loses its common serenity, and becomes dark and gloomy; while the sun assumes a violet colour. The approach of the wind is rapid, and is indicated by a redness in the air; and when so near as to become visible, it resembles a sheet of purple-coloured smoke, about twenty yards in breadth, and twelve feet above the surface of the earth, moving in a direct line. The only means of preservation from the noxious influence of this pestilential blast, is to lie flat, with the face upon the ground, till it is past; and this precaution is generally successful, though it sometimes happens that persons are destroyed before they have had time to make use of it. Thevenot mentions one of these winds, which, in 1655, suffocated *four thousand* persons; and another in 1668, which suffocated *twenty thousand* in one night.

4. There is another singular appearance in the atmosphere of Judæa, and other eastern countries, to which allusion is made in Isai. xxxv. 7, rendered by Bishop Lowth—

And the glowing sands shall become a pool,
And the thirsty soil bubbling springs.

And in his note on the passage he remarks, that there is a reference to the same thing in the Koran (chap. xxiv.): "But as to the unbelievers, their works are like a vapour in a plain, which the thirsty traveller thinketh to be water, until, when he cometh thereto, he findeth it to be nothing." On this quotation Mr. Sale's note is, that "the Arabic word *sarab* signifies that false appearance which, in the eastern countries, is often seen in sandy plains about noon, resembling a large lake of water in motion, and is occasioned by the reverberation of the sun-beams. It sometimes

tempts the thirsty travellers out of their way, but deceives them when they come near, either going forward (for it always appears at the same distance), or quite vanishes." This phenomenon has been described by several eastern travellers, as Dr. Clarke, Mr. Elphinstone, Mr. Kinneir, and the lamented Belzoni. Lieut. Porringer, in his Travels in Beloochistan and Sind says, he has seen bushes and trees reflected in it, with as much accuracy as though it had been the face of a clear and still lake; and that once, in the province of Kerman, in Persia, it seemed to rest like a sheet of water on the face of a hill, at the foot of which his road lay, exhibiting the summit, which did not overhang it in the least degree, by a kind of unaccountable refraction. It is probable that Jeremiah refers to the *sarab* or *mirage*, when, in pouring forth his complaint to God, for mercies deferred, he says, "Wilt thou be altogether unto me as *waters that be not seen* (Jer. xv. 18, *marg.*)" that is, which have *no reality*, as the Septuagint has rendered it.

5. From Psalm cxxi. 6, it has been inferred that the *coup de soleil*, or stroke of the sun, was not unknown in Judea; indeed, there is manifest mention of it in Judith viii. 2, 3; and it is probable that there is an allusion to it in Isai. xlix. 10, and Rev. vii. 16, where, in describing the happiness of the saints, the inspired writers say, "the sun shall not light on them, nor any heat."

6. We cannot close this section, however, without observing, the Israelites considered that most uncertain of all things, *the weather*, as under the immediate superintendence, care, and administration of the CREATOR. Our Lord himself says to the Jews, "Your Father, which is in heaven, maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," Matt. v. 45. "He left not himself without witness," said Paul to the people of Lystra, "in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness," Acts xiv. 17. "The Lord our God," says Jeremiah, "giveth rain, both the former and the latter, in his season; he reserveth unto us the appointed weeks of the harvest," chap. v. 24. "The Lord," exclaims the Psalmist, "causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth; he maketh lightnings for the rain; he bringeth the winds out of the treasures," cxxxv. 7. "He giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoarfrost like ashes. He casteth forth his ice like morsels: who is able to abide his frost? He sendeth out his word, and melteth them; he causeth his wind to blow, and the waters flow," Ps. cxlvii. 16—18. "The mountains quake at him, and the hills melt, and the earth is turned at his presence;

* Brown's Antiquities of the Jews, vol. ii., p. 598, &c.

yea, the world, and all that dwell therein. Who can stand before his indignation, and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? His fury is poured forth like fire, and the rocks are thrown down by him," Nah. i. 5, 6. But notwithstanding this, the husbandman was not to be dismayed; he was to forsake his sins, to put his trust in God, to do his own part, and to leave the event with God. "He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap," Eccles. xi. 4. "Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth; but God that giveth the increase," 1 Cor. iii. 7.

7. From this summary sketch of the general features of the land of promise, the reader will be in some measure prepared to appreciate the fidelity with which Moses describes it to his people, as "a land flowing with milk and honey;" "a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths, that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive; a land wherein they should eat bread without scarceness," and where they should "not lack any good thing," Deut. viii. 7—9.

SECTION II

COUNTRIES BEYOND JUDEA MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE.

I. ASIA:—Arabia; Armenia; Assyria; Asia Minor; Chaldea; Media; Mesopotamia; Parthia; Persia; Phoenicia; Syria.—II. EUROPE:—Greece; Illyricum; Italy; Macedonia; Spain; *Islands*—Crete; Claudia; Melita; Samothrace; Sicily.—III. AFRICA:—Egypt; Ethiopia; Libya.

THE principal countries beyond the boundaries of Palestine, spoken of in the Old and New Testaments, may properly be noticed as they lie in the great divisions of the globe. They are as follow:—

§ 1.—Asia.

1. THIS is the most interesting region of the earth, from having been the theatre upon which those important events, so deeply affecting our best interests, and hence making such indelible impressions on our minds and hearts, have occurred. It was here that the Almighty gave being to the first human pair, from whom the race of mankind was to spring. It was Asia that became the nursery of the world after the universal deluge, whence the descendants of Noah dispersed their various colonies into the other parts of the globe. It was here that Jehovah revealed his will to man, and, as

we have already seen, placed his chosen people, "to whom were committed the oracles of God." Above all, it was in Asia that the Son of God was "manifest in the flesh," and consummated the stupendous work of human redemption; and from hence that light first beamed, which has irradiated the dark places of the earth, and "caused the wilderness and solitary places to be glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose."

2. The continent of Asia is situate between 27° and 190° of east longitude, and between the equator and 78° of north latitude. It is bounded by the frozen or Arctic ocean on the north; on the west, it is separated from Africa by the Red Sea, and from Europe by the Levant or Mediterranean, the Archipelago, the Hellespont, the Sea of Marmora, the Black Sea, the Caucasian chain of mountains, the Uralian chain, and the river Oby, which falls into the Arctic ocean. On the east it is bounded by the Pacific, which separates it from America; and on the south by the Indian ocean; so that it is almost entirely surrounded by the sea. Its length from west to east may be estimated at 7,000 miles; and its breadth, from the southern part of Malacca to the most northern cape of Asiatic Russia, at 5,250 miles.

3. The central regions of the Asiatic continent rise into a vast and highly elevated plain, extending several hundreds of miles in every direction, and standing aloft like an immense table, supported on all sides by high and precipitous mountains which overlook the surrounding countries. From this vast elevation the rivers of Asia flow, as from a common centre, in every direction, to all the surrounding seas; and the numerous kingdoms stretch themselves around in gradual descent. The climate in this region admits of every variety, from the scorching heats of the torrid zone, to the piercing colds of the polar circle. In no part of Asia, however, is the climate so intolerably hot as in the tropical desert of the African continent.

4. The chief countries in *Asia* which demand notice here, in addition to Judæa, of which we have already given a detailed account, are *Arabia*, *Armenia*, *Assyria*, *Asia Minor*, *Chaldea*, *Media*, *Mesopotamia*, *Parthia*, *Persia*, *Phoenicia*, and *Syria*.

I. ARABIA. Taken in its largest extent, this country lies between 12° and 35° north latitude, and 53° and 78° east longitude. It is bounded on the west by Palestine, part of Syria, the Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea; on the east by the Euphrates, the Persian gulf, and the bay of Ormus; on the north by part of Syria, Diarbekr, Irak, and Khuzestan; and on the south by

the straits of Babelmandel, and the Indian ocean. Its extreme breadth, therefore, is above 1100 miles, and its greatest length, between 1300 and 1400. It grows narrower as we approach the frontiers of Syria and Diarbekr, and, by reason of the proximity of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean, may be considered as a peninsula, as indeed it is called by the inhabitants *Gesirab-el-Arab*, the island or peninsula of Arabia. The country is generally rocky, sandy, and mountainous; but chiefly in those parts now remote from the sea, though formerly adjacent to it. In the course of ages, a vast plain has been interposed between the mountains, now in the midst of the country, and the sea, which has gradually retired from them; and this is now the best cultivated and most fruitful part; but it is also the hottest.

2. The first division of the peninsula of the Arabs was into Kedem (Isai. xi. 14; Jer. xlix. 28; Job i. 3), and Arabah (Ezek. xxvii. 21; 2 Chron. ix. 14); the former comprehending the Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta of Ptolemy; the latter answering to that country called, from Petra its metropolis, Arabia Petræa. Moses seems to have determined the boundaries of this kingdom with great accuracy, when he informs us, that on the south it reached to the Sea of Suph, or the Red Sea; on the west to Paran and Tophel; on the north to Laban, Hazereth, and Dizahab, that is, to the borders of Syria; and on the east, to Kadesh-Barnea, eleven days' journey from Mount Horeb, Deut. i. 1, 2. As Arabah imports the *west*, so Kedem does the *east*; and these appellations agree with the situation of the regions so denominated. The first inhabitants of Arabah, or western Arabia, were the Casluhim, descendants of Mizraim; the Capthorim, and the Hivites, who occupied Mount Seir before they were expelled thence by Esau and his posterity. Afterwards Ishmael and his descendants settled here; and at a later period the Edomites or Idumeans. Kedem, or the eastern Arabia, was first peopled by the sons of Joktan, who are reputed the genuine Arabians; though in process of time the Ishmaelites spread themselves over this country. Some of the Cushites also possessed themselves of part of it in early times, and hence it is sometimes called *Cush* in the sacred writings. The children of Abraham by Keturah also contributed towards peopling it, as appears by the sacred historian, Gen. xxv. 6. Ptolemy was the first geographer who divided the peninsula into the well-known regions of Arabia Deserta, Arabia Petræa, and Arabia Felix.

3. *Arabia Petræa* lies south of the Holy Land, and is separated from Egypt by the neck of land called the Isthmus of Suez, and the gulf bearing

the same name. Its metropolis was Petra, which was the chief fortress of the southern Idumeans or Edomites, and the Nabatheans, and derived its name from its rocky situation. It was accessible by only one narrow path, wherein but few could go at once; which, with the steepness of the ascent, rendered it almost impregnable. There is considerable diversity of opinion among learned men, however, as to the situation of the ancient Petra. The general opinion was, that it was at Kerek, a town on the south-east of the Dead Sea, and about thirty miles south of Mount Nebo. But Burckhardt places it, with greater probability, much more southerly, near the village Eldjy, and over against Mount Hor.* In this region were situate Kadesh-Barnea, Gerar, Beersheba, Lachish, Libnah, Paran, Arad, Kasmona, Obboth, Phunon, Dedan, Segor, Ezion-geber, &c.; and also Mount Sinai, where the law was given by Moses, and Mount Hor, where Aaron was buried, Numb. xx. 25. In addition to the people above spoken of, Arabia Petræa was inhabited by the Midianites, Amalekites, Cushites, Hagarenes, and Kedarenes, the whole of which names were in after-ages absorbed in the appellation of *Saracen*.

4. *Arabia Deserta* was bounded on the north by the Euphrates, which, bending its course easterly, separated it from Mesopotamia; on the west by Syria, Judæa, and Arabia Petræa; on the east by Chaldea and Babylonia, or, more precisely, by a ridge of mountains dividing it from those countries; and on the south by Arabia Felix, from whence it was also disjoined by several ranges of hills. In this region the Itureans, Edomites, Nabathæans, people of Kedar, and other nations settled, who led a wandering life, like their posterity, the present Bedouins, without houses, towns, or any fixed habitations, and dwelling in tents, with which they removed from one place to another at pleasure. This country seems commonly to be described in Scripture by the term *Arab*, which properly signifies *west*, or people gathered together. They may have taken the name *Arabim*, or *westerns*, from their situation, being *west* of the Euphrates; and if so, this name is prior to the settlement of Israel in Canaan. In Eusebius, and other ancient writers, the country and greater part of the cities beyond Jordan, and of what they call the third Palestine, are considered as parts of Arabia. The chief city of this region was Palmyra, which occupied the site of the Hebrew Tadmor or Thedmor,† about 170 miles north-east of Damascus.

* See his Travels in Syria, p. 431.

† Josephus, Antiq., b. viii., c. 6.

5. *Arabia Felix* was bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf; on the south by the ocean, between Africa and India; and on the west by the Red Sea. As this Arabia did not immediately adjoin the Holy Land, it is not so frequently mentioned in Scripture as the former ones. It is thought that the queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon (1 Kings x. 1), was queen of part of this country.

6. The Scripture frequently mentions the Arabians (those adjoining Judæa) as a powerful people, who valued themselves on their wisdom; their riches consisting principally in flocks and cattle. They paid Jehoshaphat an annual tribute of 7700 sheep, and as many goats (2 Chron. xvii. 11); and their kings furnished Solomon with great quantities of gold and silver (2 Chron. ix. 14). They loved war, but conducted it rather like thieves and plunderers, than like soldiers. They lived at liberty, in the field or the desert, concerned themselves but little about cultivating the earth, and were not very obedient to established governments. This is the character given of them in Scripture (Isai. xiii. 20); and they maintain it to the present day.*

II. ARMENIA, Major or Proper, is a province of Asia which extends from the Euphrates eastward to the two Medias. On the north it is bounded by that part of the Caucasus which surrounds Iberia and Albania; and on the south by Mount Taurus, which separates it from Mesopotamia. As this country is but very little connected with the Scripture history, it is unnecessary to dwell upon its geography. It is generally supposed that the garden of Eden and Paradise were situated here, as the rivers Euphrates, Tigris, Araxes, and Phasis have their sources in the country. The former river is mentioned in Gen. ii. 14 as flowing out of Eden: it is frequently spoken of in Scripture as the Great River, and is assigned as the eastern boundary of the land of promise, Deut. i. 7; Josh. i. 4. Moses states that the ark rested on the mountains of Armenia (Ararat), Gen. viii. 4.

III. ASSYRIA. This country derived its name from Ashur, the second son of Shem, and grandson of Noah. Offended, probably, with the tyrannical usurpation of Nimrod at Babel, he removed to the north-east, and took possession of this region, where he laid the foundation of a vast empire. It was afterwards called Adiabene, and is now called Courdistan or Kurdistan. It is difficult to assign the limits of the original country. It seems to have been bounded on the north by Armenia; on the east by Media and Persia; on the south by

Susiana; and on the west by the river Tigris or Hiddekel. Its capital was the famed Nineveh; but it is vain to search for the site of this once potent city; so completely has the prophetic denunciation been verified: "With an overrunning flood will he make an utter end of the place thereof" (Nah. i. 8); that is, so destroy Nineveh that not so much as the place where it once stood shall be known to after ages. See ch. iii. 17. The other chief cities of Assyria were Caleh, Resen, Bessara, Ctesiphon,† Arbela, and Artemais; of which, as they have shared in the fate of Nineveh, nothing very satisfactory can be adduced.

2. Among the rivers of Assyria we may reckon the Tigris,‡ not only because it bathed all the western skirts of the country, but also because all the other rivers fell into it; and because the famous cities Nineveh, Ctesiphon, &c., were situate upon it. The rivers of less note were the Lycus, the Caprus, and the Gorgus, at almost an equal distance from each other, and supposed to have been all between the two cities of Ninus or Nineveh, and Seleucia.

3. Assyria appears from the Scriptures to have been the primitive abode of mankind after the flood. Many remarkable coincidences are said to concur in support of this opinion. Adelung observes, that the central plain of Asia, being the highest region of the globe, must have been the first to emerge from the universal ocean, and therefore first became capable of affording a habitable dwelling to terrestrial animals and the human species; hence, as the subsiding waters gradually gave up the lower regions to be the abode of life, they may have descended and spread themselves progressively over their new acquisitions.

4. The early part of the Assyrian history is involved in obscurity. The accounts handed down to us by Diodorus, Tragus, Justin, Castor, Eusebius, and others, are so absurd and contradictory, that we cannot possibly give them our assent. This is easily accounted for, as the whole of their information is known to have been derived from Ctesias, who was noted as an arrant fabulist. Who can believe that Ninus, soon after the flood, led to battle millions of men; that Semiramis, at the age of twenty, performed the exploits which he ascribes to her; could employ two millions of men in building cities; and could procure three hundred thousand skins of black oxen to dress her camels in the form of elephants? Besides,

† Sir R. K. Porter has given an account of the ruins of this city, *Travels*, vol. ii., p. 409, &c.

‡ Bochart derives this name from the Heb. Hiddikel (Gen. ii. 14); and the inhabitants call it Hiddikel to this day. Raswold's *Travels*, part ii., c. 9.

* Ancient Univ. Hist., vol. xviii., p. 335, &c.; Calmet's Bib. Ency., art. "Arabia;" D'Anville's *Anc. Geog.*, p. 437, &c.

the boundaries which he assigns to the Assyrian empire are incompatible with the extent of other nations at that period. In the time of Abraham we find Chedorlaomer and his three allies possessing distinct kingdoms on the frontiers of Assyria, without the least indication of dependance on that empire (Gen. xiv. 1), when, according to Ctesias, his country must have formed a part of that empire. In the days of the Judges we hear of a powerful kingdom in Mesopotamia, on the west of Assyria, Judges iii. 8—11. But, above all, his whole account is utterly at variance with the Bible. The Scripture not only represents David as extending his conquests over a great part of the country on the side of the Euphrates, and Benhadad and Hazael as governing Syria as an independent state, but Pul is the first king of Assyria who is noticed from the time when that country was planted by Ashur (Gen. x. 11); and that he was in reality the founder of this famous empire is fully proved in Sir Isaac Newton's chronology of ancient kingdoms.*

5. The following sketch of the Assyrian history is given, with the hope of elucidating some parts of the sacred writings. Rejecting the Ctesian history, which assigns to the empire a period of 1400 years, as unworthy of credit, we have stated our opinion that the foundation of the Assyrian dynasty was laid by Pul. We have no means of judging with certainty in what manner this prince acquired the sceptre; yet we are certain that it was in his hand about 771 years before Christ. Under his reign the Assyrian kingdom began to be powerful, and to extend itself. In the days of Menahem, king of Israel, Pul invaded the land, and made Menahem tributary to him: "And Pul, the king of Assyria, came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand. And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land." 2 Kings xv. 19, 20. Some have supposed that it was in this king's reign that Jonah prophesied of the destruction of Nineveh; but this is pure conjecture. It appears that Pul divided the kingdom at his death, and gave the sovereignty of Babylon to his youngest son, Nabonassar, leaving Assyria to his eldest, Tiglath-pileser.

B. C. 740.—Tiglath-pileser not only succeeded to his father's throne, but to his designs. He invaded the kingdom of Israel under the reign of Pekah, overran its northern provinces, and carried captive to Assyria the tribes of Naphtali and Zebulun, with part of the descendants of Manasseh, Reuben, and Gad, whom he placed in Halah, Habor, Hara, and at the river Gozan, places lying on the western borders of Media, between Assyria and the Caspian Sea, 2 Kings xv. 29; 1 Chron. v. 26. Shortly after this, Pekah joined in alliance with Rezin, king of Syria, and, at the head of the confederate army, invaded the territories of Ahaz, king of Judah. Ahaz, whose incorrigible impiety could not be reclaimed, either by the divine favours or chastisements, finding himself attacked at once by the kings of Syria and Israel, robbed the temple of part of its gold and silver, and sent it to Tiglath-pileser, to purchase his friendship and assistance; promising, in addition, to become his vassal, and to pay him tribute, 2 Kings xvi. 7, 8; 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. Induced by these presents, and the submission of Ahaz, as well as the desire of embracing so favourable an opportunity to add Syria and Palestine to his empire, the Assyrian king readily accepted the proposal; and, advancing with a numerous army, he invaded the dominions of Rezin, captured Damascus, carried the inhabitants to Kir, in Media, as Amos had prophesied (Amos i. 5), slew the vanquished monarch, and put an end to the ancient kingdom erected by the Syrians, agreeably to the prediction of Isaiah, ch. viii. 4. From thence he marched against Phœcia, and took all that belonged to the kingdom of Israel beyond Jordan, or in Galilee. Ahaz, however, had to pay dear for his assistance and protection; for Tiglath-pileser exacted from him such exorbitant sums of money, that for the payment of them he was obliged not only to exhaust his own treasures, but to take all the gold and silver out of the temple. This unhallowed alliance, therefore, served only to drain the kingdom of Judah, and to bring into its neighbourhood the powerful kings of Nineveh, who became so many instruments afterwards in the hand of God for the chastisement of his people, and at length ruined and subverted the kingdom. In the midst of his victorious career Tiglath-pileser died, and was succeeded by Shalmaneser, his son.

B. C. 728.—Shalmaneser prosecuted the war which his father had begun. Marching into Syria, he desolated the country of the Moabites, according to the prophecy of Isaiah (xv. 1), delivered three years before. He then attacked Samaria, reduced that kingdom, and imposed upon it an annual tribute, 2 Kings xvii. 3, *margin.* Hoshea, however, soon aspired to his former independence,

* It will be seen that we make a distinction between the simple kingdom of Assyria, as founded by Ashur, and the grand monarchy, which reared its head many ages afterwards.

and, for this purpose, entered into an alliance with Sabacus, an Ethiopian, who in Scripture is called So, and who had made himself master of Egypt, and refused to pay Shalmaneser any further tribute, or make him the usual presents. This was looked upon by the Assyrian king as a declaration of war. Shalmaneser, with a powerful army, advanced to punish his presumption; and, having conquered all the country, besieged the king in Samaria. The valour of its inhabitants defended the city for three years; but the power and perseverance of the Assyrians at last prevailed. Samaria was taken; Hoshea was thrown into chains and into prison; the inhabitants were transported beyond the Euphrates, and placed in Halah and Habor, cities of the Medes (2 Kings xviii. 6); and the kingdom of Israel, or of the ten tribes, which had existed about 250 years after its separation from Judah, was destroyed, as God had often threatened by his prophets, 2 Kings xviii. 9—12.* The fate of Hoshea did not intimidate Hezekiah, king of Judah. No sooner did he ascend the throne, than he refused to pay the tribute which his father Ahaz had paid, and set at defiance the Assyrian power: "he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not," 2 Kings xviii. 7. The time for asserting the independence of his country was chosen with the most consummate wisdom. Shalmaneser was then engaged in war with Elulæus, king of Tyre. Most of the maritime cities that were subject to the Tyrians revolted against them, and submitted to the Assyrians. Shalmaneser advanced to their assistance. These cities furnished him with a fleet of sixty or seventy vessels, manned by 800 Phœnician rowers. They were attacked by the Tyrians with twelve vessels only, who gained a complete victory, dispersing their fleet and taking 500 prisoners. This convinced Shalmaneser that it was vain to contend with his enemies by sea; and he therefore turned the siege of Tyre into a blockade, the object of which was to reduce them by cutting off their supplies of water, which were obtained from the rivers and aqueducts in its vicinity. His precautions, however, were frustrated by the besieged, who dug wells within their city. It was about this time that Isaiah denounced against them those judgments recorded in the twenty-third chapter of his prophecies.

B. C. 717.—Sennacherib, the son of Shalma-

neser, succeeded to the throne upon the death of his father. He was immediately involved in war both in Asia and in Egypt. Resolving to punish Hezekiah for the insult he had offered to his father's authority, he invaded the land of Judah with a mighty army, besieged Lachish, and threatened, after the reduction of that city, to invest Jerusalem itself. The good king, dreading his power, and grieved to see his kingdom pillaged, sent him a submissive embassy, to desire peace upon any terms he would prescribe. The Assyrian monarch entered into a treaty with him, and demanded three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, which were immediately given by Hezekiah. 2 Kings xviii. 14—16. No sooner had Sennacherib received the money, however, than, regardless of the sanction of both oath and treaties, he prosecuted the war with as much vigour as if none had been made, and sent three of his generals, and a powerful army, to besiege Jerusalem, 2 Kings xviii. 17. Nothing was able to withstand him; and of all the strong places of Judah none remained untaken but Jerusalem, which was also reduced to the utmost extremity. While placed in this distressing situation, Hezekiah sent messengers to Isaiah, entreating him to intercede with God in behalf of his people, 2 Kings xix. 1—5. Isaiah, in reply, encouraged the king by promises of divine assistance and deliverance, and announced the speedy departure of the enemy into his own country, verses 20—34. At this very juncture, Sennacherib was informed that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, who had joined forces with the king of Egypt, was coming up to succour the besieged city, verse 9. The Assyrian prince marched immediately to meet the approaching enemies, defeated them in battle, ravaged their country, and returned with the spoil to finish the siege of Jerusalem. The city appeared to be inevitably lost; it was without resource, and without hope, from the hands of men; but it had a powerful Protector in heaven. Whilst the distress and piety of Hezekiah implored the assistance of God, the insolence and blasphemy of Sennacherib drew down his vengeance; and, in fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy, the sacred historian informs us that the angel of the Almighty slew in one night 185,000 of the Assyrian army, 2 Kings xix. 35. Overwhelmed with this destruction, the Assyrian returned, in the most abject manner, into his own dominions, with the remnant of his army, through those very countries which a little before had beheld him so haughty and imperious; thus fulfilling the prediction of Isaiah concerning him, "Because thy rage against me and thy tumult is come up into mine ears, therefore I will put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips; and I

* This portion of the history of Assyria, and the captivity of the tribes of Israel, is strikingly illustrated by an ancient piece of sculpture, on some almost inaccessible rocks near Salmas, first discovered by Sir R. K. Porter; supposed to have been cut to commemorate the event. See *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.*, vol. ii., pp. 154—159.

will turn thee back by the way by which thou camest," 2 Kings xix. 28. Enraged with shame and disappointment, not only by the ruin of his army, but also by the defection of Media, which seems to have thrown off his yoke at this favourable time, he exercised the greatest cruelty to his own subjects, but especially to the Israelites, who had been carried captive into his country, having great numbers of them massacred every day, ordering their bodies to be exposed in the streets, and suffering no man to give them burial. At length his tyranny and savage temper rendered him insupportable, and roused the indignation of his own family; and, as the prophet had foretold, two of his sons, Adrammelech and Sharezer, slew him while he was at his devotions in the temple of his god Nisroch. But the princes, being obliged, after this parricide, to fly into Armenia, left the kingdom to Esarhaddon, their youngest brother, 2 Kings xix. 37.

B. C. 710.—When Esarhaddon (called Sargon by Isaiah, xx. 1) ascended the throne, the kingdom of Assyria was greatly weakened by the unsuccessful wars and tyranny of his father. Though he appears to have been brave and ambitious, yet, that his kingdom might recover strength, he for some time remained in peace. When vigour was thus restored to his dominions, the kindred race of Babylonian kings had become extinct, and during an interregnum of eight years, that kingdom was distracted with internal divisions. Esarhaddon, taking advantage of this circumstance, either by power or policy, made himself master of Babylon, and annexing it to his former dominions, reigned over the two united empires. Powerful by this union, he marched against the kingdoms of Israel and Syria, which had been almost annihilated by Shalmaneser; transplanted the remainder of their inhabitants into Assyria, except an inconsiderable number that escaped his pursuit, and extinguished their names from among the nations. That the country might not become a desert, he sent colonies of the idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria. The prediction of Isaiah was then fulfilled: "Within three-score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be no more a people," vii. 3. This was exactly the space of time that elapsed between the prediction and the event. Having possessed himself of the land of Israel, Esarhaddon sent an army into Judah, to reduce that country likewise under his subjection. The expedition was successful; Judæa was reduced to become tributary, and Manasseh was taken prisoner and sent in chains to Babylon, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. From Judah he marched to the invasion of Egypt and

Ethiopia, which nations he subdued (Isai. xx.), while from the Philistines, his general, Tartan, took Ashdod. He also made over against Idumea, or Edom, Isai. xxxiv. Under the reign of Esarhaddon, the Assyrian empire appears to have reached its greatest height, being united under one monarch, and containing Assyria, Media, Apolloniata, Susiana, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Egypt, Ethiopia, and part of Arabia; reaching eastward into Elymais, and Parætacene, a province of the Medes: and if, as Sir Isaac Newton thinks, Chalach and Chabor be Colchis and Iberia, we are to add these two provinces, with the two Armenias, Pontus, and Cappadocia, as far as to the river Halys. Having greatly extended the boundaries and fame of the Assyrian empire, Esarhaddon, after a reign of 39 years, died, and left his dominions to his son Saosduchinus.

B. C. 668.—Saosduchinus appears to have been a mild, a generous, and a peaceful prince. He has been supposed to be the Nabuchodonosor mentioned in the book of Judith; but this cannot be. All the actions that have been ascribed to him under that name belong to his successor, to whose time and circumstances only, as Sir Isaac Newton has shown, they can be reconciled. After a reign of twenty years he died, and was succeeded by his son Chyniladon.

B. C. 648.—Chyniladon, the Nabuchodonosor mentioned in the book of Judith, was an active and warlike prince. In order to subdue Media, which had lately asserted its independence, he summoned the whole power of his dominions. All the eastern nations, who belonged to him, crowded to his standard; but the Persians, and the nations on the west, from Cilicia to the confines of Ethiopia, rejected his commands with disdain. Undismayed at this revolt, he marched to the invasion of Media, joined battle with Arphaxad (the Phraortes of Herodotus), who governed that country, on the plains of Ragau, gained a complete victory, pursued and slew the vanquished monarch, stormed and pillaged Ecbatane, the capital of that empire, and returned in triumph to Nineveh. No sooner were the rejoicings for this victory over, than he resolved to punish the nations who had refused to assist him. For this purpose he sent his general, Holofernes, with a large army, consisting of 12,000 horse and 120,000 foot, to avenge himself on all the west country, and to destroy by fire and sword whoever should oppose him. The command, dictated by revenge, was executed with cruelty; and the march of Holofernes through Mesopotamia, Silicia, and Syria, was marked with desolation. The brave inhabitants of Bethulia first dared to oppose

his progress. Fired with indignation, he invested the city, cut off every supply of water, and reduced the place to the utmost distress. The beauty, courage, and subtilty of Judith, however, saved her city and country from inevitable destruction. Venturing to approach the Assyrian camp, she soon insinuated herself into the tent and affections of Holofernes; and in the dead of night, when her watchful eye beheld him overcome with wine, and buried in sleep, she severed his head from his body with his own sword, and escaped with it to her city. The death of the leader struck his army with consternation, and the Israelites, taking advantage of so favourable a circumstance, rushed upon them with one accord, and pursued them with great slaughter, Judith ii.—xvi. Chyniladon seems not to have long survived the destruction of his army, and his throne was filled by Saracus.

B. C. 626.—Saracus, also called Chyna-Ladanus, who was, without doubt, the real Sardanapalus, upon his accession to the throne, committed the government of Chaldea to Nabopallasar, who appears from his name to have been an Assyrian, and was perhaps a descendant of Nabonassar, king of Babylon, before mentioned. Saracus, having rendered himself contemptible and obnoxious to his subjects by his effeminacy, and the kingdom of Babylon having roused the ambition of Nabopallasar, he immediately rebelled against his sovereign, seized the throne, and maintained the independence of that kingdom. In order to establish his authority, he entered into an alliance with Cyaxares, king of Media, and confirmed the alliance by the marriage of his son Nebuchadnezzar with Amyte the daughter of Astyages, son of that monarch. With their joint forces they besieged and took Nineveh. Saracus was either afraid to meet the confederates in the field, or, if he did, he was soon driven within the walls of his capital, where, yielding to despair, he set fire to his palace, and perished in its ruins. The Babylonians and Medes destroyed the city; and, according to the predictions of Isaiah, Nahum, and Zephaniah, subverted the Assyrian empire, which, from the days of Pul, had existed about 150 years.*

IV. ASIA MINOR. This is the region intended where the word *Asia* occurs in the books of the Maccabees, as well as in the New Testament. The Romans divided it into Asia within, and Asia beyond, Taurus. The kingdom of Asia occupied

only the western provinces of the Peninsula, to which also was confined the Prætorian province, as well as Proconsular Asia, the latter of which is supposed to be the province referred to in Acts xix. 10, xx. 18. But the countries afterwards included under the general appellation of the Lesser Asia, in contradistinction from the Asiatic continent, are those known to the Greeks as the provinces of Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Phrygia, Galatia, Lycaonia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Cyprus. These were subsequently comprehended, with the exception of Cilicia and Cyprus, under the twofold ecclesiastical division established by Constantine, of the diocese of Asia, having Ephesus for its capital, and the diocese of Pontus, the capital of which was Cæsarea.†

2. The geographical aspect of the country is thus described by the writer just referred to: "Two chains of mountains, detached from the plateau of Armenia, enter the peninsular of Asia Minor: the one first confines, and then traverses, the channel of the Euphrates near Samosata; the other extends along the northern coast, leaving only narrow plains between it and the Euxine Sea. These two chains are united, to the west of the Euphrates, between the towns of Siwas, Tocat, and Kaisaria, by means of a third chain, the *Argæus* of the ancients, now called *Argis Dag*, the summits of which are covered with perpetual snow. The southern range, more particularly known by the name of Mount Taurus,‡ breaks off from Mount Argæus, forming the northern boundary of the ancient Cilicia. A detached branch of this range, the Mount Amanus of the ancients, now the *Almadagh*, separates Cilicia from Syria, having only two narrow passes; the one towards the Euphrates, called the *Amanian defiles* (*Pylæ Aminæ*); the other close by the sea, called the *Gates of Syria*. To the west, Mount Taurus sends off several branches, some of which extend to the shores of the Mediterranean. Two other chains of mountains proceed from the western part of the central plateau: the one (*Babadagh*) terminating towards the islands of Samos and Chios, where it assumed the name of Mount *Imolus*; the other, which presents more elevated summits, extending in a more north-westerly direction, into Mysia and Bithynia. To this chain belonged the celebrated *Ida* and *Olympus*. Lastly, the tract lying between the rivers *Halys* and *Sangarius*, the ancient *Paphlagonia*, is occupied with the chain of *Olgassys*, now called

* Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology, pp. 365—393; Ant. Universal Hist., vol. iv., pp. 308—332; Brewster's Edinb. Ency., vol. ii., pp. 574, 575; Usher's Annals, pp. 61, 62.

† Modern Traveller, Syria, vol. ii., p. 91.

‡ This name is supposed to signify simply the mountain.

the Ulguzdah, the summits of which retain their snow till August. Throughout the greater part of these ranges of mountains, limestone is the predominant rock; but from the Sangarius to the Halys, we meet with nothing but granite. Thus the centre of this peninsula resembles an elevated terrace, supported on all sides by chains of mountains. Here we find salt marshes and rivers which have no outlet. Modern travellers have found very extensive elevated plains throughout the interior; in the south, towards Konieh; in the north, towards Angora. Sometimes, these plains are encircled by the mountain chain; at other times, the mountains diverge across the lower plains.

3. The rivers of Asia Minor, though celebrated, are all inconsiderable. The largest are those which flow into the Black Sea. Among these are the Jeklermak (Iris), the Kizil-ermak (Halys), the Olu or Bartan (Parthenius), the Filbas (Billäus), and the Aiala or Sakaria (Sangarius). The others, which fall into the Euxine, are remarkable only for the rapidity of their course. Those which run into the Mediterranean are the shortest and the most rapid. The Ghihoun (Pyramus) discharges itself into the Bay of Scanderoon. The Sihoun (Sarus), the Tersus (Cydnus), and the Ghiuk-su (Calycadnus), descending from Mount Taurus, have their outlets in the Cilician Sea. The *Ægean* Sea receives some more considerable streams, among which history has conferred importance on the winding Meander (a deep though small river, which often undermines its banks), the Pactolus and the Hermus, the Simois and the Scamander. Asia Minor contains a great many lakes which are destitute of outlets, the waters of which are more or less impregnated with salt. The lake Tazla (or Touzler), which presents a vast plain covered with crystals of salt, is said to be thirty miles in length. In many of its features, the country bears a considerable resemblance to Syria. The southern coasts are liable to oppressive heats; but otherwise the climate is extolled by both ancients and moderns. The heat of summer is moderated by the numerous chains of high mountains; and the intensity of the colder season is mitigated by the three seas on which it borders. The western coasts exhibit nearly the same productions as Syria and Southern Greece. The olive, the vine, the orange, the myrtle, the laurel, the turpentine-tree, the mastic, and the tamarind, adorn the banks of its rivers, and its delightful shores. The *styrax officinalis* is found on the burning coasts of Karamania, which partake more of the vegetation of maritime Syria. On the shores of the Black Sea, the oak and the fir predominate. This coast is also the orchard of Con-

stantinople: here are entire woods of walnut, apricot, plum, and cherry-trees. This last fruit derives its name from the town Cerasus, near which they abound. The majestic plane is also indigenous to Asia Minor. The oak which produces the gall-nuts for dyeing (*quercus infectoria*), is found every where, from the Bosphorus to the frontiers of Persia; and the cold heights of Taurus are crowned with cypress, juniper, and savine-trees.

4. Little is known of the animal kingdom in Asia Minor. The goats of Angora are famous for the length and fineness of their hair, as are also the cats of that district. The horses, which are strong and fleet, are supposed to be descended from the ancient Cappadocian breed. The antelopes of Syria sometimes stray beyond Mount Taurus, and meet the ibex from the heights of Caucasus. Their great enemies are jackalls, wolves, hyenas, and bears; it is doubtful whether the lion is still to be found in the country. Red partridges cover the coasts of the Hellespont, and all kinds of game abound in this half-cultivated country.

5. The copper-mines of Tocat, that of Koureh near Kastamouni, and that of Gumish-khana near Trebisonde, are still celebrated; and all the chains in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea exhibit indications of excellent copper. But the gold of Lydia, the cinnabar of Mount Olgassys, the rock crystal of Pontus, and the valuable alabaster and marble of the central provinces, extolled by the ancients, are unknown to the moderns.

V. CHALDEA. The most ancient name of this country, and which it retained even till the time of Daniel, was Shinar, Gen. x. 10; Dan. i. 2. It was also called Babylon or Babylonia, from the tower of Babel. The names Chaldea and Babylon sometimes extend to the whole country, being indifferently used for each other; but they are sometimes limited to certain parts. In this case, the latter denoted the country more immediately in the neighbourhood of the city of Babylon, which lay north; and the former, that which extended southward to the Persian Gulf. Chaldea is used by the sacred writers for the whole country in Jer. xxiv. 5, xxv. 12, l. 8; Ezek. xii. 13. Chaldea was bounded, according to Ptolemy, on the north by Mesopotamia; on the east by the Tigris; on the west by Arabia Deserta; and on the south by the Persian Gulf and part of Arabia Felix. But it is necessary to observe, that the Babylonian name, extending far beyond the limits both of Babylonia and Chaldea, comprised all, or the greater part, of the provinces subject to the Babylonian empire.*

* Ancient Universal History, vol. iv., p. 332, &c.

2. This was the native country of Abraham, and he resided here till he dwelt in Charran. Its capital was the famous Babylon, which, in the time of its greatest extent, was rather a walled province than a city. The walls inclosed a square of sixteen miles each way; and their amazing height and thickness, added to the depth of the surrounding trench, rendered the city impregnable; while the extent of the inclosed country would have enabled the inhabitants to raise a sufficient supply of provisions, when their twenty years' stock was consumed. The river Euphrates ran through it; and the army of Cyrus, having turned the river from its channel, entered the city through the brazen gates which shut up its communication with the river, but which in a night of careless festivity were left open. The event was to all human appearance impossible; but it was foretold by the prophets with minute exactness, a century and a half before Cyrus was born. The Jews had been carried thither by Nebuchadnezzar, but were released by Cyrus; and many of them returned to their native land.*

3. The Babylonians or Chaldeans have laid claim to an extravagant antiquity, pretending to have registered the transactions of 473,000 years, according to Diodorus Siculus; a monstrous fable, which needs no refutation.

4. That Babel is the most ancient kingdom of which we have any mention, there is no doubt. It was founded by Nimrod; but for many ages remained a petty royalty, till the Assyrians paved the way to the empire it attained. In the days of Abraham we meet with a king of Shinar, the ancient Chaldea, in the army of Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, apparently as a vassal and a tributary, Gen. xiv. 9. The considerations urged against the high antiquity of the empire of Assyria may also be alleged to destroy that of this empire, as it confessedly rose upon the ruins of the former. But not to repeat these, we may observe, that the Scripture mentions no king of Chaldea or Babylon, from the king of Shinar above noticed, till the days of Merodach-baladan, who was contemporary with Hezekiah, king of Judah, 2 Kings xx. 12.

5. The government of this nation was, in its very infancy, tyrannical and despotic. After the death of Nimrod, it fell to a level with the other petty kingdoms of these parts, till the Assyrians, in process of time, laid the foundation on which it afterwards exalted itself as the queen of the East. And as from the former it derived its

lustre and majesty, nothing is more likely, nor indeed more certain, than that it adhered to the practices of its founder; and the rather, as these Chaldeans themselves were Assyrians, descended from Pul, the great Assyrian, who gave immediate rise to both the empires. The government, therefore, of Chaldea, like that of Assyria, was haughty and despotic, and the sceptre, it seems, hereditary. The whole centred in the person of the king; and all decrees issued from his mouth, Dan. iii. 29, iv. 6. The following sketch of the Chaldean or Babylonian history will conduce to the illustration of Scripture.

B. C. 747.—The first Babylonian king, according to Ptolemy's canon, was Nabonassar, a son of Pul, the first Assyrian conqueror. This monarch, it is believed, left two sons, Nabonassar and Tiglath-pileser. To the latter he bequeathed the kingdom of Assyria, and to the former, that of Chaldea. As neither this prince nor his successors, Nadius, Chinzirus, Porus, and Jugæus, are mentioned in Scripture, we shall be silent with respect to them.

B. C. 721.—Merodach-baladan, the son and successor of Jugæus, and who seems to have generally borne the name of Baladan, is the first Babylonian king we find to have had any intercourse with the Jewish kings. He sent a special embassy to congratulate Hezekiah on his recovery from sickness, and to inquire, as is generally supposed, about the phenomenon of the sun's retrogression, Isai. xxxix. 1. It is worthy of remark, that the times of Merodach-baladan, in the canon of Ptolemy, agree exactly with the Scripture account; and it must have been in the seventh or eighth year of his reign that he sent to Hezekiah. After a reign of twelve years, this prince was succeeded by Arkianus, about whom, and his successors, down to Eaar-haddon, the Scriptures are silent.

B. C. 681—606.—Eaar-haddon, king of Assyria, taking advantage of the internal condition of the Babylonian empire, succeeded in uniting it to Assyria, and reigned over the united kingdoms. He was succeeded by Saosduchinus, Chyniladon or Nabuchodonosor, and Saracus or Sardanapalus. In the reign of the latter, Nabopallassar, governor of Chaldea, revolted, and, uniting himself to Cyaxares the Mede, succeeded in securing the Chaldean or Babylonian empire for himself. As the Assyrians, as well as the Babylonians and Medes, were at this time wholly employed in defending themselves against the Scythians, who had made themselves masters of all Upper Asia, Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, embraced the opportunity to recover the city of Carchemish, then subject to the king of Assyria. Josiah, king

* Carpenter's Introduction to the Geography of the New Testament, p. 64. 5th edit.

of Judah, attempted to oppose the Egyptian on his march; but his army was routed, and himself slain, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—27. This success, and the surrender of Carchemish, encouraged the governor of Coelosyria and Phœnicia to revolt from Nabopallasar, who had reduced those provinces some time before. Being advanced in years, he associated his son Nebuchadnezzar with him in the government, and sent him with a powerful army against the Egyptians and revolted Syrians. Over the Egyptians, who were still at Carchemish, the young prince gained a complete victory, retook the place, and put the garrison to the sword, Jer. xli. 2. This happened in the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth, year of Jehoiakim's reign, Jer. xxv. 1; Dan. i. 1. Nebuchadnezzar then marched against Jerusalem, took the city, and rifled the temple. Jehoiakim was put in chains for the purpose of being carried to Babylon with the other captives; but upon his submission, and engagement to pay tribute, he was left in possession of the throne, Dan. i. 2, &c.; 2 Chron. xxxv. 6; 2 Kings xxiv. 1. From this period must be dated the seventy years' captivity. The victorious prince, pursuing his conquests, marched against Pharaoh-necho, and without opposition made himself master of the whole country between the Nile and the Euphrates, 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

B. C. 605.—Nabopallasar dying, his son Nebuchadnezzar succeeded to the throne. In the fourth year of his reign he had the remarkable vision, which was interpreted by Daniel (chap. ii.), and for which the prophet was rewarded with the government of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar being engaged with Cyaxares the Mede, in the siege of Nineveh, Jehoiakim seized the opportunity to revolt. An army, however, was sent against Jerusalem, which ravaged the whole country, and probably put the king to death, 2 Kings xxiv. 1, 2. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiakim, who, after a reign of little more than seven years, was carried captive to Babylon, together with part of the nobility and princes of the people, 2 Kings xxiv. 6—16. Mattaniah, afterwards called Zedekiah, was then elevated to the throne, having sworn allegiance and fidelity to the conquering Chaldean, Jer. xxxvii. 1; 2 Kings xxiv. 17; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 13; Ezek. xvii. 12—14, 28. It was not long, however, before Zedekiah was prevailed upon by Pharaoh-hophra to throw off his yoke, and declare himself independent of Nebuchadnezzar. Resolving to punish his ingratitude in the most exemplary manner, the Babylonian monarch led a powerful army into Judea, which desolated the country in every direction, and laid siege to Jerusalem. At this juncture, Pharaoh-

hophra advanced against the besiegers at the head of a powerful army, which induced them to raise the siege, and give battle to the Egyptians. Having defeated the king of Egypt, Nebuchadnezzar renewed his attack upon the city, which was carried, after sustaining a siege of two years and a half, according to the prediction of Jeremiah, chap. xxxiv. Zedekiah, attempting to escape by flight, was overtaken by the Chaldeans, and conducted before Nebuchadnezzar, at Riblah. His children were put to death in his presence, his eyes were put out, and, being loaded with chains, he was carried to Babylon, with the remaining treasures of the temple and the remnant of the people, except a few of the lowest condition.

B. C. 585.—Nebuchadnezzar, resolving to complete his conquest of these western nations, sat down with a large army before the city of Tyre, which he carried after a siege of thirteen years, most of the inhabitants having retired with their riches to a neighbouring island, Ezek. xxix. 18. During this period, he completely reduced, by detached parties, the Sidonians, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, pursuant to the several prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Jer. xxvii.—xxix.; Ezek. xxv.); and also sent Nebuzaradan into Judea, to revenge the death of Gedaliah. This he effected, carrying with him the wretched remains of the people, and thus completing the desolation of the land, Jer. lii. 30; Ezek. iv. 5, 6. From Tyre, Nebuchadnezzar marched into Egypt, over which he obtained an easy conquest; in consequence of a civil war which was then raging between Pharaoh-hophra (Apries) and Amasis. The former was put to death, and the latter, it is supposed, was raised to the throne. That a great number of the inhabitants were carried captive to Babylon is manifest from Jer. xliii., xlv., xlii.; and Ezek. xxix.—xxxi. Nebuchadnezzar now returned to Babylon, and occupied himself in beautifying his capital. Being intoxicated with pride, God sent him a dream for the purpose of admonition (Dan. iv. 1—27); but this proving ineffectual, he was deprived of his reason, according to the prediction of Daniel (Jer. 28—33), and dwelt among the beasts of the field for the space of seven years. He died shortly after recovering his understanding, in the forty-third year of his reign.

B. C. 563.—Evil-merodach succeeded Nebuchadnezzar in the throne. He liberated Jehoiakim, king of Judah, who had been in captivity for thirty-six years; and, after a reign of two years, which was stained with every species of crime, he was put to death, and Neriglissar reigned in his stead. The next king was Laborosoarchod, or Belshazzar, who is supposed to have been the grand-

son of Nebuchadnezzar. In his reign the city was taken, and the kingdom subverted by Cyrus,* as related Dan. v. Thus were fulfilled the prophecies which had been uttered against the proud metropolis, Isai. xiii., xiv., xxi., xliii., xlv., xlvii.; Jer. xxv., l., li. †

VI. MEDIA. This country is thought to have derived its name from Madai, the third son of Japhet;‡ in conformity with which opinion the Medes are uniformly called *Madai*. It is a mountainous region, on the south-west of the Caspian Sea, east of Armenia, north of Persia, and west of Parthia and Hyrcania. Its principal cities in ancient times were Ecbatan, Rages, and Apamea, &c. The Medes were subdued by Pul, or Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria; and Shalmaneser carried his Jewish and Syrian captives into this country. As the Medes were excellent warriors, part of them, of the city or country of Kir, assisted Sennacherib in his invasion of Judea, Isai. xxii. 6. After his army was destroyed at Jerusalem, the Medes shook off the Assyrian yoke. Arbaces seems to have commenced the work. About the twentieth year of Hezekiah (A. M. 3298), or perhaps three years earlier, Dejoces or Arphaxad obtained possession of the throne. After building Ecbatan, he invaded Assyria; but Esar-haddon gave him a terrible defeat in the plains of Ragau. His son Phraortes, whom some suppose to be Arphaxad, succeeded him A. M. 3348. He subdued the neighbouring nations of Upper Asia, and invaded Assyria, but was slain at the siege of Nineveh. Cyaxares, his son, succeeded him A. M. 3370. He conquered Persia; and, to avenge his father's death, and the ruins of Ecbatan, his capital, he invaded Assyria and laid siege to Nineveh. From this he was called away by an irruption of the Tartars into his territories; but, having expelled them, he joined his forces with those of Nebuchadnezzar, and besieged Nineveh, which they took and rased, about A. M. 3403. His son and successor Astyages, the Ahasuerus of Daniel, reigned thirty-five years, and was succeeded by Cyaxares or Darius, A. M. 3444. This prince, assisted by Cyrus, his son-in-law and nephew, made himself master of Babylon and the whole empire of Chaldea. The new empire was divided into a hundred and twenty provinces, over which were placed as many go-

vernors, the chief of whom was the prophet Daniel, Dan. vi. Cyrus, through his wife, became heir to Media, and united it with that of Persia, B. C. 538; after which all the kings of Babylon assumed the title of kings of the Medes and Persians.||

VII. MESOPOTAMIA is a famous province, situated between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates. The Hebrews call it *Aram Naharaim*, or Syria of the Rivers, because it was first peopled by Aram, father of the Syrians. It was called *Padam-Aram*, the plains of Aram (Gen. xxviii. 2); and *Sede-Aram*, the fields of Aram. It was separated on the west from Syria Proper by the river Euphrates; on the east it was bounded by the Tigris, which separated it from Assyria; on the south it reached as far as the place where the Euphrates and the Tigris nearly join, whence Babylonia began. This country is celebrated in Scripture as the primitive abode of men after the deluge. Here also were born Phaleg, Heber, Terah, Abraham, Nahor, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Leah, the sons of Jacob, Balaam, &c. Cushanrishathaim, the first oppressor of the Israelites after their settlement in Canaan, reigned in this country, Judg. iii. 8. Great numbers of the Syrians of Mesopotamia assisted the Ammonites against David, and, it seems, dismayed his troops, if they did not gain some victory over them. In after times Mesopotamia was reduced by the Assyrians, and afterwards by the Chaldeans, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Parthians, Sarcens, Turks, Tartars, &c. A great many of the Jews remained in this country after Cyrus had granted them permission to return to their own land. Several of them were at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and were converted under Peter's famous sermon, Acts ii. 9.

VIII. PARTHIA. This was one of the most powerful of the eastern empires. Small in its beginning, it gradually extended itself till it became a terror to even the Romans themselves. It sometimes stretched from the head of the Euphrates, if not from the Hellespont, to beyond the river Indus, in Asia, together with Egypt and Libya, in Africa. Its duration is generally allowed to be from B. C. 254, to A. D. 220. It was founded by Arcases, from whom all his successors were called Arcasides. Artaxerxes, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of this race of kings, transferred the empire to the Persians. It is uncertain from whom the Parthians derived their origin. Some writers think them to have been of Persian origin; others, that they were of the race of the Gauls;

* It is said, Dan. v. 31, that the city was taken by Darius the Mede, i. e., Cyaxares, the king of Media. The reason of this is, that during his uncle's life-time, Cyrus held the empire jointly with him, and only sustained the second rank.

† Ancient Universal History, vol. iv., p. 390, &c. See further, p. 437 *post*.

‡ Josephus, Antiq., b. i., chap. 14.

|| Ancient Universal History, vol. v., p. 21, &c.; Brown and Calmet's Dict. of the Bible, art. "Media" and "Madi."

while others suppose them to have descended from the Saracens. The ancient Parthia is now the Persian Irak, and is in the heart of this empire. Its length is about 600 miles, and its breadth about fifty. It is somewhat hilly, but the air is pure and salutary. There were Jews of Parthia present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9); but the Christian religion is now extinct, except among the Armenians, who settled there for mercantile purposes.

IX. PERSIA. The most ancient name of this country is Elam (Gen. x. 22, xiv. 1, &c.); probably so called from Elam, the son of Shem. In the books of Daniel, Esdras, &c., it is called *Paras*, or *Phars*, by which the proper Persia is still called. The extent of the country has varied, like many others, at different periods of its history. The ancient empire reached in length from the Hellespont to the mouth of the Indus, about 2800 miles; in breadth, from Pontus to the mouth of the Arabian Gulf, about 2000 miles.* The descendants of Elam first settled in that province, which from them was called Elymais; and by degrees, as their numbers increased, they spread themselves into Susiana, and other adjoining provinces, as appears from Daniel, who places Susa, the metropolis of Susiana, in the province of Elam, chap. vii. 2. The kingdom of Elam seems to have been powerful, even in the time of Abraham; for Chedorlaomer, its king, who was contemporary with that patriarch, is said in Scripture to have invaded the Zamzummims and Emims, who were of a gigantic race, and to have taken and pillaged the cities of Sodom and Gomorrhah, though he was at last overthrown by Abraham, who came to the rescue of Lot, whom the Elamite had taken prisoner, Gen. xiv. 5. Admah, Zeboim, and Bela or Zoar, were also his tributaries. In the time of Jeremiah, Elam must have been a great and potent kingdom, as is plain from the prophecy, where the prophet foretells the increase of Nebuchadnezzar's dominions; and, particularly, that he should subdue Elam, a kingdom on the river Ulai, to the eastward of the Tigris, Jer. xlix. 35, &c. But of the history of this nation, from the time of Chedorlaomer to that of Cyrus, we know nothing to be relied on, but that, as stated above, they were a powerful people, who were in all probability subdued by the Assyrians, but afterwards recovered their liberty, and were governed by princes of their own nation till the sixth year of Nebuchadnezzar; when they were again brought under subjection by that great warrior, and his ally Cyaxares, king of Media. While in subjection to the Assyrians,

Medes, and Babylonians, the throne was still filled with natives of Persia, though tributaries to those greater powers. The following sketch of the Persian history will help to elucidate that of Scripture.

B. C. 599.—The history of Cyrus, the earliest Persian monarch which it falls within our province to notice, is peculiarly complicated and perplexed, because of the very opposite accounts furnished by those authors who have professedly undertaken to write his life. It forms no part of our business, however, to investigate the matter; but simply to choose that account which appears the most probable, and is most consistent with Scripture; in doing which, we feel no hesitation in deciding for Xenophon. According to this historian, Cyrus was the son of Cambyzes, king of Persia, by Mandane, the daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. At the age of sixteen he accompanied his grandfather Astyages in the war against the Babylonians, in which he acquired a splendid fame both for wisdom and valour. After this exploit he returned to Persia, and remained with his father until he was forty years of age, when he was recalled into Media by his uncle Cyaxares, to assist him in repelling the aggressions of the Babylonian monarch, Neriglissar, who was preparing to invade Media. Cyrus entered his uncle's dominions at the head of 30,000 Persians, and with the combined armies totally defeated the Babylonians, with the Lydians his allies. Learning that the tyranny of the succeeding Babylonian monarchs had entirely alienated the hearts of their subjects, Cyrus invaded Assyria, defeated Laborsoarchod, ravaged the country, twice showed himself before the walls of Babylon itself, and reduced some fortresses upon the frontiers upon his return into Media. In the reign of Belshazzar, Cyrus and Cyaxares determined upon a more effectual mode of warfare, and to direct their force to the reduction of the principal towns of the Babylonians, till it might be practicable to take Babylon itself. Croesus, king of Lydia, entered into an alliance with Belshazzar, and brought over with him the Greeks, Thracians, Egyptians, and the nations of the Lesser Asia. Cyrus advanced to give the allied armies battle, and obtained a complete victory. Croesus retreated into Sardis, which city Cyrus invested, took its citadel, and with it Croesus, whose life he spared, and constantly retained him about his person afterwards. He prosecuted his victories in Lesser Asia, until he subdued the several nations from the Ægean Sea to the Euphrates; after these, Syria and Arabia; and, having reduced almost all Asia, he repassed the Great River, invaded the Assyrians, and marched directly against Babylon, the only city in the east that now held out against him. Belshazzar,

* Claver. Geogr., l. v., c. 13.

presuming upon the impregnable strength and vast resources of the city, derided the efforts of his powerful enemy. In the meantime the invaders encompassed the city with a deep trench, keeping their purposes a profound secret; and Cyrus was informed of the feast which was about to be held within its walls. Upon this night he determined to suspend the fate of his army, and of the empire for which he fought. The eventful time had arrived, and Belshazzar was impiously carousing among his princes and favourites, when the mysterious handwriting on the wall, and the interpretation thereof by the prophet Daniel, threw the profane monarch and his whole court into the utmost consternation. While this was the state of things at the palace, Cyrus had drained the river which ran through the city till it was fordable. Informed of the confusion which reigned within, he issued orders to his troops to enter it, at north and south, by marching up the channel. They advanced towards each other without any impediment, till they met in the centre of the river. God, who had promised to open before him the gates of brass (Isai. xlv. 1), preceded them, otherwise this singular and adventurous expedition must have failed. Had the gates which closed the avenues leading to the river been shut, which was always the custom at night, the whole scheme had been defeated. But so was it ordered by Providence, that in this night of general riot and confusion, with unparalleled negligence, *they were left open!* so that the troops entered into the very heart of the city without opposition, and reached the palace before any alarm was given. The guards were immediately put to the sword, Belshazzar slain, and the city taken almost without resistance, Dan. v. Babylon being thus taken, Cyrus, who shared the empire with his uncle, yielded him the first rank in it; and Cyaxares, called by Daniel Darius the Mede, ascended the throne of Babylon, while Cyrus retired into Persia; but after a short absence returned to Babylon, and with Cyaxares settled the whole empire. This important business being adjusted, Cyrus again departed to push his conquests still further. While absent on this expedition, Daniel was cast into the den of lions, and delivered in the miraculous manner recorded, Dan. vi. The death of Cyaxares recalled Cyrus to Babylon, and upon him devolved the crowns of Media, Persia, and Babylon. He lived in tranquillity seven years after acquiring this united empire, bounded on the east by the river Indus, on the north by the Caspian and Euxine Seas, on the west by the Ægean, and on the south by the sea of Arabia, and Ethiopia. This extensive dominion is hinted at in the opening of his decree in favour of the Jews, which he

doubtless passed by the persuasion of Daniel, the first year after he had seated himself upon the throne of Babylon, after the death of Cyaxares (2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23; Ezra i. 7, 8), and of which many of the Jews availed themselves to return into their own country. See the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, *passim*. This illustrious prince died in the seventieth year of his age, after a reign of thirty years, regretted by all the nations of his vast spreading dominions.

B. C. 529.—Cambysea, his son, succeeded Cyrus in the throne; but his disposition was very different from that of his father. His temper was restless, and his disposition cruel; and on more occasions than one, when his arms were unsuccessful abroad, he poured out his fury on his own subjects. On his accession to the throne, the governors of Syria and Phœnicia, and of the countries of Ammon, and Moab, and Samaria, wrote an epistle to him (Ahasuerus, Ezra iv. 6), in which they represented, that if the Jews were permitted to rebuild their city and temple, they would refuse to pay tribute or do homage, but resist kings, and choose rather to rule over others than to be ruled over themselves. On reading this epistle, Cambysea forbade the Jews to build the city and the temple; and the works were accordingly suspended till the second year of Darius, Ezra iv. 24.*

B. C. 522.—About five months before the death of Cambysea, a Magian, taking advantage of the disaffection of the people towards their sovereign, and his absence with the army from the capital, represented himself as Smerdis, the brother of Cambysea, who had been put to death by his orders, and thus obtained possession of the throne. That this usurper was the Artaxerxes mentioned by Ezra (ch. iv. 7), is affirmed with the highest probability. To him, therefore, may be justly attributed the same rigour towards the Jews which we remarked in the conduct of his predecessor Cambysea.† The pseudo Smerdis, after a reign of eight months, was put to death, in the famous conspiracy which terminated in placing Darius on the throne.

B. C. 518.—About the third year of Darius, the transactions of his reign have a very important connexion with the sacred history. The Jews had resumed the erection of the temple and the restoration of their city. On the accession of Darius, they were at first inattentive to improve the favourable opportunity, and suffered for their neglect by the failure of their vintage and harvest.

* Josephus, Antiq., b. xi., ch. 2.

† See Prideaux's Connex., part i., book 3.

At length, being divinely warned by the prophet Haggai, they zealously applied themselves to the work, which their inveterate foes, the Samaritans, again endeavoured to obstruct. But Tatnai, the satrap, who governed Syria and Palestine, appears on this occasion to have acted the part of a just and prudent magistrate. He proceeded to Jerusalem, and demanded of the Jews by what authority they acted. On their producing the decree of Cyrus, Tatnai wrote to Darius, who ordered that search should be made for the original decree, which was found among the archives in the palace of Ecbatana, or, as Ezra names it, "Achmetha, the palace that is in the province of the Medes," Ezra vi. 2. This original decree, agreeing with the copy which the Jews had produced as the justification of their conduct, Darius ordered to be again published. He also decreed the restoration of the sacred vessels, of which Nebuchadnezzar had spoiled the former temple; and that resources for carrying on the work should be dispensed to the Jews out of the revenues of the provinces. If any one obstructed the work, timber was to be taken down from his own house to construct a gibbet, on which he should be hanged, and his house be demolished, Ezra v. Prideaux remarks, on the authority of the learned Lightfoot, that the decree having been granted by Darius, at his palace in Shushan, in remembrance hereof, the eastern gate in the outer wall of the temple was, from this time, called the gate of Shushan, and that a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till its last destruction by the Romans.

B. C. 485.—Xerxes, a grandson of Cyrus, succeeded to the throne on the death of Darius; but nothing connected with the Scripture history is recorded during his reign. He was succeeded by his third son, Artaxerxes, the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, according to the authors of the Universal History, Josephus, Prideaux, and others, who favoured the Jews above all the kings of Persia, particularly in the seventh year of his reign, comp. Ezra vii. 1, Neh. i., ii., with Esther ii. 16. This was the last king of Persia who was connected in any direct manner with sacred history.*

X. PHŒNICIA was a province of Syria, but not always of the same extent. After the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites, its limits were narrow. It extended in length from Dora, below Acco, to the river Eleutherus, just above Tripoli;

and in breadth, from the shore of the Mediterranean to the continuation of the western range of Lebanon. The principal cities of Phœnicia were, Tyre, Sidon, Tripoli, Botyrs, Byblus, Berytus, Ecdippa, Ptolemais, and Dora.

2. This country was anciently peopled with inhabitants descended from Canaan. The Zidonians, Arvadites, Arkites, and perhaps the Zemarites and Sinites, dwelt here. No doubt, in the time of Joshua and Barak, others of their Canaanitish brethren poured in upon them. The increase of their population made them apply to navigation and trade. They, especially the Tyrians and Zidonians, had almost all the trade of the then known world. There was scarcely a shore or isle of the Mediterranean Sea, where they did not plant colonies; the most noted of which was that of the Carthaginians, who long contended with Rome. It is thought the Phœnicians pushed their trade as far as Britain. It appears that they had settlements on the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Sir Isaac Newton thinks vast numbers of Edomites fled thither in the days of David, and carried their arts along with them.

3. The ancient Phœnicians were famed for learning, and are said to have been the inventors of letters. They were also noted for their idolatries, in the worship of Baal, Ashtoreth, Hercules, Apollo, Tammuz, &c.

4. The chief cities of Phœnicia were Sidon and Tyre. Sidon, or Zidon, was built on the east shore of the Mediterranean Sea, perhaps not long after the flood, by Zidon, the eldest son of Canaan; and the inhabitants thereof, some ages after, built old Tyre, on a high hill on the same shore, about twenty-five miles to the south. The circumference of this old city was about three miles; but in process of time, they built another on the adjacent island, and joining the two by an isthmus, or neck of land, the whole city in its chief splendour is said to have been about nineteen miles in circumference, which included the suburbs. Both Tyre and Sidon pertained to the tribe of Ashur, but were never taken from the Canaanites. The Zidonians very early oppressed the Israelites, Judges x. 1, 2. Sometimes Tyre and Sidon had distinct kings, and sometimes they had but one over both. Many of them make but little figure in history. About the time of David, Cilix and Cadmus, the sons of Agenor, king of Zidon, alarmed by David's repeated victories, left their country, and sought out new seats of empire for themselves. Hiram, king of Tyre, who appears to have had the Sidonians under him, assisted SOLOMON in building the temple, and other structures; and it seems there had been a covenant of amity established between the two na-

* See Ancient Universal History, vol. v., p. 167, &c.; Ency. Metropolitana, arts. "Cyrus," "Cambyzes," "Darius," and "Xerxes;" Prideaux's Connex., part i., book 3, sub anno 651—486.

tions. Ethbaal, the father of Jezebel, was one of his successors; but he probably lived at Zidon. Perhaps Phalish, who reigned in the time of the Trojan war, was his son. During the reign of Pygmalion, the great grandson of Ethbaal, Dido, or Eliza, his sister, with a multitude of others, fled from his oppression, and built Carthage, on the north of Africa, to the south-west of Sicily. The Tyrians, and perhaps other Phœnicians, were in the league against the Israelites in the time of Jehoshaphat, Ps. lxxxiii. 7.

5. About the time of Jotham, the Phœnicians seem to have been masters of at least a part of the country of the Philistines; and it seems in the days of Ahaz they carried off numbers of the Jews, and sold them to the Greeks for slaves, Joel iii. 4. Soon after, Eulæus their king attempting to reduce the revolted inhabitants of Gath, these supplicated the protection of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria. He turned his arms against the Phœnicians. The Zidonians quickly revolted from Tyre, proclaimed him their king, and assisted him against the Tyrians. Five years he besieged Tyre; but twelve of their ships defeating sixty of his, and death cutting him off, the siege was raised. The glory of Tyre quickly increased, and the most of Phœnicia became subject to it. They traded with the Egyptians, Æolians, Cilicians, Spaniards, Greeks, Cappadocians, Arabians, Syrians, Hebrews, Mesopotamians, Medes, Persians, Lydians, Africans, and islanders of the Mediterranean Sea. Provoked with the Phœnicians for entering into a league with Zedekiah, king of Judah, and assisting him in his rebellion, Nebuchadnezzar invaded the country, and Zidon quickly surrendered. Tyre was besieged for thirteen years; during which time, Ethbaal, their proud and politic prince, was slain. In A. M. 3432, Tyre was taken; but during the siege, the inhabitants had transported themselves and their effects to the neighbouring island, about seventy paces from the shore. Missing their expected booty, the Chaldeans vented their rage on the few they found, burnt the city, and cast the rubbish into the sea. The Tyrians, now pretty safe in their island, afterwards sent their submission to the Chaldeans, under whom, and their Persian successors, the cities of Tyre and Zidon had still kings of their own. Tetramnestes, or Zidon, assisted Xerxes of Persia with 300 galleys, in his expedition against Greece. Wearied with the tyranny of Darius Ochus of Persia, they entered into a league against him with Nectanebus of Egypt. Ochus laid siege to their city; Tennes their king, and Mentor a Greek general, betrayed it into his hands. Enraged at this, and their ships being burnt that none might leave the place,

they in desperation burnt the city on themselves, and perished to the number of 40,000. Ochus got a considerable sum for the rubbish, as there was much gold and silver among it. The rest of the country readily submitted to him. About this time, it is said, the slaves of Tyre in one night murdered all their masters, except one Strato, who was made king. About the same time, one Strato was king of Sidon, which was now rebuilt. Alexander the Great deposed him to make way for one Ballonymus, a very poor man, but of the ancient blood-royal. When Alexander approached towards Tyre, the governor sent him presents; but, trusting to their wall of 150 feet thick, built completely round the island, they refused to admit him into their city, to sacrifice to Hercules. After a costly and terrible siege of seven months, he took the city by force, put 8000 of the inhabitants to the sword, crucified 2000, and sold 30,000 for slaves to the Jews and others. The city he re-peopled from the continent, and made Azelmic the king, who had been abroad during the siege, governor. Previous to the capture of the island, the Tyrians had sent off their wives and children to Carthage; and about 15,000 others were secretly carried off in the Zidonian ships. About nineteen years after, Antigonus again took it, after a siege of 15 months. After Alexander, Phœnicia never recovered its ancient glory, a great part of their trade being carried off to Alexandria, and themselves so often changing their Syro-Grecian and Egypto-Grecian masters. Having fallen into the hand of the Romans, Augustus, to punish their frequent revolts, and their siding with Cassius, deprived Tyre and Zidon of their charters. The Phœnicians in part became proselytes to the Jewish religion: many from that quarter attended our Saviour's instructions, and received his cures. A Syro-Phœnician woman he extolled for her faith, Mark iii. 8, and vii. 24—31. The gospel was early preached here, Acts xi. 19. Paul tarried a while with the Christians at Tyre and Zidon, Acts xxii. 4, and xxvii. 3. For many ages, there were noted churches in these places; but for a long time past, Tyre has been a mere heap of ruins, inhabited by a few wretched fishermen. Zidon is still of some note, having about 16,000 inhabitants, Christians and others, not absolutely wretched, Gen. ix. 25—27; Amos i. 9, 10; Joel iii. 4—8; Isai. xxiii.; Ezek. xxvi.—xxviii.; Jer. xxv. 11, 22, and xxvii. 3—7; Zech. ix. 1—5; Ps. xlv. 12, lxxii. 10, and lxxxiv. 4.*

XI. SYRIA. This country is in the Hebrew

* Brown's Introd. art. "Phœnicia."

Scriptures called Aram; from Aram, the youngest son of Shem. Under this name is sometimes included Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Phœnicia, and Palestine. But Syria Proper was bounded by the Mediterranean on the west, the Euphrates on the east, Mount Taurus on the north, and Arabia Deserta, Palestine, and Phœnicia, on the south; extending from 34° to 38° north latitude. The Roman province of Syria included the whole of Judea. This country was originally parcelled out into several little kingdoms; in after times, into four principal ones, Zobah, Damascus, Hamath, and Geshur; the others spoken of in Scripture, as Bethrehob, Ishtob, and Maacha, were probably sub-divisions. Subsequently, the whole country was divided into two parts only, Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, according to Strabo, who nevertheless elsewhere distinguishes Phœnicia from Syria. Ptolemy subdivides these; and, in the Proper Syria, notices Ommagene, Pieria, Cyrristica, Selecucia, Cassiotis, Chalybonitis, Chalcidice, Apamene, Laodicene, Phœnicia, Mediterranea, Cœlosyria, and Palmyrene. Cœlosyria, properly so called, lay between Libanus and Antilibanus, and was thence called Cœlosyria, or the Hollow Syria. Its principal cities were Heliopolis, Abila, Damascus, and Laodicea.* This geographer styles Abila *Abila Lysonia*, which agrees with St. Luke's division of the tetrarchy, chap. iii. 1. From Abila, the neighbouring country took the name of Abilene. Damascus was once the metropolis of Syria. Some of the ancients have supposed it to have been built by one Damascus, from whom it was named; but the most generally received opinion is, that it was founded by Uz, the eldest son of Aram. It was certainly in being in the time of Abraham. Gen. xiv. 15, xv. 2.

2. Calmet has noticed the following divisions of this country. (1) *Syria of the two rivers*, or Mesopotamia of SYRIA, or ARAM NAHARAIM. (2) *Syria of Damascus*, that of which Damascus was the capital, extended eastward along Mount Libanus. Its limits varied according to the power of the princes that reigned at Damascus. (3) *Syria of Zobah*, or *Sobah*, probably Cœlosyria, Syria the Hollow. Its capital was Zobah, a city unknown, unless it be Hobah or Hobal, north of Damascus, Gen. xiv. 15. (4) *Syria of Maachah*, or *Beth-maachah*, was also towards Libanus, 2 Sam. x. 6, 8; 2 Kings xv. 29. It extended beyond Jordan, and was given to Manasseh,

Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xiii. 13. (5) *Syria of Rehob*, or *Rehob*, was that part of Syria of which Rehob was the capital. But Rehob was near the northern frontier of the land of promise (Numb. xiii. 21) on the way or pass that leads to Emath, or Hamath. It was given to Asher, and lay contiguous to Aphek in Libanus, Josh. xix. 28, 30; xxi. 31. Laish, otherwise Dan, situate at the fountains of Jordan, was in the country of Rehob, Judg. i. 31. The Ammonites call to their assistance, against David, the Syrians of Rehob, of Zobah, of Maachah, and of Ishtob, 2 Sam. x. 6, 8. (6) *Syria of Tob*, or of *Ish-tob*, as it is called in the Maccabees, was in the neighbourhood of Libanus, the northern extremity of Palestine; for, when Jephtha was banished by his brethren from Gilead, he withdrew into the land of Tob, Judg. xi. 3, 5; 1 Macc. v. 13; 2 Macc. xii. 17. (7) *Syria of Emath*, or *Hamath*, of which Hamath, on the Orontes, was the capital. (8) *Syria*, without any other appellation, denotes the kingdom of Syria, of which Antioch became the capital after the reign of the Seleucidæ. (9) *Cœlosyria*, or *Cœlesyria*, or the Lower Syria, occurs in several places of the Maccabees. It may be considered, says Strabo, either in a proper and restricted sense, as only the tract of land between Libanus and Antilibanus; or, in a larger signification, including all the country in obedience to the kings of Syria, from Seleucia to Arabia and Egypt. (10) *Syria of Palestine* is read in some authors, and sometimes comprehends Palestine under Syria, because this province was long subject to the kings of Syria. (11) *Syro-Phœnicia* is Phœnicia properly so called, of which Sidon, or Zidon, was the capital; which, having by conquest been united to the kingdom of Syria, added its old name Phœnicia to that of Syria. The Canaanitish woman is called a Syro-Phœnician (Mark vii. 26), because she was of Phœnicia, then considered as part of Syria. St. Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew or Syriac, calls her a Canaanitish woman (Matt. xv. 22, 24), because that country was really peopled by Canaanites; Sidon being the eldest son of Canaan, Gen. x. 15.

3. Syria was at first governed by its own kings, each in his own city and territories. David subdued them, about ante A. D. 1044 (2 Sam. viii. 13), on occasion of his war against the Ammonites, whom the Syrians had assisted, chap. x. 6, 8. After the reign of Solomon they shook off the yoke, and were not reduced again till Jeroboam II., king of Israel, A. M. 3179. Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel, having declared war against Ahab, king of Judah, this prince found himself under the necessity of craving aid from Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, who put Rezin to death,

* We are happy to have another opportunity of recommending that very able work, *The Modern Traveller*, the second and third volumes of which contain an interesting and accurate account of Syria and Asia Minor.

took Damascus, and transported the Syrians beyond the Euphrates. Syria now continued in subjection to the kings of Assyria. Afterwards, it came under the Chaldeans; then under the Persians; and was finally reduced by Alexander the Great. After the death of Alexander, his empire was divided between his principal officers, and Syria became one of the four Greek kingdoms thus formed, and was governed by the Seleucidæ; some of whom, especially Antiochus Epiphanes, were the most determined and cruel enemies of the Jews. After it had subsisted about 350 years in this state, it was reduced to a Roman province.

§ II. *Europe.*

The principal countries in Europe, mentioned in Scripture, are, Achaia, Illyricum, Italy, Macedonia, and Spain. The chief islands are, Claudia, Crete, Melita, Samothrace, and Sicily.

I. GREECE.—1. This is called in the Hebrew *Javan*, and often comprehends, says Calmet, all the countries inhabited by the descendants of Javan, as well in Greece as in Ionia and Asia Minor. Since the time of Alexander the Great, the name of Greek is taken in a more enlarged and extended sense, because the Greeks being masters of Egypt, Syria, the countries beyond the Euphrates, &c., the Jews included all Gentiles under the name of Greeks. Hence, in the Maccabees, the Gospels, and Paul's writings, the term is frequently used in this sense, while in others it denotes those Hebrews who spoke the Greek language. Greece, in its largest acceptation, as denoting the countries where the Greek language prevailed, included from the Scardian mountains, north, to the Levant, south; and from the Adriatic Sea, west, to Asia Minor, east. Hence Daniel uses the term Greece to denote Macedonia, as part of Greece, whereas we read Acts xx. 2, that Paul passing through Macedonia, came to Greece, i. e., *Grecia Proper*. In this more restricted sense, Macedonia and the river Strymon formed the northern boundary of Greece. *Achaia*, mentioned in the New Testament, was a province of Greece, of which Corinth was the capital. Taken in its largest sense, it was that country now called Lividia, bounded north by Thessaly, west by the river Achelous, east by the Archipelago, and south by the isthmus of Corinth. In a more confined sense, Achaia was a province in the Morea, now called Romania Alta; is north of Peloponnesus, and runs westward along the bay of Corinth; its metropolis was Patmos.

2. Greece was probably peopled soon after the flood. At the time of the Trojan war (B. C. 900), it was extremely populous, and was divided into a prodigious number of small states, similar to those

of the Canaanites in the time of Joshua. In after-times, we find about forty-eight provinces in it, all which Philip, king of Macedon, and Alexander his son, reduced into one. The kingdoms or states of Sicyon, Argos, Attica, or Athens, Boeotia, Arcadia, Thessaly, Phocis, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Elia, Ætolia, Locris, Doris, Achaia, and Macedonia, were the most noted.

3. The father of the Greeks, as before intimated, was Javan, fourth son of Japheth; his sons were Elisha, Tarshish, Chittim, and Dodanim; his posterity were anciently called Ioanes, or Iones; they first seem to have settled on the west of Lesser Asia, where part of them still continued, and to which others in after-times returned from Greece, and formed Greek states in Lesser Asia, of their various tribes, Ionians, Æolians, and Dorians. Numbers, in very early times, passed into Europe, perhaps by crossing the Hellespont, and settled in Greece. Some Phœnicians, Egyptians, and perhaps others, driven out of their countries, came afterward and settled among them; they, notwithstanding a multitude of intestine wars, multiplied exceedingly, and spread themselves into almost every isle and coast of the Mediterranean Sea: part of them took up their residence in the east of Italy; others at Marseilles, in the south of France; and part of them settled in Egypt, and Cyrene, in Africa.

4. After they had long lived in barbarity, the study of philosophy was introduced among them, about six or seven hundred years before the birth of our Saviour. They made considerable advances therein, chiefly in their own self-conceit; but though their manners were less savage, their morals were, on the whole, but little bettered. It is said they had about 30,000 idols. They traded with the Tyrians, and sometimes bought of them Jews to be slaves, Ezek. xxvii. 6, 7, 13; Joel iii. 6.

5. After long and repeated wars between the Lacedemonians and Athenians, their principal tribes, and the war of the Phocians, and Boeotians, &c., which, with their looseness of manners, had exceedingly weakened those in the south parts of Greece, the Macedonians subdued them, A. M. 3666. But their foreign wars were still more remarkable. About A. M. 3100, they, after a war of ten years, ruined the powerful kingdom of Troy. About four hundred years after, the Ionians in Lesser Asia revolted from the Persians; and the Greeks in Europe, particularly the Athenians and Lacedemonians, on different occasions, and sometimes conjunctly, took part with them. Provoked therewith, Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes his son, with a prodigious army, thought to ruin them entirely: a considerable part of Greece was ravaged, and Athens was twice burnt. For almost two hundred

years, partly by assisting the Egyptians, and partly by harassing the Persian territories in Asia, the Greeks attempted to resent this usage.

6. No sooner had Philip, king of Macedonia, and his son Alexander rendered themselves masters of Greece, than it was resolved to overturn the empire of Persia. About A. M. 3670, Alexander marched an army of 35,000 Greeks into Asia. With these, in the three great battles of Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, he, with but trifling loss, overthrew the Persian armies, which it seems were, in the two first battles, about five or six hundred thousand; and in the last, ten or eleven hundred thousand. In six years he made himself master of the Persian empire, and part of India; and died leaving an empire about 4000 miles in length. None of his relations or posterity maintained peaceable possession of any part of it; in about fifteen years they were all murdered. Roxana, one of his wives, murdered Statira, the daughter of Darius, another of them, and cast her body into a well. Olympias, his mother, murdered Aridaeus his bastard-brother, and Eurydice his wife; and not long after was, in revenge hereof, murdered by Cassander's soldiery. Roxana, and Alexander Ægus her son, who had borne the title of king about fourteen years, and had been supported by Eumenes, that miracle of bravery and conduct, were privately murdered by Cassander, who, about a year after, murdered Hercules, another of Alexander's sons, and his mother Barsine. The royal family thus extinct, and Antigonus reduced, the empire was parcelled into four parts. Lysimachus had Bithynia, Thrace, and the northern part; Cassander had Greece, and the western parts; Ptolemy had Egypt, and the southern countries; and Seleucus Nicator had Syria, and the eastern part. That which belonged to Lysimachus was taken from him in a few years, and there remained but three divisions. The monarchy of Greece, after a variety of wars, was split into the states of Macedonia, Achaia, Ætolia, &c.; and most of it was subdued by the Romans, about a hundred and forty-eight years before the birth of our Saviour.

7. The two thighs of this once belly-like empire, as it has been called, had a longer duration. Ptolemy Lagus, the first Grecian king of Egypt, on the south, was very powerful. He had under him Egypt, Canaan, Phœnicia, Caria, Hollow Syria, part of Arabia, all Cyprus, and sundry of the Ægean isles. Seleucus Nicator, the first Greek king of Syria, on the north, was still more powerful; he was sovereign of all the countries from the Hellespont to beyond the river Indus, and, after the death of Lysimachus, ruled over Thrace and Macedonia. Antiochus Soter, his son, suc-

ceeded him, whose war with the Gauls, Bithynians, and king of Pergamus, weakened his kingdom. After Ptolemy Philadelphus in Egypt, and Antiochus Theos in Syria, were wearied of their long war with one another, a method of peace was agreed on: Philadelphus carried his daughter Bernice along with him to Syria and persuaded Antiochus to divorce his wife Laodice, and marry her, and settle the Syrian crown on her children. No sooner was Philadelphus dead, than Antiochus divorced Bernice, and recalled Laodice, and settled the crown on her son Seleucus Callinicus. To prevent her husband from changing his mind, Laodice got him quickly poisoned. Seleucus succeeded him about A. M. 3758. Bernice and her child, and the Egyptians who attended her, were all murdered, before the troops of Lesser Asia could come up to assist her. To revenge her death, Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, her brother, invaded the kingdom of Syria, reduced the most of it, killed Laodice, took much spoil, and recovered about 2500 of the Egyptian idols, which Cambyeses and other Persians had carried from Egypt, which he replaced in their temples. In his return through Canaan, he offered a solemn sacrifice of thanksgiving to the God of the Jews at Jerusalem. As a sedition at home had obliged Ptolemy to leave Syria, he made a truce with Seleucus; but that unhappy prince was harassed by his brother Hierax, and by Attalus and Eumenes of Pergamus, and at last was taken captive by the Parthians. Seleucus, Ceraunus, and Antiochus the Great, his sons, formed a resolution to be revenged on Ptolemy, and to recover the provinces he had wrested from their father. Ceraunus died before he did any thing worthy of notice; Antiochus succeeded him A. M. 3781. With difficulty he reduced the troops of Molon the rebel. Ptolemy Philopater of Egypt gave him a terrible defeat at Raphia, near the north-east corner of Egypt, and obliged him to deliver up Canaan and Hollow Syria. When Ptolemy viewed the state of these provinces, he offered sacrifice at Jerusalem; but restrained by the Jews, or terrified by God, from entering the holy of holies, he conceived a terrible rage against the Jews, and caused about forty or sixty thousand of those in Egypt to be inhumanly murdered. He had so easily granted a peace to Antiochus, that he might have time to wallow in his lewdness with Agathoclea, and her brother Agathocles. Offended with his baseness, a number of his subjects revolted; and he soon died of his intemperance. His son, Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of four or five years old, succeeded him. Antiochus the Great, having reduced Achæus the rebel, agreed with Philip, king of Macedonia, to conquer young Ptolemy's dominions, and part

them betwixt them. Meanwhile, the Egyptians, highly offended that their young sovereign was under the guardianship of Agathocles, were ready to revolt; various seditions actually happened. The Alexandrians rose in arms, and put Agathocles, Agathoclea, and their mother and associates, to death. Many of the Jews revolted to Antiochus; but Scopas, the Egyptian general, quickly chastised them; and reduced Canaan and Hollow Syria to their wonted subjection. Antiochus, with a great army, met him at the springs of Jordan, defeated the Egyptians, and, notwithstanding all that Scopas, and three fresh armies sent to assist him, could do, reduced Phœnicia, Canaan, and Hollow Syria. The Jews gladly submitted, and assisted him with provisions; and he honoured them and their religion with very distinguished favours. Taking a number of them along with him, he bent his march towards Egypt, with a design to conquer it; but fearing this might provoke the Romans, now guardians of young Ptolemy, or inclining to make war on some of the Roman allies in Asia, he resolved to gain Egypt by fraud. After bribing his beautiful daughter, Cleopatra, to betray her husband, he married her to Ptolemy, and assigned Phœnicia, Canaan, and Hollow Syria, for her dowry; though it seems he never actually gave them up. But his designs on Egypt were disappointed. Ptolemy's generals suspected him, and were on their guard; and Cleopatra faithfully supported the interest of her husband. Enraged with this disappointment, Antiochus fitted out three hundred ships and a formidable army, with which he rendered himself master of a number of places on the coasts of Lesser Asia, Thrace, and Greece; and took Samos, Eubœa, and many other islands in the Mediterranean Sea. Hearing of the death of Ptolemy, he prepared to seize the kingdom of Egypt; but a terrible storm, and the death of Scopas the traitor, prevented him. Instigated by Hannibal, he, and some Greeks in Europe, commenced a war on the Romans. To revenge this affront, and the injury he had done to their allies, they attacked him. Acilius routed his army in Greece, and drove him quite out of Europe; Livius and Æmilius, at different times, defeated him by sea. Lucius Scipio, with 30,000 forces, routed his army at Magnesia; killed 54,000 of them; stripped him of all his territory in Lesser Asia, on this side Mount Taurus; and condemned him to pay 12,000 talents of silver to defray the expense of the Romans making war on him. Covered with shame, he retired to the innermost parts of his kingdom; and, attempting to rob the temple of Jupiter at Elymais, for money to pay the Romans, he was killed by the enraged mob.

8. The short reign of Seleucus Philopater his son was notable for nothing but the taxing of his people, and an attempt by Heliodorus his minister to pillage the temple of Jerusalem for money to pay the Roman debt. He was cut off, not in the sedition of his subjects, or in open war with his foes, but was poisoned by Heliodorus, his infamous agent. Nor did Demetrius his son succeed him; but Antiochus his brother, who had long been hostage at Rome, for securing the payment of the debt due to the senate; and one of the most base, frantic, and wicked persons that ever breathed. By flattering the Romans to favour him, by flattering Eumenes, king of Pergamus, to assist him, and by flattering the Syrian subjects, he peaceably obtained the crown. He quickly defeated the forces of Heliodorus the usurper; of Demetrius the true heir; and of Ptolemy the young king of Egypt, whose guardians claimed the kingdom of Syria in right of his mother; and by his excessive distribution of presents, he gained the hearts of his people. Eulæus and Lenæus, administrators for young Ptolemy Philometer, justly demanded for him the provinces which had been assigned for his mother's dowry. Piqued herewith, Antiochus, after viewing and repairing the fortifications of these places, marched a moderate army towards Egypt; and on the north-east border of that country defeated the Egyptian generals: but as the victory was not complete, he returned back to his own kingdom. Next year he invaded, and, except Alexandria, ravaged the most part of Egypt, and had Cyprus treacherously betrayed to him by Macron. Ptolemy, whose education had been so effeminate, could do but little in this time of distress. Perhaps he was taken prisoner by the Syrians. It was certain that he and Antiochus, who was his uncle, had an interview, and feasted together. While neither intended performance, they entered into a mutual league; and were both disappointed of their designs. In his return home, Antiochus committed the most terrible murder and sacrilege at Jerusalem, and 40,000 were slain, and 40,000 made slaves. Meanwhile the Alexandrians, seeing Philometer their king entirely at the beck of Antiochus, made his brother Ptolemy Physcon king in his stead. Under pretence of restoring Philometer, Antiochus again invaded Egypt; but not being able to reduce the Alexandrians, he left the country, expecting that the two brothers would exhaust its strength by their civil wars, and so render the whole an easy prey for him. They, suspecting his designs, agreed to reign jointly. Provoked herewith, he again invaded Egypt, and ravaged a great part of it: but Popilius and other ambassadors from Rome, arriving in Macedonian

ships, charged him to desist, as he valued the favour of their state. Stung with rage at this disappointment, and provoked with the peculiarity of the Jewish religion, and some affronts which they had done him, he made terrible work in Judea. He had before turned out their high-priests at pleasure, and sold the office to the highest bidder; he now stopped the daily sacrifice, rendered the temple a scene of idolatry and lewdness, compelled the Jews to eat swine's flesh, and seemed intent to cut off every copy of the Scriptures, and every worshipper of God. Meanwhile the Armenians, Persians, and others of his subjects, revolted. The first were easily reduced; but the Persian mob gave him a repulse, as he attempted to plunder their temple. Hearing, in his return towards Babylon, that the Jews had defeated Lysias, his general, and troops, he vowed to root them wholly out from the earth. He was almost immediately struck with a terrible distemper; his flesh crawled with worms, rotted, and fell off in pieces. Convinced that his persecution of the Jews was the cause, he made solemn vows to grant them redress and favour, and to restore their religion: but all was in vain; the torment and stench put an end to his life.

9. For about a hundred years more the kingdom of the Greeks subsisted in Syria, amidst contention and wretchedness to the highest degree; and was seized by the Romans about A. M. 3939. The Egyptian kingdom lingered out about thirty-five years longer, and then fell into the same hands. When the Roman empire came to be divided into the eastern and western, about A. D. 338, the most part of what the Greeks had ever possessed, except Parthia, and some other countries on the south-east, fell to the share of the emperor of the east, who generally resided at Constantinople. The Saracens seized a great part of what once belonged to the Greeks. The Ottoman Turks were long masters of almost the whole of it: but the Greeks have been at last aroused to struggle for their freedom. Gen. ix. 27; Zech. iii. 3—6; Dan. ii. 32—39; Dan. vii. 6, viii. 5—25, x. 20, xi. 2—35; Zech. ix. 13; Dan. vii. 7—12.

10. Long before our Saviour's incarnation, a part, if not the whole, of the then received oracles of God was translated into the Greek tongue; and not long after his death, so much accounted foolishness by their philosophic pretenders to wisdom, Christian churches were planted almost every where in the Grecian territories. Multitudes of them still retain the Christian name.

II. ILLYRICUM.—This was the ancient name of that part of the Turkish and Austrian empires which lies along the east coast of the Gulf of

Venice, as far south as the Gulf of Drin. Its southern part was called Dalmatia, in which Titus travelled. Paul says that "from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum he had fully preached the gospel of Christ," Rom. xv. 19; that is, to the borders of this country, for it does not appear that he ever visited it.

III. ITALY.—1. Rome, the capital of Italy, and the mistress of the world, was built by the Etrurians, and enlarged by Romulus, and a number of little else than banditti under his direction, about A. M. 3254. It gradually increased, till it extended over seven hills; and at last took in thirteen. The Romans were first governed by seven kings, for about 220 years. During the next 488 years they were governed by consuls, tribunes, decemvirs, and dictators, in their turns. They were afterwards governed by sixty-five emperors, for the space of 518 years. Their power gradually increased, till they first subdued a great part of Italy, and afterwards made themselves masters of all the countries from the north parts of Britain to the south borders of Egypt, and from the western parts of Persia to the western coasts of Spain. Their wars with the Carthaginians, Spaniards, Gauls, Greeks, Parthians, and Jews, are well known. The dissensions and civil wars carried on between Aristobulus and Hircanus, the sons of Alexander Jannæus, gave the Romans an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Jewish nation. It was made tributary by Pompey, A. M. 3939, and about thirty years afterwards Herod the Great was placed upon the throne, assisted by Antony, the Roman triumvir. About twenty-seven years before the death of our Saviour, it was reduced into the form of a province, and governed by officers called *procurators*. The Romans, however, had scarcely extended their power so far and wide, when their leading men, Marius, Sylla, Pompey, Julius Cæsar, and others, by their civil contentions, and massacres of each other's adherents, were likely to ruin the empire. Julius Cæsar succeeded in establishing himself on the throne; but the senate still retained some faint show of authority. His ambitious overthrow of the commonwealth soon cost him his life; and the liberators afterwards made a vigorous attempt to restore the freedom of the empire; but they perished in the attempt. The long, prosperous, and mild government of Augustus had the effect of reconciling the Romans to the loss of their liberty. Most of his successors in the empire were monsters of cruelty, pride, and almost every other vice. This, together with the civil contentions occasioned by numbers who endeavoured to seize on the supreme power; with the terrible ravages of the northern nations, and

the divisions of the empire into different parts, the eastern and western, gradually wasted it, till it was entirely ruined.

2. About A. D. 46, a famine of seven years' continuance terribly distressed the empire, and not long after a multitude of earthquakes happened. The persecution of the Christians, the butchery of their subjects by Nero and Domitian, and the terrible wars with the Jews, cut off prodigious numbers of the Romans. The Jews were subdued, their city and temple destroyed, and hundreds of thousands of them put to death. But the vengeance of heaven still pursued the Roman persecutors. In the fourth century Christianity was established as the religion of the empire by Constantine, and a gleam of hope seemed to dart across the minds of his subjects; but it was speedily chased away by their internal dissensions, and the irruption of the Goths and Vandals, which ended in the subversion of this stupendous power.*

3. Paul twice visited Rome; first, in the year 61, in consequence of his appeal to Cæsar; and again, probably, in 64. At this time there was a great persecution of the Christians, during which, it appears, Paul was imprisoned, and soon after beheaded near the city, A. D. 65. During his first imprisonment, which lasted two years, he wrote his epistles to the Ephesians, the Philippians, the Colossians, and Philemon; and in his second imprisonment he most probably wrote his second epistle to Timothy. The apostle Peter probably went to Rome about A. D. 63 or 64, after Paul's first imprisonment; and thence wrote his second epistle. It is generally believed that he suffered death here, about the same time with Paul.

IV. MACEDONIA.—1. It has been supposed that this country is denoted in the Old Testament by *Chittim*. Shuckford has supported this opinion with much ability, and it has been adopted by Calmet and his learned editor. The boundaries of Macedonia are not very easily fixed. The ancient limits were probably the Ægean Sea on the east, Thessaly and Epirus on the south, the Adriatic or the Ionian Sea on the west, and the river Strymon and the Scardian mountains on the north.† In the description of Greece, we have intimated that Macedonia was sometimes comprehended in it, with all the south-eastern part of Europe south of Illyricum, Mæsia, and Thrace. The Romans divided the whole of Greece into two provinces: *Macedonia*, comprehending Mace-

donia, Epirus, and Thessaly; and *Achaia* or *Greece*, comprehending Greece proper, and the Peloponnesus. When Macedonia is joined with Achaia, in the New Testament, it means the Roman province; when spoken of alone, the country, or Macedonia Proper, is intended.

2. Macedonia is celebrated as being the third great empire of the world; and it is said that Alexander subdued one hundred and fifty nations. He certainly made himself master of Greece, of the Persian empire, and of India: but his empire was quickly broken in pieces; and Macedonia, after continuing a kingdom about 646 years, fell into the hands of the Romans, A. M. 3856.

3. The principal cities of Macedonia were Thessalonica, Amphipolis, Philippi, Berea, and Pella. The apostle Paul was directed by a vision to preach the gospel in this country, which he did with great success, Acts xvi., xvii.

V. SPAIN.—1. Paul mentions an intended journey into Spain (Rom. xv. 24, 28), but it is doubtful whether he ever accomplished it: Eusebius, and after him some modern writers, have supposed Spain was referred to in the Old Testament under the name of *Tarshish*; and the late editor of Calmet is of opinion that the city of this name was *Cadiz*. The Spaniards suppose Jubal, the son of Japheth, to have come hither about 142 years after the flood, and to have introduced the patriarchal religion. But others suppose it to have been peopled by the Celtic descendants of Gomer, who settled here about 1000 years after the deluge. A Christian church was early planted in Spain, but by whom is not known.

2. The chief ISLANDS in Europe demanding notice are, (1) *Crete*, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, almost opposite to Egypt, and now called Candia. Calmet supposes that this island was peopled from Egypt, and that thence the Philistines peopled that part of the Holy Land called Philistia; but his editor thinks it more probable that Crete itself was peopled by the Philistines, migrating from the shores of Egypt, or of Judea.‡ It appears that the character of this people for lying was notorious as early as the time of Homer, who always makes Ulysses, when about to tell a falsehood, assume the character of a Cretan. In common speech, the expression, "to cretanize," signified to tell lies. This helps to account for the character which Paul has drawn of this people, in saying, "the Cretans are always liars" (Tit. i. 12); which, indeed, is quoted from one of their own poets, Epimenides, who adds,

* See Brown's Dict. of the Bible, art. "Rome."

† Ancient Universal History, vol. viii., p. 382.

‡ See Calmet's Bib. Encyclop., arts. "Caphtor," "Chertim," "Crete."

"they are savage beasts, and gor-bellies." A most disgusting description. The gospel was early preached in Crete, and a church planted there; Titus was appointed to ordain officers in it, and Paul touched at it in his way to Rome, Acts xxvii. 9, 21. (2) *Clauda* was a small island towards the south-west of Crete. The vessel in which Paul embarked for Rome, and which was wrecked in the Mediterranean, ran under this island, Acts xxvii. 16. (3) *Melita* or *Malta* is a small island in the Mediterranean Sea, about 54 miles south of Sicily, and 150 north of Africa. It is about 18 miles long, and 12 broad. It belonged to the Romans, who had taken it from the Carthaginians, when Paul and his companions were shipwrecked on it, about A. D. 63. Acts xxviii. 1—11. (4) *Samothrace* is an island in the *Ægean Sea*, south-east of Thrace. It is about twenty miles in circumference, and has several good harbours. Paul passed by this island on his way from Asia to Macedonia, in his second apostolical journey, and thence sailed to Neapolis, a town on the coast of Macedonia, Acts xvi. 1. (5) *Sicily* is an island in the Mediterranean Sea, over against Italy, to which it belongs, and to the continent of which it is supposed to have been originally joined. It is 180 miles in length, and 90 in breadth. Its chief city was Syracuse, which was visited by Paul in his way to Rome, Acts xxviii. 12.

§ III.—Africa.

The countries which we have to notice here are *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *Lybia*.

1. *EGYPT*. This celebrated country is, in Hebrew, called Mizraim; in Greek, Aiguptos, whence the Latin *Ægyptus*, and the English, *Egypt*, and *Copt*; but the etymology of these names has not been satisfactorily determined. Mizraim was son of Ham; *Ægyptus* was, it is said, an ancient king of this country, son of Belus, and brother of Armais. The sons of Mizraim were Ludim, Anamim, Sehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, and Casluhim, who peopled several districts of Egypt, or adjacent to it. The word Mizraim, being of the dual number, may express both Egypts, the superior and inferior, or the two parts of the country, east and west, divided by the Nile. Cairo, the capital of Egypt, and even Egypt itself, is still called Mezer by the Arabians. But the natives call it Chemi, that is, the land of Cham, or Ham, as it is also sometimes called in Scripture, Ps. lxxviii. 12, cv. 23, cvi. 22. The prophet Micah (vii. 12. Heb.) gives to Egypt the name of Mezor, or Matzor; and Rabbi Kimchi, followed by several learned

commentators, explains by Egypt what is said of the rivers of Mezor, 2 Kings xix. 24; Isai. xix. 6; xxxvii. 25. Heb.

2. Egypt was divided into forty-two *nomes*, or districts, which were little provinces, or counties; and also into Upper and Lower. Upper Egypt was called Thebais, from Thebes, its capital, and extended south to the frontiers of Ethiopia. Lower Egypt contained principally the Delta, and the country on the coast of the Mediterranean. The Arabians call Lower Egypt, Rib, or Rif; Upper Egypt, Sais, or Thebais; and the part between, Souf. The word Rib, or Rif, occurs Ps. lxxxvii. 4. "I will mention Rahab," or Rib; also lxxxix. 10; Isai. li. 9. The word Souf occurs likewise, for Moses calls the Red Sea by this name.

3. In the time of Herodotus, Egypt was divided into two parts, with distinct appellations; the one belonging to Libya, the other to Asia; and the same division appears in Ibn Haukal, who says, "The left side of the Nile is called *Khouf*; the opposite division, on the right side, they call *Zeif*." We may call these divisions Western Egypt and Eastern Egypt; which may throw some light on the expression (Ezek. xxix. 10), "I will make the land of Egypt waste from the tower of Syene to the border of Cush;" meaning the Cush on the Red Sea. So that this threat includes Eastern Egypt; beginning, as the Egyptians themselves began, "from the tower of Syene," which is opposite to the island of Elephantina, all along the confines of Cush—that is, running up the Red Sea from the port of Berenice south, to Suez and Colsum north. This gives a very different aspect to the following denunciation of the prophet: "No foot of man or beast shall pass *through* it," [rather *across* it,] that is, from the Nile to the Red Sea; from Coptos to Berenice, or to Kosseir, as the caravans of merchants with their goods were used to pass:—"neither shall it be inhabited, forty years." We know of no such interval in which this complete depopulation has been true of Egypt, generally taken; but it is very credible, that after the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar, and till after the death of Cambyses, this track of mercantile conveyance was stopped; so that the foot of man or beast did not pass that way in conveying goods. The passage by this road was, however, afterwards much promoted by the Ptolemies, when they reigned in Egypt; and when explored by Belzoni, he found traces of the stations taken by the ancient Egyptian merchants, in this passage; such as wells, or tanks for holding water; remains of villages and temples; and, in the port of Berenice itself, ruins of considerable structures, with others tolerably entire, works for the security of the port, &c.; also cross roads, demonstrating important and

extensive intercourse. By this distinction a great difficulty is reduced within the compass of high probability; and the rendering proposed by Prideaux, in correction of our public version, becomes unnecessary. The doctor would vary the words (not very agreeably to the Hebrew) "from the tower of Syene" to "from Migdol, or Magdolum, to Syene." Magdolum was at the extreme north of Egypt, and Syene in the extreme south. But we have no proof, neither is it credible, that the intervening country was ever totally uninhabited by man or beast, during *one* year, much less during forty years, as threatened by the prophet; for this would have been to have rendered the whole inhabited land of Egypt a wilderness, a desert; which is very unlikely.

4. Besides the division of the *country* of Egypt into two parts, we must notice one or more *cities* of this name. After the prophet Ezekiel has spoken of the *land* of Egypt with a double application (xxx. 13), he enumerates several of its cities, as Pathros, Zoan, No, Sin, the strength of Egypt; and then proceeds to distinguish the following by name: "I will cut off the multitude of No; and I will set fire in Egypt; Sin shall have great pain:" he adds also, No, Noph, Aven, Pibeseth, and Tahpahnes. Now, it is very likely that Coptos (from which some have thought the Egyptians were named Copts) is really an ancient city; but whether it might originally be named Misr is not certain. The town now called Fostat, a little south of Cairo, is called "*Misr el atik*," Old *Misr*; and in situation it agrees sufficiently with the *Misr* of Moses, to justify the idea that not far from hence stood, in ancient days, a city of the same name, of which this may be the traditionary but debilitated memorial. Whoever reads the early part of the book of Exodus carefully, will find that there is a distinction observed. Sometimes "Egypt" is mentioned without addition; and sometimes the phrase is "the *land* of Egypt." In addition to this, it may be remarked, that the transactions are occasionally much too rapid to admit of any interval of country between Pharaoh and Moses, as in the case of the death of the first-born (chap. xii. 31), where Moses was called for on the instant "*by night*;" and Israel was sent out of Egypt, between midnight and morning. In Exod. ix. 29, Moses says, "As soon as I am gone out of *the city*;" ver. 33, "Moses went out of *the city*;" but no *city* is mentioned in the history, unless it be *Misr*. To this double acceptance of the word agrees the Hindoo account; and the Hebrew word *aretz*, rendered *land*, seems to be used like the Persian and Hindoo *sthan*, which is of the same import. But *Misra-sthan* imports, (1) the *country* of Egypt at

large; (2) the *city* of *Misr*, which stood probably on the island called the "*land* of Egypt," or *Misr*, opposite to the pyramids. It is probable, too, that another *Misr* stood on the *western shore*, opposite to the former; or one might be at the northern, the other at the southern, extremity of the island; both together are called, in the dual, *Misraim*.

5. The following allegorical characterization of Egypt is from Major Wilford.* "The parts of Barbara, towards the mouths of the Nile, were inhabited by the children of Rahu. Rahu is represented, on account of his tyranny, as an immense river-dragon, or crocodile, or rather a fabulous monster with four talons, called *Gráha*, from a root implying violent seizure: the word is commonly interpreted *hanger*, or shark; but in some dictionaries, it is made synonymous to *nacra*, or crocodile; and in the Puranas, it seems to be the creature of poetical fancy." This may be compared with at least two passages of Scripture: first, Psalm lxxiv. 12—14.

God is my king of old,
Working salvation in the midst of the earth.
Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength:
Thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters:
Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces.

6. The allusion is to the departure of Israel from Egypt, to the division of the Red Sea, anciently; and Egypt is symbolized under the notion of a leviathan with several heads. To a natural leviathan, the crocodile, one head had been sufficient: but a symbolical leviathan may possess as many heads as comports with the original object which is figuratively alluded to. There is another passage where the same imagery is adopted, Ezek. xxix. 3, 4: "I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is my own; I have made it for myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick to thy scales, and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers." In this prophecy Pharaoh is expressly named, so that we have no difficulty in referring it to that prince. Undoubtedly these allegories, by their similarity, strengthen the idea of a connexion between India and Egypt; and show that in ancient times it was well understood, and adopted by the inspired writers. For what is this dragon, but the Rahu of India?

7. The Egyptians boasted of being the most ancient people in the world, and the inventors of arts and sciences. They communicated to the Greeks the names of the gods, and their theology:

* Asiat. Res., vol. iii., p. 93, Lond.

they exceeded in superstition and idolatry, worshipping stars, men, animals, and even plants. Moses informs us, that the Hebrews sacrificed beasts whose slaughter was considered by the Egyptians as an abomination (Exod. viii. 26): and also that they would not eat with the Hebrews, because they abhorred all shepherds. This country, properly speaking, was the cradle of the Hebrew nation. Joseph, being carried thither and sold as a slave, was, by God's wisdom and providence, established viceroy of Egypt. Hither he invited his father and family, in number about seventy persons; after dwelling here 215 years, the whole family and their people departed hence, in number 603,550 men. The king of Egypt, however, would not permit them to leave his country, till he was compelled by miracles and chastisements. And after he had dismissed and expelled them, he repented, pursued them, and followed them into the Red Sea, where he perished.

8. The common name of the Egyptian kings was Pharaoh, which signified sovereign power. History has preserved the names of several of these kings, and a succession of their dynasties. But the inclination of the Egyptian historians to magnify the great antiquity of their nation, has destroyed their credibility.

9. The inhabitants of Egypt may be considered as including three distinctions: (1) The Copts, or descendants of the ancient Egyptians. (2) The Fellahs, or husbandmen; which are supposed to represent the people in Scripture called Phil. (3) The Arabs, or conquerors of the country, including the Turks, Mamelukes, &c. The Copts have seen so many revolutions in the governing powers, that they concern themselves very little about the successes or misfortunes of those who aspire to dominion. The Fellahs suffer so much oppression, and are so despised by the Bedouins or wandering Arabs, and by their despotic rulers, that they seldom acquire property, and very rarely enjoy it in security. The Arabs hate the Turks; yet the Turks enjoy most offices of government; though they hold their superiority by no very certain tenure.

10. It is usual to include under the name Egypt, from Syene, south, to the most northern point of the coast adjacent to the mouths of the Nile. At Syene, Ethiopia may be said to begin. The southern part of this extent is extremely rocky and arid. During this part of its course, the Nile is a single stream; where it divides into two or more streams, it embraces that part of Egypt which the Greeks named the Delta, in the north of Egypt. This region appears to be a vast plain, yielding an abundance of corn, and other

productions, and interspersed with numerous villages, built on eminences surrounded by date-trees. On the banks of the Nile, the Arab inhabitants cultivate water-melons, gourds, tobacco, indigo, called *nileh*, a few fruits, and other vegetables; also Indian corn. The water of the Nile not only fertilizes the lands included between its streams, but also those on each side of its external channels, even where the inundation itself does not appear. The Turks boast of Egypt as of the most beautiful country in the world: one of them says, the soil is for three months in the year white and sparkling like pearl, for three months black like musk, for three more green like emeralda, and for three more yellow as amber. It is not surprising to find the Israelites in the wilderness regretting so excellent a country. The ancient Egyptians had two crops of corn yearly from the same ground; at present they get but one. After barley-harvest they sowed rice, melons, and cucumbers. Egypt is said to have furnished to Rome, annually, twenty millions of bushels of corn. Pliny says, they sow early in November; that they begin their harvest in April, and end in May. Moses observes, that in the middle of March, when the Israelites departed out of Egypt, the barley and flax, being far advanced, were spoiled by the hail; but that the wheat, being not so forward, was preserved, Exod. ix. 31. The Egyptians sowed their barley and flax in the beginning of November, after the waters of the Nile had retired. The winter is very moderate. The wheat-harvest was ended by Pentecost.

11. The heat of Egypt is excessive: Volney says, "the Egyptians, who go almost naked, and are accustomed to perspire, shiver at the least coolness. The thermometer, which at the lowest, in the month of February, stands at 8° or 9° of Reaumur (50° or 52° of Fahrenheit), above the freezing point, enables us to determine with certainty; and we may pronounce that snow and hail are phenomena which no Egyptian has seen in fifty years." He says, also, "Two seasons only should be distinguished in Egypt, the spring and summer; that is to say, the cold season and the hot. The latter continues from March to November; and from the end of February the sun is not supportable for a European at nine o'clock in the morning. During the whole of this season the air is inflamed, the sky sparkling, and the heat oppressive to all unaccustomed to it. The body sweats profusely, even under the lightest dress, and in a state of the most profound repose."* Dr. Whitman says, "The night setting in, the company retired to rest; many of the men without

* Trav., vol. i., p. 67, 68.

doors, according to the usual practice of the Arabs in the summer season. They lie scattered over the plains like flocks of sheep, with the clothes they have taken off spread beneath them, and themselves covered from head to foot by the large handkerchief which they wear in the day time across the shoulders." This sleeping in the open air, and so lightly covered, is among those customs which appear most strange to Europeans; but it occurs frequently in Scripture, and is adopted without hesitation throughout the East. "The inhabitants of humid countries cannot conceive how it is possible for a country to subsist without rain; but in Egypt, besides the quantity of water which the earth imbibes at the inundation, the dews which fall in the night suffice for vegetation. The water melons afford a remarkable proof of this; for though they have frequently nothing under them but a dry dust, yet their leaves are always fresh. These dews, as well as the rains, are more copious towards the sea, and less considerable in proportion to the distance from it; but differ from the latter by being more abundant in summer than in winter. At Alexandria, after sunset, in the month of April, the clothes exposed to the air, and the terraces, are soaked with dew, as if it had rained. Like the rains, again, these dews are more or less plentiful, according to the prevailing wind. The southerly and the south-westerly produce none; the north wind produces a great deal; and the westerly still more. When rain falls in Egypt and Palestine, there is a general joy; the people assemble in the streets; they sing, they are all in motion; and shout '*ye Allah, ye Mobarek!*' O God! O blessed!" &c.*

12. On account of the scarcity of rain, "the best part of Egyptian agriculture," says Niebuhr, "is the watering of their grounds. The water which the husbandman needs, is often in a canal much below the level of the land which he means to refresh. The water he must therefore raise to an equality with the surface of the grounds, and distribute it over them as it is wanted. The great art of Egyptian husbandry is thus reduced to the having proper machines for raising the water, and enough of small canals judiciously disposed to distribute it."†

12. The great supply of water in Egypt is from the Nile, which river obtains its increase from Ethiopia and Abyssinia, and upon the rise of which the fertility of Egypt depends. The inhabitants suppose, that at 14 cubits rise they may

have an inferior harvest; at 16 a very good one: but should it rise much higher, there would not be time for the draining of the water off the lands, in order to their reception of the seed. These high risings do other mischief also; such as washing away villages, &c.

13. The history of Egypt is of consequence to the proper understanding of events recorded in Scripture; but the early part of it is extremely obscure, and we are under the necessity of trusting to those excerpts and fragments which may be deemed fortuitous, rather than intentional. There can be no doubt that Egypt was peopled from the East; but the tribes which first entered it seem to have been under no regular guide. Mr. Taylor conceives that Ham was intent on establishing himself in Asia; and that he actually founded there several potent kingdoms. He might afterwards visit Africa; and his son Mizraim might govern Egypt. However that was, we find Egypt peopled in the days of Abraham; and governed also by a Pharaoh. There is some reason to think that the Hamites who settled in the provinces allotted to the posterity of Shem, ejected them from thence; and were the cause of their transmigration into Egypt. At least, appearances indicate that the first Pharaohs of Egypt spoke the language of Abraham, Jacob, and Joseph; and that Jehovah, the God of those patriarchs, was not unknown to them. Between the period of Joseph's elevation in Egypt, and the exodus of Israel, we place an invasion of Egypt by the Palli, from India, and refer to this race that new "king which knew not Joseph." We read little more of Egypt in Scripture, for many ages; not, indeed, till the kings of Israel had political intercourse with that country.

14. About A. M. 2989, Solomon espoused an Egyptian princess; and Pharaoh, her father, having taken Gezer from the Canaanites, gave it for her dowry. Shishak, who might be her brother or nephew, was a mighty conqueror. After he had united Egypt into one kingdom and extended his empire almost to the straits of Gibraltar, he marched a huge army into Asia, and conquered the western part of it. In his absence, his brother Danus rebelled, and after his death the empire fell to pieces; and even Egypt itself fell under the yoke of the Ethiopians. After some ages, they recovered their liberty; but it seems the kingdom was divided into three. Sabaco or So, the Ethiopian, reduced them all, and seized on the whole country. After him reigned Sethon, the priest of Vulcan, perhaps no more than the viceroy of Tirhakah. After his death, Egypt being terribly ravaged by the Assyrians, had twelve lords set over the whole; but whether by

* Volney's Trav., vol. i., p. 56.

† Trav., vol. i., p. 88.

the Assyrian conqueror we cannot say. After about fifteen years of civil war, Psammetichus subdued the other eleven, and seized on the whole kingdom. In his time the Greeks first settled in Egypt; and 200,000 of his soldiers, offended in a point of honour, retired to Ethiopia. Under him, and his son Pharaoh-Necho, the Egyptians thought to have erected their grandeur on the ruins of Assyria. The taking of Ashdod cost the father twenty-nine years' siege; and the son, after reducing the kingdom of Judah, received a terrible defeat near the Euphrates. 4. About thirty years afterwards (A. M. 2430), Egypt was in a miserable condition, by means of the civil wars between Pharaoh-Hophra and Amasis the rebel, who gained the throne; and by the ravages of the Chaldeans. About forty years the country was almost a wilderness, and Amasis was tributary to the Chaldeans. Towards the fall of the Chaldean empire, the Egyptians recovered their liberty, but were quickly subdued by Cyrus, and their country terribly ravaged by Cambyses his son, and some thousands of their idols transported to Persia. This so enraged them, that they again revolted from the Persian yoke, but were still reduced to more grievous servitude; and their own civil broils tended much to accelerate their ruin. About A. M. 3672, they submitted to Alexander the Great: from thence they were governed by a race of Greek kings, mostly of the name of Ptolemy, for about 320 years. About A. M. 3995, the Romans reduced Egypt into the form of a province; and it continued under their yoke till A. D. 640. Under the Greeks, a prodigious number of Jews settled in Egypt, and the Old Testament was commonly read. Under the Romans, the Egyptians had the gospel very early planted among them, and the church considerably flourished. Since the Arabs seized the country, in A. D. 640, and destroyed every monument of learning, the Mahometan delusion has been established, and Christianity tolerated; but it has been in a very low and wretched condition. About A. D. 970, the Fathemite Calif of Cyrene wrested Egypt from the Calif of Bagdad, and he and his posterity governed it about 200 years. About A. D. 1171, Saladine the Curd craftily seized it; and his posterity, called Jobites, reigned till 1250. Between that and 1527 it was governed by kings, which the Mameluke slaves chose out of their body, twenty-four of whom were Turks, and twenty-three Circassians: since which it has been subject to the servitude of the Ottoman Turks.

16. The Egyptians claimed an antiquity of 10, 20, or even 50,000 years. They affirmed that their country was originally governed by gods; and

that their first mortal king was Menes. We might better judge of the first assertion, if we knew what length of time answered to that termed a year; of the second, if we knew whether the same word which is rendered *gods*, did not also signify *judges*, as it does in the Hebrew; and of the third, if we could distinguish whether Noah were the Menueh, Menu, Menes of Egypt; or whether this term do not import "*son of Nueh*;" and, by consequence, denote either Ham, or Mizraim. We may most safely rest on the latter. From Menes the Egyptians deduced a list of kings, comprising about 330, in 1400 years.

17. It is supposed that the mode of the ancient Egyptian computation of years, contributed to swell their chronology so immoderately. Palæphatus says, that in remote ages they reckoned the duration of their princes' reigns by days, not by years. And who will warrant us, that they who came after, did not set down years instead of days? so that Helios, son of Vulcan, reigning 4477 days, was only twelve years, three months, and four days, instead of 4477 years. Diodorus Siculus says, some have suggested that their year consisted only of one month, so that the 1200 years of every god's reign were reduced to 1200 months, or 100 years; afterwards the Egyptian year consisted of four months. This reduces the excessive antiquity of the Egyptian dynasties to a reasonable duration. It is further certain, that the dynasties of Egypt were not all successive; many of them were collateral, and the greater part of the kings, placed one after the other, were contemporary; one reigning in one part of Egypt, another in another. These lists also bear seven different names according to the seven districts in which the dynasties subsisted: viz., at This, Memphis, Diospolis, Thanis, Sethron, Elephantina, and Sais. Before the time of Menes, Lower Egypt, was a marsh, not absolutely uninhabitable, perhaps not unfertile, yet unfit for the reception of a dense population. Menes controlled the course of the Nile, probably stopped up one of its branches, and so obtained a length of solid ground, and drained the lower levels of the country. We learn, from Major Wilford's information concerning Egypt, extracted from the Indian Puranas, that these books relate several circumstances of the early history of this country.* "Tamah, or Saturn, had two wives, Age and Decrepitude," that is, he was an extremely old man. "Tamah was expelled from Egypt exactly at the time when Aramah, a grandson of Satyavrata, died;" If Tamah were

* Asiatic Researches, vol. iii.

Noah, as Saturn was, then Menes may be Noah also; and, therefore, the first king of Egypt, with whom Egyptian history begins.* "Lower Egypt is called by the Puranas, the Land of Mud; and they give a dreadful idea of it; and even assert, that no mortal durst approach it."† *Misr* signifies in Sanscrit, "a naked people."‡ Is this the "mingled people," of Jer. xxv. 20; 1. 37; Ezek. xxx. 5. The Puranas say that the ocean anciently covered Egypt; but that the waters withdrew at the prayer of a holy man, or Rishi, "for the space of a hundred *yojanas*, or 492 miles."|| The probability is, that this withdrawal of the waters alludes to the fact of the draining of the lower country by restraining the Nile to a single channel pretty far south. "The first inhabitants of Egypt found, on their arrival, that the whole country about the mouths of the Nile was an immense forest; part impervious, which they called Atavi; part uninhabited, but practicable, which received the name of Aranya.§ These accounts agree, perfectly, with the primitive state of all uninhabited countries; and they contribute to support the opinion that Egypt was peopled from India.

18. Ezekiel (xxx. 13) says, that there never any more shall be a reigning prince of the Egyptian nation over this country. Egypt was, indeed, to be a base kingdom; and what can be more base than a government composed of rulers who have been slaves, and the properties of others? Governors, not hereditary, nor elective by the people, nor promoted according to merit; but rising by intrigue from the lowest stations, and degraded by the vilest of crimes, as well political as personal. "Such is the case with Egypt," says Volney. "Deprived three and twenty centuries ago of her natural proprietors, she has seen her fertile fields successively a prey to the Persians, the Macedonians, the Romans, the Greeks, the Arabs, the Georgians, and, at length to the race of Tartars, distinguished by the name of Ottoman Turks. Among so many nations, several of them have left vestiges of their transient possession; but, as they have been blended in succession, they have been so confounded, as to render it very difficult to discriminate their respective characters. We may, however, still distinguish the inhabitants of Egypt into four principal races, of different origin."¶ These four he considers as, (1) Arabs, the classes of husbandmen and artisans; (2) the

Copts, the writers, and government collectors; (3) the Turks, who are masters of the country; (4) The Mamelukes, who possess the authority over it, and who are a race of slaves, bought in distant countries." Surely the country *belorded* by slaves may be justly considered as "the basest of kingdoms!" When we reflect on the revolutions which this country has undergone, and upon the length of time during which it has been under the dominion of strangers, we can no longer be surprised at the decline of its wealth and population. It has been successively subdued by the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabians, and the Turks; has enjoyed no interval of tranquillity and freedom, but has been constantly oppressed and pillaged by the lieutenants of a distant lord, who scarcely left the people bare means of subsistence. Agriculture was ruined by the miseries of the husbandmen: and the cities decayed with its decline. Even at present, the population is decreasing; and the peasant, although in a fertile country, is miserably poor; for the exactions of government, and its officers, leave him nothing to lay out in the improvement and culture of his lands; while the cities are falling into ruins, because the same unhappy restraints render it impossible for the citizens to engage in any lucrative undertaking." "The Copts are descended from the ancient Egyptians; and the Turks, on this account, call them, in derision, 'the posterity of Pharaoh.' But their uncouth figure, their stupidity, ignorance, and wretchedness, do little credit to the sovereigns of ancient Egypt. They have lived for 2000 years under the dominion of different foreign conquerors, and have experienced many vicissitudes of fortune. They have lost their manners, their language, their religion, and almost their existence. They are reduced to a small number in comparison of the Arabs, who have poured like a flood over this country. Of the diminution of the numbers of the Copts, some idea may be formed from the reduction of the number of their bishops. There were seventy in number at the period of the Arabian conquest. There are now only twelve." **

19. The most extraordinary monuments of Egyptian power and industry, were the pyramids, which still subsist, to excite the wonder and admiration of the world. A description of these extraordinary structures has generally been considered as matter of curiosity, rather than as being applicable in illustrating Scripture; but Mr. Taylor, after having considered the subject thoroughly, con-

* Asiat. Res., vol. iii., p. 93.

† Ibid., p. 96.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid., p. 104.

§ Ibid., p. 97.

¶ Travels, vol. i., 74.

** Niebuhr's Travels, vol. i., p. 104.

ceives that Providence has left us these, as everlasting monuments of the veracity of that Sacred History with which we are favoured. In fact, that they are part, at least, of the labours of the Israelites, previous to the exodus; and that they remain to witness the leading events of that portion of the history of the sons of Jacob. The following considerations are advanced in support of this opinion.

(1) If we inquire what were the labours of the Israelites for the Pharaohs, we find that they consisted in making bricks, to be hardened in the sun, for such bricks alone require the assistance of straw in their composition, which material is particularly mentioned by the officers of this people, Exod. i. 14. Now, it appears from various travellers, that the internal construction of these mighty masses consists, among other materials, of brick of this description; and thereby agrees with that circumstance of the sacred narrative. This is true of the great pyramid, which is usually visited; but the pyramids of Sakkara, at some distance, are wholly composed of sun-burnt bricks, so that *these* are undeniable.

(2) The multitude, when in the wilderness, regret the fish which they ate in Egypt, *freely* [*gratis*; not at their own expense], the cucumbers, the melons, the leeks, the onions, the garlick, Numb. xi. 5. In conformity with this, we are told by Herodotus, that on the pyramid was an inscription, "expressing the expense of the articles of food consumed by the labourers; radishes (the *leeks*, perhaps, of Scripture), onions and garlick; they cost 1,600 talents of silver." No doubt these vegetables were cheap enough; so that this considerable sum implies a prodigious number of workmen, employed during a great length of time. Herodotus also admires the further sum which must have been expended in *food* and clothes.

(3) As to the number of persons employed in their erection, Diodorus Siculus says, that 360,000 workmen or slaves were occupied twenty years in constructing the pyramid of Chemnis. Herodotus says, 100,000 were employed in *bringing stones*; 10,000 at a time, who relieved each other every three months. It may be supposed, therefore, that the number given by Diodorus, includes the whole of the population employed in all departments, while the number given by Herodotus is that employed in a specific department; but, that all were relieved every three months, and that only a proportion of one tenth was employed at a time, seems to have been a kind of rule in the business. Now, it is very likely that the Israelites were in this manner relieved; for we find (Exod. iv. 27), that the mother of Moses was able to conceal him, when an infant, no longer than *three months*. And

Aaron was able to take a journey (which usually occupies *two months*, says Dr. Shaw) to Mount Horeb, to meet Moses, which had he been kept without intermission to his labour, would have been impossible. Indeed, if the Israelites laboured *in the field*, they could not have been constantly employed in *building*; and that they did labour in the field is evident from their possession of great herds of cattle, when they went out of Egypt. Add to this, that their profession was that of shepherds, that they were placed in the richest pasturage in Egypt, that Moses stipulates that not a hoof should be left behind, and that the very institution of the passover-lamb implies the possession of flocks; these, with other circumstances, show clearly that the Israelites must have had intervals of time, in which to pay attention to their own property and business.

(4) It is almost certain that the native Egyptians, or the governing nation, at least, did not labour on these structures; for Diodorus Siculus says (lib. i. cap. 2), "He [Sesostris] built . . . he employed in these works none of his own subjects, but only the labours of captives. He was even careful to engrave these words on the temples, '*No Egyptian had a hand in this structure.*' They say, further, that the captives brought from Babylon, unable to endure these labours, found means to escape, and . . . made war against the Egyptians, &c. It is therefore likely that the stranger Israelites found in Egypt, by "the king who knew not Joseph," and whose increasing numbers and strength he dreaded, would be set to labour, though in mere waste of their strength, on structures only useful in a political view, rather than any of the natural inhabitants, toward whom the same policy was not necessary. This conduct was afterwards adopted by Solomon (1 Kings ix. 27); "Solomon built . . . of the Amorites, Perizzites, Hivites, &c., who were not of the children of Israel, did Solomon *levy a tribute of bond service*—but of the children of Israel did Solomon make no bondmen; but they were men of war," &c.

(5) That it was anciently, as it still is in the East, the custom to employ *bondmen* in building, is notorious; we have therefore only to inquire, whether this character was attached to the Israelites. It is expressly attributed to them; for they are said to be brought out of the house of *bondage* (Exod. xx. 2); they are charged to remember they were *bondmen* in Egypt, Deut. vi. 21, xv. 15. That the Israelites did not *make brick* only, but performed other labours of building, may be inferred from Exod. ix. 8, 10. Moses took "ashes of the *furnace*"—no doubt that which was tended by his people. So Ps. lxxx. 6: "I remember his shoulder from the *burden*, and his hands were

delivered from the *mortar-basket*" (not *pots*, as in our translation); and with this rendering agree the LXX., Vulgate, Symmachus, and others. It is recorded, indeed, that the Israelites built *cities* for Pharaoh, and in such building they might and must carry the burden, and the mortar-basket (analogous to our mortar-hod); yet as their *delivery* from these things is spoken of, as the *furnace* is evidently not distant from the residence of Pharaoh, and as there is no reason to suppose that soon after they had built these cities they were dismissed; these circumstances seem to corroborate the positive testimony of Josephus, that Israel was employed on the pyramids. We may, perhaps, attribute the omission of finishing the last pyramid to the confusions consequent on the death of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and the hatred which attended his memory among the genuine Egyptians, to which race he did not belong; but was usurper over them, as he was a tyrant over Israel.

(6) The space of time allotted to the erection of these immense masses, coincides with what is usually allotted to the slavery of the Israelites. Israel is understood to have been in Egypt 215 years, of which Joseph ruled seventy years; nor was it till long after his death that the "new king arose, who knew not Joseph." If we allow about forty years for the extent of the generation which succeeded Joseph, added to his seventy, there remain about a hundred and five years to the exodus. Now, Herodotus tells us,* that "till the reign of *Ramsestius* (the *Rammesses* of Scripture) Egypt was not only remarkable for its abundance, but for its excellent laws. Cheops, who succeeded this prince, degenerated into the extremest profligacy of conduct. He barred the avenues to every temple, forbade the Egyptians from offering sacrifices, and next proceeded to make them labour servilely for himself, by building the *pyramids*. Cheops reigned fifty years. His brother Chephren succeeded, and reigned fifty-six years: he adopted a similar conduct. Thus for the space of 106 years were the Egyptians exposed to every species of oppression and calamity; not having in all this period permission to worship in their temples. For the memory of these two monarchs they have so extreme an aversion, that they are not willing to mention their names. They call their pyramids by the name of the shepherd PHILITIS, who at that time fed his cattle in those places. Mycerinus succeeded Chephren, disapproved his father's conduct, commanded the temples to be opened, and the people, who had been reduced to the most extreme

affliction, were again permitted to offer sacrifice." Here are plain traces of a government by a *foreign* family, and of a worship contrary to that which had been previously established in Egypt; which agrees exactly with circumstances narrated in Exodus. The historian relates that it lasted 106 years, in which it coincides with the bondage-time of the sons of Israel.

(7) But there is information couched under the ambiguous mention of the shepherd Philitis, which should not escape us. It is clear that the Egyptians could not call the kings by whose order the pyramids (plural) were built by this name, in the hearing of Herodotus, since they referred them to their kings Cheops and Chephren; besides which, it would seem that the shepherd Philitis had formerly and customarily fed his cattle elsewhere. We may, therefore, understand this passage thus: They attributed the labour of constructing these pyramids to a *shepherd* who came from *Philistia*; but who at that time fed his cattle in the land of Egypt." Implying, that they more readily told the appellation of the workmen [the sons of Israel, the *shepherd*, Gen. xlvii. 5] employed in the building, than of the kings by whose commands they were built. They seem to have done the same in the days of Diodorus, who remarks, "They admit that these works are superior to all which are seen in Egypt; not only by the immensity of their mass, and by their prodigious cost, but still more by the beauty of their construction; and the workmen who have rendered them so perfect are much more estimable than the kings who paid their cost; for the former have hereby given a memorable proof of their genius and skill, whereas the kings contributed only the riches left by their ancestors, or extorted from their subjects. . . . They say the first was erected by *Armæus*, the second by *Ammosis*, the third by *Inaron*." The first name, *Armæus*, Mr. Taylor corrects into *Aramæus*, that is, "the Syrian:" and then the title perfectly coincides with the mention of the shepherd of Palestine, by Herodotus. This passage being extremely curious, and perhaps never properly understood, the original Greek is subjoined:†

—τὴν μεγιστὴν ποιῆσαι λεγούσιν Ἀρμαῖον, [Ἀραμαῖον] τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Ἀμμώσιν, τὴν δὲ τρίτην Ἰναρωνα.

(8) This coincidence will appear more striking, if the names be considered distinct from their prefixes; for if we compare them with the description of Moses and Aaron (Exod. vi. 26, 27).

* Herod., lib. ii., cap. 124.

† Diod. Sic. lib. i., sect. 2.

we find them the same, as near as traditional pronunciation by natives of different countries could bring it: *aMousin*, or *haMousin*, is *hu-Mouseh*, הוא מושח; and *inArona*, or *hinArona*, is *huAron*, הוא אהרן; which, where two vowel sounds came together, took a consonant between them when spoken—*hunAron*. This, therefore, confirms the supposition, that the Israelites were employed on the pyramids; first, under the appellation of the *Syrian*, or *Aramean* [the very title given to Jacob: "An *Aramite* ready to perish was my father, he went down into Egypt . . . and the Egyptians evil entreated us, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage," Deut. xxvi. 5]; and afterwards, under the names of the two most famous principals of that people.

(9) But beside the names of Moses and Aaron, the builders, we may possibly find that the names of the kings by whose order they were built are also preserved, so far, at least, as by the help of Scripture to afford assistance in this inquiry. "*Rampsinitus* [supposed to be the *Remphis* of the next paragraph, from Diodorus Siculus] . . . possessed such abundance of wealth, that, so far from surpassing, none of his successors ever equalled him in affluence," says Herodotus; who also relates a history of his treasury, from which the least we can gather is, that it was very extraordinary. "*Remphis* (son of Protheus), having succeeded his father, employed the whole period of his reign in increasing his revenues, and amassing gold and silver . . . he left behind him more riches than any of his predecessors; for it is said that in his coffers were found 400,000 talents."*

(10) *Raumesses* or *Raugmesses* (Benjamin of Tudela writes it *Raghmesses*; Eusebius, *Ramises*; Josephus, *Ramphates*; and such differences indicate a foreign origin) is the name of a town (Exod. i. 11, xii. 37), apparently named after this king of Egypt; and if pronounced *Rumesses*, it would be the Indian *Rucmavatsa*. This elision is common in India, and Major Wilford adopts it himself, by supposing that the *Tamovatsa* of this passage is the *Timaus* of the Greek writers. *Rucmavatsa* was, say the Puranas, NOT OF THE ROYAL RACE OF EGYPT; but his grandfather *Tamovatsa* defeated the Egyptian king, "placed himself on the throne of *Misra*, and governed the kingdom with perfect equity; his son *Bahya-vatsa* devoted himself to religion, having resigned his dominion to his son *Rucmavatsa*, who tenderly loved his people, and so highly improved this country, that from his just revenues he amassed an incredible treasure. His wealth was so great,

that he raised three mountains called *Rucmadri*, *Rajatadri*, and *Retnadri*; or, the MOUNTAIN of gold, of silver, of gems. The author says, *mountains*, but it appears, says Major Wilford, from the context, that they were fabrics [the Arabs, and Turks call them *Djebel Pharouni*, Pharaoh's Mountains, to this day]. There can be little or no doubt, that they are the three pyramids near *Misra-athan*, or Memphis. *Rucmavatsa* was no tyrant to his own people, whom he cherished, says the '*Mahacalpa*,' as if they had been his own children; but he might have compelled the native Egyptians to work, for the sake of keeping them employed, and subduing their spirit. The first was said to be of gold, because coated with yellow marble; the second of silver, because coated with white marble; the third of gems, because coated with variegated marble;" or perhaps, marbles set in some pattern.

(11) Now the opposite character of this *Rucmavatsa*, says Mr. Taylor, is what we should expect would be delivered by writers of opposite nations. (1) *He was a foreigner introduced by conquest*, therefore, "he knew not Joseph," nor cared for any former services rendered by that "Saviour of the (Egyptian) world." (2) *He tenderly loved his people*—yes, his own people, foreigners like himself; but the Egyptians were not so fond of him; they rather banished his name from their memory, and hated the mention of it. (3) *From his just revenues he amassed treasures*—but his conquered subjects would describe this as iniquitous exaction. (4) *This family shut up the temples*; and we are sure they prohibited sacrifices in the instance of Israel. This might be piety in the opinion of the writers of the *Mahacalpa*; but the original Egyptians would esteem it persecution for religion's sake, and consequently wickedness of no common guilt. (5) *He built three mountains*: rather, three mountains were built during the reign of his family; on these he did not employ his own people, but partly the native Egyptians, with others whom he found in the country (the *mixed multitude* of Exod. xii. 38), and partly the Israelites, whom he wished to subdue by labour. The character of this prince agrees sufficiently to prove his identity; and it disagrees sufficiently to prove, that on one side it is viewed with the eye of national and religious partiality; on the other, with the aversion of national and religious abhorrence. It is impossible to refrain from observing how aptly historical narration and geographical discussion illustrate each other. And we form this general conclusion, that so many coincidences justify us in believing that the pyramids of Egypt were built when Israel was in that land; were partly con-

* Diod. Sic., lib. i., sect. 2.

structed by that people; and that the labours they exacted fostered that aversion of mind which the true Egyptians entertained against the memories of their oppressors; so that in later ages, the priests rather mentioned, to inquiring foreigners, the names of the operative builders, than of the kings whose treasures had been expended on their construction. As to the difference of names between *Cheops* and *Ramesses*; probably one may be a title, or a name taken on a certain occasion; or one may be a Hindoo, the other an Egyptian, appellation. At all events, we know so little on this subject, that no objection can be maintained from it without further information.

(12) But though it be admitted that the Israelites contributed to erect the pyramids, it does not follow that they cased them with their coating of marble or granite. That was, in all probability, performed by professed artists; the stones were brought from a distance, and doubtless required skill as well as labour in their preparation and use. It is indeed a tradition on the spot, that the Israelites dug out from the rocks adjacent those grottos which show from whence come the layers of stone which accompany the rubble work; and this may be true; but the granite, it is presumed, they did not cut.*

II. ETHIOPIA. 1. This country is frequently mentioned in Scripture under the name of *Cush*, though it is not always intended under that term. The ancients appear to have given the name of Ethiopian to all persons, either perfectly black, or of a very swarthy complexion. The Arabs, therefore, and other Asiatics, as well as a great number of Africans, came under this denomination. Thus the wife of Moses, who was a native of Midian, on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, is called a Cushite or Ethiopian, and the river Gihon, which is supposed to be the Araxes, is said to encompass the whole land of Ethiopia, Gen. ii. 13. It is plain, therefore, that there are three countries bearing this name, referred to in Scripture. The proper Ethiopia, however, was on the south of Egypt, on which side it was bounded by the Lesser Cataract, and the island Elephantine; on the west it was bounded by Libya Interior; on the east by the Red Sea; and on the south by a part of Africa unknown to the ancients, and therefore difficult to define. Ethiopia is now known under the name of Abyssinia, one of the large kingdoms of Africa.

2. Ethiopia was once a very large empire, consisting of forty-five kingdoms, according to Pliny. It is exceedingly mountainous. Some of the mountains are of salt, and others abound with mines of iron, copper, and gold. Its chief river is the Nile, into which almost all the inferior ones run.

3. It appears that about the time of the Hebrew bondage in Egypt, or perhaps in the time of the Judges, the Cushites of Arabia, spoken of before, with part of the descendants of Joktan, passed the Red Sea at the straits of Babelmandel, and settled in this country. The language of the modern Abyssinians is plainly a dialect of the true and ancient Arabic. Many of their laws were similar to those of Egypt, and others resembled the customs of the more civilized Arabs. Ham, the father of Cush, or Jupiter-Ammon, was their chief deity. They likewise paid divine honours to Isis, Pan, Hercules, Æsculapius, and others. There is a tradition among the Abyssinians, that their ancestors embraced Judaism in the time of Solomon, to which they stedfastly adhered till their conversion to Christianity. According to this tradition, the queen of Sheba, whom our Saviour calls the queen of the South, and who ruled over at least a powerful nation of Ethiopia, had a son by Solomon, who was educated at that prince's court, and instructed in the law of God, under the care of his father. Being afterwards anointed king of Ethiopia, and sent home to take possession of his kingdom, he was accompanied by several eminent Jewish doctors, under whose superintendence the law of Moses was established among his people. It is certain that circumcision, the observance of the seventh day Sabbath, and a number of other Jewish rites, are practised by the Ethiopians to this day. But that their sovereigns are descended in a direct line from Solomon, it is somewhat difficult to believe. It is probable that the Ethiopians were conquered by Shishak, king of Egypt, either in the time of Solomon, or shortly afterwards. During the civil war which happened in Egypt after his death, Zerah, the Ethiopian, appears to have possessed himself of Egypt and Libya. Intending to add Judea to his dominions, he advanced with a large army against Asa, but was defeated by the Jews, who afterwards assisted the Egyptians to recover their liberty, 2 Chron. xiv 9—15. About A. M. 3257, So, or Sabacon, king of Ethiopia, reduced Egypt, which then consisted of three or more distinct kingdoms, and entered into an alliance with Hoshea and the Israelites against the king of Assyria, which issued in the destruction of the kingdom of Israel by Shalmaneser, 2 Kings xvii. 1—8. Tirhakah, perhaps the same with Sethar, marched an army against

* We are indebted for the principal part of this account of Egypt, to Calmet's Dictionary, 8vo. edition, where the various speculations which were distributed throughout the 'Fragments,' have been carefully collected and condensed.

Sennacherib, 2 Kings xix. 9. Some time after, Earbaddon, king of Assyria, having ravaged Egypt, subdued a great part of Ethiopia, and held the people in bondage for three years, that is, till his death; when the Ethiopians, revolting from the Assyrians, asserted their independence, which they maintained, though a monarchy distinct from Egypt, till the time of Cyrus, by whom, and his successor Cambyses, they seem to have been much harassed, and by Xerxes were either partly or wholly subdued, Isai. xix. 23, xx. 4, 5; Ezek. xxx. 4, 5.*

III. LIBYA was a large country on the west of Egypt, the eastern part of which was generally subject to this power. The Lybians or Lubim, assisted the kings of Ethiopia against the Jews (2 Chron. xii. 3; xvi. 8), and the Egyptians against the Assyrians or Chaldeans, Neh. iii. 9; Jer. xli. 9; Ezek. xxx. 5. The Libya mentioned by St. Luke (Acts ii. 10), is that by Ptolemy called *Libya Cyrenaica*, in which dwelt a great number of Jews. This was the country of that Simon who was compelled to carry our Saviour's cross, Matt. xxvii. 32.

SECTION III.

PROVINCES, CITIES, TOWNS, &C., MENTIONED IN SCRIPTURE.†

ABANA [the rocky river] is a branch of the Barrady, or Chrysorroas, which derives its source from the foot of Mount Libanus, eastward; runs round and through Damascus, and continues its course till lost in the wilderness, four or five leagues south of the city. The Talmudists say, that "the waters of Kirmon and Pigah are not fit to sprinkle the unclean, because they are muddy waters;"—meaning, probably, that running through a chalky soil, or over chalky rocks, they are sullied by the particles they carry with them. Naaman, however, held a different opinion; for he says (2 Kings v. 12), "Are not Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?"

ABARIM, a range of mountains which spread far into the tribe of Reuben, and the country of Moab, on each side of the Arnon. They were composed of many little hills, under different names; but it is impossible to define their precise extent. Eusebius fixes them at six miles west of Heshbon, and seven east of Livias. The mountains Nebo, Pigah, and Peor were parts of the range.

ABEL, ABEL-BETH-MAACAH, or ABEL-MAIM, a city of Manasseh, lying between Damascus and Paneas. It is sometimes called ABILA (Luke iii. 1); and by Josephus, "Abila in Libanus." The addition of "Beth-Maacah," seems to denote that it was near the temple of the deity or idol Maacah.

ABEL-MEHOLAH, a city in the great plain, about 16 miles south of Scythopolis. It was celebrated for the victory over the Midianites obtained here by Gideon (Judg. vii. 22); and also, as the birth-place of Elisha, 1 Kings xix. 16.

ABEL-SHITTIM, a city in the plains of Moab, east of Jordan, opposite to Jericho, and in the neighbourhood of Mount Peor. Moses encamped here before the Hebrew army passed the Jordan, under Joshua (Numb. xxv. 1; xxxiii. 49); and here the Israelites, seduced by Balak, fell into idolatry, and worshipped Baal-Peor.

ACCAD, a city, built by Nimrod (Gen. x. 10), which the LXX. write *Arad*; and the Syriac *Achar*. Ephraim the Syrian, Abulpharagius, Jerome, the Targum of Jerusalem, and Jonathan call it Nisibis, the antiquity of which is unquestionable.

ACCHO, or ACRE, is a town situated on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, on the north angle of the bay to which it gives its name, and which extends in a semi-circle of three leagues, as far as the point of Mount Carmel. Accho was given to the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 25. Gr.; Judg. i. 31), but was not possessed by them, being retained by the ancient Canaanites. At different periods, this town has been known by different names. One of the Ptolemies enlarged and beautified it, and called it Ptolemais. The Christian Crusaders named it Acre, or St. John d'Acre, from St. John, who was the tutelary saint of the place. The Arabians call it Acca, or Akka. When Syria was subjected by the Romans, this city was made a colony by the Emperor Claudius. Its most ancient name AKH, has been observed upon small bronze medals found, though rarely, in the country. The medals of gold and silver, of Alexander the Great, struck in this town, with Phœnician characters, call it Aco. We have many of its medals with Latin inscriptions, but the Greek are very rare. The town of Acre is situated twenty-seven miles south of Tyre, and seventy N.W. of Jerusalem. Its population was computed by the Abbé Mariti, in 1760, at 16,000; and by Mr. Brown, in 1797, at 18,000 or 20,000. The early travellers speak of its pristine splendour; but of this few traces remain. Dr. Clarke states, that its external view is the only prospect worth beholding. The sight of the interior exactly resembles what is seen in Constantinople, and in the generality of Turkish cities: narrow, dirty lanes,

* Ancient Universal History, vol. xviii., p. 277, &c.

† We have omitted the mention of many small places, which have no historical importance.

with wretched shops, and as wretched inhabitants. The port of Acre is one of the best on the coast, being sheltered from the north and north-west winds by the town, which is situated on a promontory. It is greatly choked up since the time of Fakr-eddin. The fortifications are unimportant; there are only a few low towers near the port, on which cannon are mounted; but so rusty and bad, that some of them burst every time they are fired. Its defence on the land side is merely a garden-wall without a ditch. The possession of Acre is, however, of great importance, as it keeps the inhabitants of the country in a state of subjection. It is the sole avenue by which the rice, which is the staple food of the people, can enter; so that the ruler of Acre may, if he please, dry up the resources of Syria, and cause a famine to ravage that whole region. It also commands, entirely, the great plain of Esdraelon, which is the richest territory of Syria. It may be called the key of the Holy Land. Ships anchor with most security in that part of the bay which lies to the north of Mount Carmel; but the harbour is exposed to the north-west wind, which rages along the coast. The town was originally surrounded by triple walls, and a fosse cut out of the rock, from which, at present, it is a mile distant. At the south and west sides it was washed by the sea; it had a small bay to the east, which is now almost filled up; and Pococke is of opinion, that the river Belus was brought through the fosse which ran along the ramparts on the north—thus making the city an island. The houses are built of cut stone; and they are flat-roofed, with terraces. The remains of a considerable edifice are observable on the left of the mosque, towards the north side of the city. In its style of architecture it was Gothic, on which account it was, perhaps, called by Englishmen, "King Richard's palace." Some pointed arches, and a part of the cornice, remained when Dr. Clarke visited the place; but at the time of Mr. Buckingham's visit they were razed to the ground. The rest of the ruins, according to Dr. Clarke, were those of the arsenal, the college of the knights, the palace and chapel of the grand master, and ten or twelve other churches. These, also, says Mr. Buckingham, are altogether gone. Three of the churches were originally dedicated to St. Saba, St. Thomas, and St. Nicholas. In the garden of Djezzar Pacha's palace, there are some pillars of yellow variegated marble, of exquisite beauty, which have been brought from the ruins of Cæsarea. Close to the entrance of the palace is a beautiful fountain of white marble, which, together with almost all the marble used in the decorations of his sumptuous mosque, are constructed from the same rich

quarry of materials. The principal bath of Acre is considered as the finest of any in the Turkish dominions. This city also contains two bazaars, or market-places; three khans, or inns, for the reception of goods and the accommodation of travellers; and several coffee-houses. The country about Acre is exceedingly fertile, abounding in cattle, corn, olives, and linseed. In the time of Djezzar, a great quantity of cotton was exported thence. In the light sandy soil which lies near the town, Dr. Clarke observed plantations of water-melons, pumpkins, and a little corn. The air of Acre is superior to that of Cyprus; a remark which applies generally to all the coast of Syria and Palestine, and is verified by the absence of noxious reptiles, and of venomous insects, such as toads and mosquitoes, which always pervade an insalubrious region.* Accho was considered as heathen land by the Jews, and all beyond it, northwards. There was a bath of Venus of considerable antiquity here; and, as the rabbins thought, prior to the reference of it to the goddess. The town of Acre will long be famous for the repulse here given to Buona-parte and the French army, by the English under Sir Sidney Smith, in 1799, which terminated the Syrian expedition of the emperor of France. Since the time of its siege, it has been much strengthened, and considerably beautified and improved.

ACELDAMA, a field south of Jerusalem, which the priests purchased with the thirty pieces of silver that had rewarded the treason of Judas Iscariot, as the price of Jesus Christ's blood, Matt. xxvii. 8; Acts i. 19. Holding it not to be lawful to use this money for sacred purposes, because it was the price of blood, they bought the potter's field with it, to be a burying-place for strangers. The field is very small, and is partly covered with an arched roof. It was formerly reported that bodies deposited in it were consumed in less than three or four days. It is now used as the sepulchre of the Armenians, who have a convent on Mount Zion.

ACHAIA, taken in its largest sense, comprehended the whole of Greece or Hellas; but in a more confined sense it was that province in the Morea afterwards called 'Romania alta,' of which Corinth was the capital. Here Paul preached (Acts xviii. 12); and it is worthy of remark, says Mr. Taylor, that Luke, in the passage just referred to, calls Gallio *deputy* (i. e. proconsul) of Achaia; which, indeed, was the title of the superior officer there at the time he wrote; but which had not

* Clarke's Travels, vol. iv., p. 84, 8vo. edit.; Buckingham's Travels, p. 71, 4to. edit.; Ency. Metrop., vol. xvii., p. 93.

long been so, and did not long continue so; an accuracy which greatly confirms the general tenor and truth of his narrative.

ACHOR, a valley in the territory of Jericho, and in the tribe of Benjamin, where Achan was stoned, Josh. vii. 24, xv. 7.

ACHZIB; there were several small towns of this name, but they are of no historical importance.

ACKSAPH, a city belonging to the tribe of Asher, the king of which was conquered by Joshua (chap. xii. 20). Some are of opinion that Acksaph is the same as Ecdippa, on the Mediterranean between Tyre and Ptolemais: but others think that Ecdippa is inserted in Joshua (chap. xix. 29) under the name of Achzib. The Arabs call a place three hours north from Ptolemais *Zib*, which is the spot where Ecdippa formerly stood. It is probable that Acksaph and Achzib are but different names for the same town.

ACRA, one of the mountains on which Jerusalem was built.

ACRABATENE. There were two places bearing this name, 1. A district in Judæa, extending between Shechem (now Napolose) and Jericho, east; and being about twelve miles in length. 2. A district, on the frontier of Idumea, towards the southern extremity of the Dead Sea.

ADAD-RIMMON, or Hadad-Rimmon, a city in the valley of Jezreel, where the fatal battle between Josiah, king of Judah, and Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, was fought (2 Kings xxiii. 29; Zech. xii. 11). It was afterwards called Maximianopolis, in honour of the emperor Maximian; and is seventeen miles distant from Cæsarea, and ten miles from Jezreel.

ADARSA, or **ADASA**, a city of Ephraim, about four miles from Beth-horon, probably between the upper Bethoron and Diospolis; because it is said (1 Macc. vii. 40, 45) the victorious army of Judas pursued the Syrians from Adasa to Gadara, or Gazara, which is one day's journey. It is also called Adazer, and Adaco, or Acedosa, in Josephus. Here Nicanor was overcome by Judas Maccabæus, who was subsequently himself killed in the same place, De Bello, lib. i., cap. 1.

ADIABENE, a region of Assyria, whose queen Helena and her son Izates were made converts to Judaism. It is now called Boutan.

ADIDA, a city of Judah, where Simon Maccabæus encamped to dispute the entrance into the country with Tryphon, who had treacherously seized Jonathan at Ptolemais, 1 Macc. xiii. 13.

ADMAH, the most easterly of the five cities of the plain, destroyed by fire from heaven, and afterwards overwhelmed by the waters of the Dead Sea, Gen. xix. 24. The inhabitants of the country appear subsequently to have built a city of the

same name on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea; for Isaiah (xv. ult.), according to the LXX., says, "God will destroy the Moabites, the city of Ar, and the remnant of Adama."

ADRAMYTUM, a maritime town of Mysia, in Asia Minor, opposite to the island of Lesbos (Acts xxvii. 2), and an Athenian colony, now called Adramyti. From some of the medals struck in this town, it appears that it celebrated the worship of Castor and Pollux (Acts xxviii. 11), as also that of Jupiter and Minerva.

ADRIA, a city of Italy, on the Tartaro, in the state of Venice, which gave name to the Adriatic Sea, or the Sea of Adria, Acts xxvii. 27. It appears, from the narrative of Paul's voyage, just referred to, that, although the name of Adria belonged in a proper sense only to the sea within the Adriatic gulf, it was given in a loose manner to a larger extent of the ocean, including the Sicilian and Ionian Sea.

ADULLUM, a city in the south of Judah, between ten and eleven miles east of Eleutheropolis, the king of which was killed by Joshua, Josh. xii. 15; xv. 35. Rehoboam rebuilt and fortified it (2 Chron. xi. 7, 8), and Judas Maccabæus encamped in the adjacent plain, 2 Macc. xii. 38. The prophet Micah has a kind of play upon the word Adullam, where he says, "He shall come unto Adullam [the ornament], the glory [ornament] of Israel, ch. i. 15. When David withdrew from Achish, king of Gath, he retired to a cave near this spot, 1 Sam. xxii. 1; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13.

ADUMMIM, a town and mountain of Benjamin (Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 17), west of Jericho.

AFRICA. See page 44, *ante*.

AHAVA, a river of Babylonia, or of Assyria, where Ezra assembled those captives who were returning to Judæa, Ezra viii. 15. It is supposed to have run along the Adiabene, where a river Diava, or Adiava, is mentioned, on which Ptolemy places the city Abane, or Aavane, probably the country called Ava (2 Kings xvii. 24, xviii. 34, xix. 13), whence the kings of Assyria translated the people called Avites into Palestine; and where, in their room, they settled a part of the captive Israelites. The history of Izates, king of the Adiabeniens, and his mother Helena, who became converts to Judaism some years after the death of Christ, proves, as Calmet remarks, that there were many Jews remaining in that country.

AJALON, a city of Dan (Josh. xix. 42), assigned to the Levites of Kohath's family, sometimes named Elom, or Ailom, and supposed to have taken its name, which signifies *oaks*, from the circumstance of its being built in a valley abounding with those trees. Eusebius says, there was a

place called Ajalon three miles east of Bethel; but this cannot be the place mentioned by Joshua (x. 12), for this did not belong to Dan; and Bethel was too remote from that tribe. Jerome notices another Ajalon, two miles from Shechem, in the way to Jerusalem, and near to Gibeon. In 2 Chron. xxviii. 18, Ajalon is placed between Bethshemesh and Timnah; and there was also a city called Ajalon in the tribe of Zebulun, Judges xii. 12. Thus, says Calmet, there were four cities of this name. (1) Ajalon in Dan, between Timnah and Bethshemesh; probably that spoken of by Joshua. (2) Ajalon in Benjamin, east of Bethel, 2 Chron. xi. 10. (3) Ajalon in Ephraim, not far from Shechem. (4) Ajalon in Zebulun (Judges xii. 12); but its situation is not known.

ALEXANDRIA, a celebrated city in Egypt, situated between the Mediterranean Sea and the lake Mareotis, founded by Alexander the Great, and peopled by colonies of Greeks and Jews. It rose rapidly to a state of prosperity, becoming the centre of commercial intercourse between the East and the West; and in process of time, was, both for magnitude and wealth, second only to Rome itself. The ancient city, according to Pliny, was about fifteen miles in circuit, peopled by 300,000 free citizens, and as many slaves. From the gate of the sea ran one magnificent street, 2000 feet broad, through the entire length of the city, to the gate of Canopus, affording a beach, and a view of the shipping in the port, whether north in the Mediterranean, or south in the noble basin of the Mareotic Lake. Another street, of equal width, intersected this at right angles, in a square half a league in circumference; so that the whole city appears to have been divided into two streets intersecting each other. Upon the death of Alexander, his body was deposited in his new city, and Alexandria became the regal capital of Egypt, under the Ptolemies, and rose to its highest splendour. The most celebrated philosophers from the East, as well as from Greece and Rome, resorted thither for instruction; and eminent men in every department of knowledge were found within its walls. Ptolemy Soter, the first of that line of kings, formed the museum and library, and several other splendid works; and his son, Philadelphus, consummated several of his undertakings. At the death of Cleopatra, *ante* A. D. 26, Alexandria passed into the hands of the Romans, under whom it became the theatre of several memorable events; and after having enjoyed the highest fame for upwards of a thousand years, it submitted to the arms of the caliph Omar, A. D. 646. Such was its magnificence, that the conquerors themselves were astonished at the extent of their acquisition. "I have taken," said Amrou,

the general of Omar, to his master, "the great city of the West. It is impossible for me to enumerate the variety of its riches and beauty: I shall content myself with observing that it contains 4000 palaces, 4000 baths, 400 theatres or places of amusement, 12,000 shops for the sale of vegetable goods, and 40,000 tributary Jews." With this event, says a modern geographer, the sun of Alexandria may be said to have set: the blighting hand of Islamism was laid on it; and although the genius and resources of such a city could not be immediately destroyed, it continued to languish until the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, in the fifteenth century, gave a new channel to the trade which for so many centuries had been its support; and at this day, Alexandria, like most Eastern cities, presents a mixed spectacle of ruin and wretchedness—of fallen greatness and enslaved human beings. The gospel was introduced into Alexandria by the evangelist Mark, who suffered martyrdom here A. D. 68; and for many years Christianity continued to flourish. At length, however, Alexandria became the source and the strong hold of the Arian heresy; and the divisions which were thus introduced rendered the churches an easy prey to the Arabian impostor, Mahomet, at the time to which we have already referred. The commerce of Alexandria being so great, especially in corn—for Egypt was considered to be the granary of Rome—the centurion, as Mr. Taylor observes, might readily "find a ship of Alexandria, corn-laden, sailing into Italy," Acts xxvii. 6. It was in this city that Apollonius was born, Acts xviii. 24.

ALLUSH, or ALUSH (Numb. xxxiii. 13), is either one of the cities of Idumæa, or the southernmost cape or point of the Red Sea, now Ras Mahomed; it is not certain which.

AMANA. There are two mountains bearing this name, in the Old Testament. (1) A mountain mentioned in Cant. iv. 8, and by some supposed to be Mount Amanus in Cilicia. Jerome and the rabbins describe the land of Israel as extending northward to this mountain; and it is known that Solomon's dominion did extend so far. Mount Amanus, with its connexions, separates Syria and Cilicia, and reaches from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. (2) A mountain beyond Jordan, in the tribe of Manasseh, and three leagues distant from lake Merom. It is three leagues in circumference at its base, where there are fine vineyards; but its top is always covered with snow, whence the Arabians call it "Gibel Sheik;" the "Old Man's Mountain."

AMMON, or AMMON-NO, a city of Egypt, which the prophets describe as being situated among the rivers; as having the waters surrounding it; as

having the sea as its rampart; and as being extremely populous. This description has induced Calmet, and the majority of interpreters, to consider No-Ammon as the same with Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, in Lower Egypt, the ruin of which was so distinctly foretold by the prophets, and occurred under Esarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar, and Sennacherib.

AMPHIPOLIS, a city between Macedonia and Thrace, being dependent on the former, Acts xvii. 1. It was also called Chrysopolis, or Christopolis; and in the division of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilii, it was made the chief city of the first region of Macedonia, and a metropolis.

ANTIOCH, a city of Syria, 67 miles west of Aleppo, and which is often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and rendered especially memorable as the place at which the disciples of Christ were first called by his name, Acts xi. 26; xv. 22, &c. It was built by Seleucus Nicanor, A. D. 301, who named it after his father. It became the residence of the Macedonian kings of Syria, and afterwards of the Roman governors of that province. The city is said to have been four miles in circumference, and to have been composed of four distinct towns or quarters, whence it had the name of 'Tetrapolis.' It was famous among the Jews for the *Jus Civitatis*, or right of citizenship, which Seleucus had given to them in common with the Greeks and Macedonians, and which Josephus informs us they retained. These privileges, no doubt, contributed to render Antioch so desirable to the Christians, who were every where considered as a sect of Jews, since here they could perform their worship in their own way, without molestation or interruption. This may also contribute to account for the importance attached by the apostles to the introduction of the gospel into Antioch; and for the interest taken by them in its promotion and extension, in a city so distant from Jerusalem. The emperors Vespasian, Titus, and others, granted considerable privileges to Antioch; but it has also been exposed to great calamities and revolutions. In the years A. D. 115, 340, 394, 396, 458, 526, and 528, it was almost demolished by earthquakes. The emperor Justinian repaired it, A. D. 529, and called it Theopolis; that is, "The city of God." Cosroes, king of Persia, took it, A. D. 540, massacred the inhabitants, and burnt it. Justinian ordered it to be rebuilt, A. D. 552: Cosroes took it a second time, A. D. 574, in the reign of Justin, and destroyed its walls. A. D. 588, it suffered a dreadful earthquake, in which above 60,000 persons perished. It was again rebuilt, and again was exposed to new calamities. The Saracens took it, A. D. 638, in the reign of Heraclius: Nicephorus

Phocas retook it, A. D. 966. Cedrenus relates, that, A. D. 970, an army of 100,000 Saracens besieged it, without success; but they afterwards subdued it, added new fortifications to it, and made it almost impregnable. Godfrey of Bulloigne, when engaged in the conquest of the Holy Land, besieged it, A. D. 1097. The siege was long and bloody; but at length the Christians, by their zeal and treachery, obtained possession, A. D. 1098. In 1268, it was taken by the sultan of Egypt, who demolished it, destroyed its reputation and magnificence, and placed it under the dominion of the Turk. It is now called Antakia, and till the year 1822, it occupied a remote corner of the ancient inclosure of its walls, its splendid buildings being reduced to hovels, and its population living in Turkish debasement. At that period, it was revisited by its ancient subterranean enemy, and converted into a heap of ruins. Thus "the queen of the East," is brought down, and "sits in the dust," silent and in darkness. She "shall no more be called the lady of kingdoms."

AR, AREOPOLIS, ARIEL OF MOAB, OR RABBATH-MOAB, the capital of the Moabites, on the river Arnon, which divided it into two parts; whence it is called the two Ariels (lions) of Moab." Ariel being, as is thought, the idol of these people, Epiphanius says, that a small tract of land, adjoining to Moab, Ituræa, and the country of the Nabathæans, is called Arielitis. Isaiah (xvi. 7, 11) calls it "the city with walls of burnt brick;" in Hebrew, *Kirharescheth*, or *Kirjathharez*. Calmet takes *Charac-Moba*, or *Charax-Moab*, to be the same with Ar and Areopolis. Burckhardt found a place called Rabba, about 25 miles south of the Arnon, with ruins about a mile and a half in circuit.

ARABIA. See page 426, *ante*.

ARAM, or SYRIA. There are several countries of this name mentioned in Scripture; as Aram Naharaïm, or Syria of the Two Rivers, that is, of Mesopotamia; Aram of Damascus; Aram of Soba; Aram of Bethrehob; and Aram of Maachah. See SYRIA, p. 440, *ante*.

ARARAT, a mountain in Armenia, on which the ark of Noah is said to have rested (Gen. viii. 4), is twelve leagues from Erivan, east, and is situated in a vast plain, in the midst of which it rises. The eastern people call it *Ar-dag*, or *Parmak-dagh*, the finger mountain. It is, as it were, taken off from the other mountains of Armenia, which form a long chain; and from the top to the middle, it is often covered with snow three or four months of the year. The Persians call Ararat "mount Asis," as if they should say, "the happy or fortunate mountain" (which, perhaps, is not far from the etymology of Asia—the happy country), alluding to the choice which God made of it, as

a port for Noah. The Armenians maintain, by tradition, that, since Noah, no one has been able to climb this mountain, because it is perpetually covered with snow, which never melts, unless to make room for other snow, newly fallen; that Noah, when he left the ark, settled at Erivan, twelve leagues from Ararat; and that at a league from this city, in a very happy aspect, that patriarch planted the vine in a place which at present yields excellent wine. Mr. Morier describes Ararat as being most beautiful in shape, and most awful in height; and Sir Robert Ker Porter has furnished the following graphic picture of this stupendous work of nature: "As the vale opened beneath us, in our descent, my whole attention became absorbed in the view before me. A vast plain peopled with countless villages; the towers and spires of the churches of Eitch-mai-adzen arising from amidst them; the glittering waters of the Araxes flowing through the fresh green of the vale; and the subordinate range of mountains skirting the base of the awful monument of the antediluvian world;—it seemed to stand a stupendous link in the history of man, uniting the two races of men before and after the flood. But it was not until we had arrived upon the flat plain that I beheld Ararat in all its amplitude of grandeur. From the spot on which I stood, it appeared as if the hugest mountains of the world had been piled upon each other, to form this one sublime immensity of earth, and rock, and snow. The icy peaks of its double head rose majestically into the clear and cloudless heavens; the sun blazed bright upon them, and the reflection sent forth a dazzling radiance equal to other suns. This point of the view united the utmost grandeur of plain and height; but the feelings I experienced while looking on the mountain are hardly to be described. My eye, not able to rest for any length of time on the blinding glory of its summits, wandered down the apparently interminable sides, till I could no longer trace their vast lines in the mists of the horizon; when an inexpressible impulse, immediately carrying my eye upwards again, refixed my gaze on the awful glare of Ararat; and this bewildered sensibility of sight, being answered by a similar feeling in the mind, for some moments I was lost in a strange suspension of the powers of thought." Of the two peaks, called Little and Great Ararat, which are separated by a chasm about seven miles in width, Sir Robert Ker Porter thus speaks: "These inaccessible summits have never been trodden by the foot of man, since the days of Noah, if even then; for my idea is, that the ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either. Various attempts have been made in different ages to ascend these

tremendous mountain-pyramids, but in vain; their form, snows, and glaciers are insurmountable obstacles, the distance being so great from the commencement of the icy regions to the highest points, cold alone would be the destruction of any person who should have the hardihood to persevere. On viewing Mount Ararat from the northern side of the plain, its two heads are separated by a wide cleft, or rather glen, in the body of the mountain. The rocky side of the greater head runs almost perpendicularly down to the north-east, while the lesser head rises from the sloping bottom of the cleft, in a perfectly conical shape. Both heads are covered with snow. The form of the greater is similar to the less, only broader and rounder at top, and shows to the north-west a broken and abrupt front, opening about half way down into a stupendous chasm, deep, rocky, and peculiarly black. At that part of the mountain, the hollow of the chasm receives an interruption from the projection of the minor mountains, which start from the side of Ararat, like branches from the root of a tree, and run along in undulating progression, till lost in the distant vapours of the plain." It has been maintained, however, that the ark rested upon Mount Caucasus, near Apamea, in Phrygia. The most formidable argument that has been urged against the Armenian Ararat being that on which the ark rested, is derived from Gen. xii. 2, where it is said that the sons of Noah "*journeyed from the east* to the land of Shinar;" whereas the Ararat of Armenia is to the *west* of this region. To meet this difficulty, Mr. Bryant supposes, that while the other families of Noah took the routes assigned them, the rebellious sons of Cush went eastward, towards the Caspian sea, and then passing the extremity of Mount Taurus, by the Pylæ Caspiæ, or straits between the mountain and the sea, bent southward, and then eastward, into the land of Shinar, then pre-occupied by the sons of Shem; from whence they expelled Assur by violence, and took possession of the country assigned him in the general division of the earth. In this way, he is of opinion that it may truly be said, they "*journeyed from the east.*" Mr. Faber, however, after Granville Sharpe, has, we think, offered a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty, because he makes the whole family of mankind journey in a direct route toward Shinar. "The truth of the matter is, that Moses does not speak of the *route* by which mankind arrived at Babel, but of the *time* when they journeyed there. The Hebrew word, ill rendered in our English translation, *from the east*, denotes *before*, in the sense of either *time* or *place*. When used to describe the course of Hiddekel, that *that* river flowed *before* Assyria,

not to the eastward of it. And here it teaches us in a manner exactly agreeable to the general context of the history, that is to say, in the course of their first general migration from Ararat, near which they would doubtless remain after the flood, until their numbers had sufficiently increased for the forming of new settlements. In this sense, accordingly, the passage is rightly understood by Josephus, who says not a single syllable respecting any supposed journey from the east; but simply intimates, that when men first ventured to descend from the high ground where the ark had rested, they travelled to the plain of Shinar, which was the first country that they planted." The same author adduces, from Bochart, a passage in Habakkuk i. 12, where the word rendered in the above instance, *from the east*, would, so translated, be absolute nonsense: "Art not thou, O Lord, from everlasting, or from the first." Mr. Faber, then, having observed that Ararat is rendered Armenia by the Greek translators, brings abundant Scripture authority to show that Ararat could be nowhere but in Armenia. "We must next inquire," says he, "whether this opinion will accord with those other passages of Scripture in which Ararat is mentioned; for since holy writ is the most satisfactory interpreter of its own geography, nothing can be allowed to stand which contradicts what may be clearly deduced from it. When the prophet Jeremiah foretold the destruction of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, he was led to enumerate some of those countries from which the invading army should be collected. Among these he specially mentions Ararat and Minni; and he further intimates, that the troops which were destined to subvert the Chaldean empire should come out of the north. Thus it appears that we must look for Ararat and Minni to the north of Babylon. But this geographical description at once directs us to look to Armenia for the mountains of Ararat, and effectually prevents our seeking them in Cashgar, which lies far to the east of Chaldea. And with such an arrangement history exactly accords. The conquests of Cyrus, previous to his attack on Babylon, lay to the north and to the west. Lydia and Armenia had been subjugated by him; and we are expressly informed, that from these countries he drew a considerable part of the troops with which he subverted the empire of the Chaldeans. On the contrary, his dominions, even in their greatest extent, never reached beyond the Indus; and his army, most assuredly, when he marched against Babylon, had received no recruits from the far distant land of Cashgar. We are told, however, by Jeremiah, that Ararat would furnish the Medo-Persian conqueror of Babylon with a part

of his invading forces, and that the progress of those forces would be from the north. Hence by comparing Scripture and profane history together, we are brought to as decisive a proof as can be desired, both that Ararat lies in Armenia, and that it does not lie in Cashgar. Accordingly Minni, which the prophet joins with Ararat, has been generally and rightly supposed to be the prototype of the word Armenia; for Armenia is no other than *Meni*, or *Minni*, or *Mena*, united in composition with *ar*, which signifies a mountain; so that *Armeni* is equivalent to the mountainous country of Minni.*

ARBE, or ARBA, otherwise HEBRON (Josh. xiv. 15), was a city given to the tribe of Judah, and the property of it transferred to Caleb. The rabbins have a tradition that Hebron was called *Arbe*, that is, FOUR, because the four most illustrious patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were buried there; or, as others say, because four of the most celebrated matrons of antiquity were interred there, viz., Eve, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah: but there is no accounting for these traditions.

ARNON, the river. See page 418, *ante*.

ASHDOD, a city of the Philistines, Josh. xv. 46, &c. It was not taken by Joshua; and being surrounded with a wall of great strength, it became a place of great importance, and one of the five governments of the Philistines. Hither was sent the ark of God, when taken from the Israelites; and here was Dagon cast down before it, 1 Sam. v. 2, 3. Uzziah broke down its wall, and built cities or watch-towers about it, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6. It was taken by Tartan, general of the king of Assyria (2 Kings xviii. 17), when it appears to have been very severely treated; as Jeremiah (chap. xxv. 20), gives the cup of desolation to be drunk by "the remnant of Ashdod." It was not wholly destroyed, however; for Amos (chap. i. 8) mentions "the inhabitant of Ashdod;" Zephaniah (chap. ii. 4) says, "Ashdod shall be driven out at noon-day;" and Zechariah (chap. ix. 6) says, "A bastard shall dwell in Ashdod." From these notices, it appears that Ashdod was a place of great strength and consequence. Its New Testament name is Azotus; and here Philip was found, after his conversion of the eunuch at old Gaza, distant about thirty miles, Acts viii. 40. The present state of the town is thus described by Dr. Wittman (Travels in Syria, &c., p. 285): "Pursuing our route through a delightful country, we came to Ashdod, called by the Greeks Azotus, and under that name mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles; a town of great antiquity, provided

* Taylor's Fragments to Calmet.

with two small entrance gates. In passing through this place, we saw several fragments of columns, capitals, cornices, &c., of marble. Towards the centre is a handsome mosque, with a minaret. By the Arab inhabitants, Ashdod is called Mezdel. *Two miles to the south, on a hill, is a ruin, having in its centre a lofty column still standing entire.* The delightful verdure of the surrounding plains, together with a great abundance of fine old olive-trees, rendered the scene charmingly picturesque. In the villages, tobacco, fruits, and vegetables are cultivated abundantly by the inhabitants; and the fertile and extensive plains yield an ample produce of corn. Ashdod may be seen from the 'sloping hill of easy ascent,' near Jaffa or Joppa."

ASIA. See page 426, *ante*.

ASKELON, a city in Philistia, on the west of the Mediterranean Sea, between Ashdod and Gaza, which was taken by the tribe of Judah. It subsequently became one of the five governments belonging to the ancient inhabitants of the country, and was very strongly fortified, Judg. i. 18, xiv. 19; Jer. xxv. 20; Amos i. 8; Zeph. ii. 4; 1 Sam. vi. 17; Zech. ix. 5. We learn from medals extant that Askelon was sacred, and an asylum; to which distinctions its antiquity gave it as fair pretensions as most cities could possess. It was, speaking Hebraically, both *kadesh*, holy, and a city of refuge.

ASSYRIA. See page 428, *ante*.

ATHENS, a celebrated city and a powerful commonwealth of Greece, distinguished by the military talents, learning, and eloquence of its inhabitants. When Paul visited it, in A. D. 52, he found it plunged in idolatry, and employed in frivolities; curious to know every thing, and divided in opinion concerning religion and happiness, Acts xvii. The apostle, taking opportunities to preach Jesus Christ, was brought before the judges of the Areopagus; where he gave an illustrious testimony to the truth, and a remarkable instance of powerful reasoning. From the invasion of Xerxes to the irruption of Alaric into Greece (A. D. 396), Athens changed masters upwards of twenty times. It was twice burnt by the Persians; destroyed by Philip II. of Macedon, and again by Sylla; the Acropolis was plundered by Tiberius; it was desolated by the Goths in the reign of Claudius; and the whole territory was ravaged and ruined by Alaric. That conqueror, however, spared much of Athens, and perhaps most of the antiquities. From the reign of Justinian to the thirteenth century, the city remained in obscurity, though it continued to be a town, and head of a small state. It supplied Roger, king of Sicily, with silk-worms, in 1130; and was besieged by Sgure, a petty prince of the

Morea, in 1204, but successfully defended by the Archbishop. It was seized by Boniface, Marquis of Montserrat, who appointed one of his followers duke of Athens; and became a fief of the kingdom of Sicily, during the latter part of the fourteenth century; when it fell into the possession of Reinier Acciajuoli, a Florentine, who bequeathed it to the Venetians. Omar, general of Mahomet the Great, seized it in 1455; it was sacked by the Venetians in 1464; was bombarded and taken by them in 1687; and lost to the Turks again in 1688. It was always of some consideration; and those writers who describe it as reduced to a village (Bos. Ant. Græc. p. 20) were misinformed. The name *Settines*, which they give to it, is a corruption of *Athena*. The population of Athens, in 1812, was about 12,000, about a fifth part only of which were Turks.

AVEN. See ON.

BAAL-GAD, a city at the foot of Mount Hermon, which derived its name from the deity, Baal, there adored, Josh. xi. 17. It was afterwards named Pnias, and then Cæsarea Philippi.

BAAL-GUR, or GUR-BAAL. We read, 2 Chron. xxvi. 7, "the Lord assisted Uzziah against the Philistines, and against the Arabians, that dwelt at Gur-Baal." The Septuagint has, "the Arabians that dwelt above Petra." Calmet believes Gur-Baal, and Gabel, or the Gabelenæ, which extends into Arabia Petrea, and Idumea, south of Palestine, to be the same place.

BABYLON, the capital of Babylonia, or Chaldea, is supposed to have been the first city ever built. Its foundation was probably laid by Nimrod; it was enlarged by Belus and Semiramis successively; but did not attain to its great celebrity until the time of Nebuchadnezzar. The reader of the Bible will recollect, that upon Hezekiah's recovery from his almost mortal illness, he was visited by ambassadors from Evil-merodach, at that time king of Babylon, to whom the Hebrew king made an ostentatious display of his wealth and power, 2 Kings xx. 12. Isaiah, who lived at the time, foretold the consequences of this piece of sinful vanity, which were realized in all their fulness, when the haughty Nebuchadnezzar led captive the Jewish people into that city and province, and extinguished their ancient monarchy. The Scriptures describe Babylon as being the greatest and most powerful city in the world—Babylon the Great. Of what other city are terms used, equally haughty, equally magnificent?—*the Golden city* (Isai. xiv. 4)!—*the Glory of Kingdoms*!—*the Beauty of the Chaldees' excellency*! (xiii. 19)—*the Tender and Delicate*!—*the Lady of Kingdoms*!—*a Lady*!—*a Queen for ever*! who says, *I am*; and *none else beside me* (xlvii.)! These and other terms, altogether pec-

liar, express her *beauty*; and as for her power, she is called, *the Hammer of the whole earth* (Jer. l. 23)—*the Battle Axe! the weapons of war! proper to break in pieces nations, and to destroy kingdoms* (li. 20)! Kingdoms and nations she did destroy; but after a while her turn came; and we now contemplate in her ruins a speaking instance of the vicissitude of human affairs, a most impressive evidence of the fulfilment of prophecies wherein were foretold the devastations which those ruins now witness.

2. Herodotus, who visited Babylon, has left the following description of it. It was square; 120 furlongs every way, i. e., 15 miles, or five leagues square; and the whole circuit of it was 480 furlongs, or 60 miles. The walls were built with large bricks, cemented with bitumen; and were 87 feet thick, and 350 feet high. The city was encompassed with a vast ditch, which was filled with water; and brick-work was carried up on both sides. The earth which was dug out, was employed in making the bricks for the walls of the city; so that one may judge of the depth and width of the ditch by the extreme height and thickness of the walls. There were a hundred gates to the city, twenty-five on each of the four sides, which, with their posts, &c., were of brass. Between every two of the gates were three towers, raised ten feet above the walls, where necessary. A street answered to each gate, so that there were fifty streets in all, cutting one another in right angles; each fifteen miles in length, and 151 feet wide. Four other streets, having houses only on one side, the ramparts being on the other, made the whole compass of the city, and each of these streets was 200 feet wide. As the streets crossed one another at right angles, they formed 676 squares, each square four furlongs and a half on every side, making two miles and a quarter in circuit. The houses of these squares were three or four stories high, their fronts being adorned with embellishments, and the inner space having courts and gardens. The Euphrates divided the city into two parts, running from north to south; a bridge of admirable structure, about a furlong in length, and 60 feet wide, forming the communication over the river. At the two extremities of this bridge were two palaces, the old palace on the east side of the river, the new palace on the west; and the temple of Belus, which stood near the old palace, occupied one entire square.

3. The famous hanging gardens which adorned the palace in Babylon, and which are ranked among the wonders of the world, contained four hundred feet square; and were composed of several large terraces, the platform of the highest terrace equalling the walls of Babylon in height,

i. e., 350 feet. From one terrace to that above it was an ascent by stairs ten feet wide. This whole mass was supported by large vaults built one upon another, and strengthened by a wall twenty-two feet thick, covered with stones, rushes, and bitumen, and plates of lead to prevent leakage. On the highest terrace was an aqueduct, said to be supplied with water from the river, by a pump (probably, the *Persian wheel*), from whence the whole garden was watered. It is affirmed, that Nebuchadnezzar undertook this wonderful and famous edifice, out of complaisance to his wife Amytis, daughter of Astyages, who, being a native of Media, retained strong inclinations for mountains and forests, which abounded in her native country (Diod. Sicul., ii., Strabo, xvi. 2, Quint. Curt., v. 1). Scripture nowhere notices these celebrated gardens; but it speaks of willows planted on the banks of the rivers of Babylon: "We hanged our harps on the willows in the midst thereof," says Ps. cxxxvii. 2. Isaiah, describing in a prophetic style the captivity of the Moabites by Nebuchadnezzar, says, "They shall be carried away to the valley of willows," xv. 7. The same prophet (chap. xxi. 1), describing the calamities of Babylon by Cyrus, calls this city the desert of the sea. Jeremiah, to the same purport, says (li. 36, 42), "I will dry up the sea of Babylon, and make her springs dry. The sea is come up upon her; she is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof." Megasthenes (ap. Euseb. Præp. ix. 41), assures us, that Babylon was built in a place which had before abounded so greatly with water, that it was called the sea. But the language of the Psalmist, above quoted, suggests the idea that the city of Babylon was refreshed by a considerable number of streams: "By the rivers—[streams, flowing currents] of Babylon we sat down."—"On the willows (plural) in the midst thereof, we hanged our harps" (plural). There must then have been gardens visited by these streams, easily accessible to the captive Israelites; not the royal gardens exclusively, but others less reserved; and the phrase "in the midst thereof," that is, of Babylon, seems to denote, not gardens above or below the city, but strictly in its interior. We know, also, that there was but one river at Babylon then, as there is but one now, the Euphrates; so that when these captives represent themselves as "sitting by the rivers of Babylon," in the plural, they inform us, that this river was divided into several branches or canals; and these were, doubtless, works of art. Moreover, from Jeremiah's threat of drying up the sea of Babylon, we learn that there was a considerable lake or reservoir in the interior of the city; for to such large receptacles of water the appellation *sea* was, and

still is, applied in the east. Undoubtedly, the water of this lake, and of these canals, being furnished by the Euphrates, the name of that river might be continued to them, in a general sense; and if this be admitted, a great proportion of those difficulties which the learned have hitherto found insuperable, are reduced to trifles, if they do not vanish. Nor ought we to forget that the Egyptian Memphis, which we suppose to be a copy from Babylon, was, in like manner, surrounded and visited by streams, by canals, &c., all of them drawn from one river, the Nile, and bearing its name.*

4. From the history (Dan. iii.) of the consecration of Nebuchadnezzar's "Golden Image," we know that Babylon contained a vast plain, capacious enough to accommodate the assembled officers of his empire, with all the pomp and preparations in the power of this mighty monarch, and, beyond all doubt, also a very great proportion of the prodigious population of Babylon. This is called the plain of *Dura* (דורא), and, deducing its name from the meaning of the root, it imports the *round* or *circular* inclosure. As the occasion was the consecration of a statue, it is natural to suppose that the ceremony would take place, as near as might be, and, if possible, immediately before the temple, or sacred station, in which this idol deity was to remain: it would not be dedicated in a distant place, and afterwards conveyed to its appointed residence; but the homages of its worshippers would be more appropriate on its arrival at home, and its inhabitation of its destined residence. This enables us to affix a character to a large circular inclosure, of which the remains are still visible at Babylon; and which surrounds the principal mounds, which may be those of the temple of Belus, and the royal palace. Diodorus says that the temple occupied the centre of the city; Herodotus says, the centre of that division of the city in which it stood; as the palace in the centre of its division. But the description of Diodorus is pointed with respect to the fact of the palace being near to the bridge, and consequently to the river's bank: and he is borne out by the descriptions of Strabo and Curtius, both of whom represent the hanging gardens to be very near the river; and all agree that they were within, or adjacent to, the square of the fortified palace.

5. Very different conceptions have been formed on the nature and figure of the tower of Babel. Some have delineated it as being round in shape, with a spiral pathway leading up to the

top; but Mr. Charles Taylor thinks it more credible that it was square, and that certain buildings yet remaining in various parts of the world may be considered as transcripts or imitations of it. To enable the reader to judge of this proposition, Mr. Taylor has copied several instances, apparently nearly related to it in form and destination, amongst which are—(1) A pyramid at Tanjore in the East Indies, wholly constructed of stone, and having on the top a chapel or temple; and (2) An ancient pyramid, built by the Mexicans in America, agreeing in figure with the former, and having on the outside an ascent of stairs leading up one side to the upper story, proceeding to the chapels on its summit.† That the tower of Belus had a chapel on the top, appears from Herodotus, who, after mentioning the spiral ascent, says, "In the last tower is a *large chapel*, but no statue," &c. Diodorus implies the same, when he says there were statues of gold, of which one was forty feet high. The ideas collected from the foregoing subjects lead us, says Mr. Taylor, (1) to a pyramid of solid construction, in its principal parts, but of less laborious materials internally; (2) to a chapel, or temple, on the top of such pyramid; (3) to one or more passages leading to the summit.

6. Modern travellers vary in their descriptions of the remains of the tower of Babel. Fabricius says it might have been about a mile in circumference. Guion says the same. Benjamin, who is much more ancient, informs us that the foundations were two thousand paces in length. The Sieur de la Bonlaye le Gour, a gentleman of Anjou, who says he made a long stay at Babylon, or Bagdad, declares, that about three leagues from that city, is a tower called Megara, situated between the Tigris and Euphrates, in an open field, which is solid within, and more like a mountain than a tower. The compass of it is above five hundred paces; and, as the rain and winds have very much ruined it, it cannot be more than about a hundred and thirty-eight feet high. It is built of bricks four inches thick; and between every seven courses of bricks there is a course of straw three inches thick, mixed with pitch and bitumen: from the top to the bottom are about fifty courses. The following particulars of the tower of Belus are from Dr. Prideaux. Till the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the temple of Belus contained no more than the [central] tower only, and the rooms in it served all the occasions of that idolatrous worship. But he enlarged it by vast buildings

* Fragments to Calmet.

† Calmet's Dictionary, 8vo. ed.t., where engravings of these edifices are given.

erected round it, in a square of two furlongs on every side, and a mile in circumference, which was one thousand eight hundred feet more than the square at the temple of Jerusalem, for that was but three thousand feet round; whereas this was, according to this account, four thousand eight hundred; and on the outside of all these buildings was a wall inclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the square in which it stood, that is, two miles and a half in compass, in which were several gates leading into the temple, all of solid brass; and the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels, which were carried to Babylon, from the temple of Jerusalem, seem to have been employed in the making of them; for it is said, that Nebuchadnezzar did put all the sacred vessels, which he carried from Jerusalem, into the house of his god at Babylon; that is, into this house or temple of Bel. This temple stood till the time of Xerxes; but on his return from the Grecian expedition, he demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in rubbish, having first plundered it of its immense riches, among which were several images or statues of massy gold; one of them is said by Diodorus Siculus to have been forty feet high, which might perchance have been that which Nebuchadnezzar consecrated in the plains of Dura."

7. Public belief has been staggered by the enormous dimensions allowed to Babylon by the authors of ancient times, Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus, Pliny, and Quintus Curtius; because, even if the most confined of those measures reported by the followers of Alexander (who viewed it at their fullest leisure) be adopted, and the stadia taken at a moderate standard, they will give an area of 72 square miles. We therefore conceive that, with respect to the extent of the buildings and population of Babylon, we ought not to receive the above measure as a scale; but that the wall might have been continued to the extent given, does not appear so improbable, for we cannot suppose that so many ancient writers could have been misled concerning this point. But although we may extend our belief to the vastness of the *enceinte*, it does not follow that we are to believe that 80 or even 72 square miles, contiguous to each other, were covered with buildings. The different reports of the extent of the walls of Babylon are given as follow: By Herodotus, at 120 stadia each side; or 480 stadia in circumference. By Pliny and Solinus, at 60 Roman miles; which, at 8 stadia to a mile, agrees with Herodotus. By Strabo, at 385 stadia. By Diodorus, from Otesias, 360; but from Clitarchus, who accompanied Alexander, 365. And, lastly,

by Curtius, at 368. It appears highly probable that 360 or 365 was the true statement of the circumference. That the area inclosed by the walls of Babylon was only partly built on, is proved by the words of Quintus Curtius, who says (lib. v., cap. 4) that "the buildings (in Babylon) are not contiguous to the walls, but some considerable space was left all round. . . . Nor do the houses join—perhaps from motives of safety. The remainder of the space is cultivated, that, in the event of a siege, the inhabitants might not be compelled to depend on supplies from without." Diodorus describes a vast space taken up by the palaces and public buildings. The inclosure of one of the palaces (which appears to be what is called by others the citadel) was a square of 15 stadia, or near a mile and a half; the other of five stadia: here are more than two and a half square miles occupied by the palaces alone. Besides these, there were the temple and tower of Belus, of vast extent; the hanging gardens, &c. But after all, adds Mr. Taylor, it appears that we ought to make a distinction here. That the province of Babylonia should be surrounded by a wall of immense thickness, for the purpose of a fortification, is little less than ridiculous; but that an inclosure or wall might embrace a large extent of country is credible. Ibn Haukal speaks of villages "extending for nearly twenty farsang by twelve farsang; all about this space is a wall, and within it the people dwell winter and summer." This may be allowed to justify the extent assigned to the walls of Babylonia, as a province; while those more proximate to the city of Babylon were certainly constructed with wonderful labour, skill, and solidity, according to the duty demanded of them in protecting a narrower space. This seems rather to militate against the sentiment of Dr. Blayney, who would keep to the singular, *wall*, where the term occurs; as Jer. li. 58: "The walls [plural] of Babylon; the broad wall [singular] shall be utterly broken." It would be hazardous to insist that the prophet intended a distinction from narrower walls by using the term broad; but those who observe that in chap. l. 15 we have also walls in the plural, "her walls are thrown down," as the doctor himself renders it, will hesitate on reducing the term in this place to the singular.

8. We are now prepared to examine the predictions of the prophet Jeremiah. With regard to the first (chap. l. 15), "Her foundations are fallen," Dr. Blayney observes, very justly, that foundations cannot fall—they are already deep in the ground, they may be razed or uprooted, but they can go no lower. He therefore renders with the LXX. *ἡραξέουσιν*, *her battlements*, or the *turrets*

filled with men who fought in defence of the walls. They might be somewhat analogous to the bastions of modern fortification; but, most likely, they were raised higher than the wall itself. Another passage deserves remark, as being manifestly intended by the writer to display uncommon emphasis (li. 58), "The broad wall of Babylon shall be utterly broken." These last words are but a feeble resemblance of the original. In Psalm cxxxvii. 7, a term is used that may throw some light on this. "The sons of Edom said of Jerusalem, *Raze it, raze it*, ערי ערי, even to the foundation." The Psalmist contents himself with the simple form of the word, and with the force obtained by repeating it; whereas the prophet doubles and quadruples it, in a manner very difficult to be rendered into English, ערער זהערער ערער *in utterly razing it, most utterly raze it*—doubly destroy it with double destruction. And this is denounced on the broad wall of Babylon. If, therefore, traces should be found of any narrow wall of this ill-fated city, they may be allowed to possess their interest; but hitherto no indications of the broad wall have been so much as suspected by the most inquisitive, and probably no such discovery ever will be achieved. There is another passage, and one that has puzzled all commentators, Jer. li. 41: "How is Sheshach taken! and how is the praise of the whole earth surprised! how is Babylon become an astonishment among the nations!" On which Dr. Blayney says, "That Babylon is meant by Sheshach, is certain; but why it is so called, is yet matter of doubt." We have this term, also, chap. xxv. 26: "And the king of Sheshach shall drink—after the other kings of the earth." "The king of Sheshach"—there is, therefore, somewhat of royalty connected with this term. It is, however, distinguished from Babylon: it might be near that city, or a suburb of that city, or an edifice in that city; but Babylon itself, most probably, it does not intend. We have a man of this name (1 Chron. viii. 14, 25), where Sheshak or Shekshak seems to import excessive desire (of his parents); and could we find any place, or palace, or country-seat of the king of Babylon, called by this name, it would explain the appellation at once. We know that kings often call their privacies, or retreats, by names expressive of delight, or desire; but this seems rather to have been, on the contrary, a place of popular resort, *e. g.*, a square before a palace, or a portico of a palace, or of public entry, that is, of crowding forward of people. A famous portico of a mosque, thus distinguished, is noticed by Sir John Chardin.*

"Masoom, vicar of the great pontiff, whose sage counsels teach the sun to govern his motion, caused this *portal* [the word signifies *desire*, says a note] to be made by one of his substitutes, Aga Mourad, the height and excellency of which surpasses the celestial throne. This is the entrance into the palace royal of the thrice venerable pure Virgin, descended from the house of the Prophet. Happy and glorious that faithful person who shall prostrate his head on the threshold of this gate in imitation of the sun and moon. Whatever he shall demand with faith from above, this gate shall be like an arrow that hits the mark; that is, shall answer his desires. "Certainly Fortune shall never molest the enterprises of him who, for the love of God, raised this *portal* [desire] in the face of the people. O thou faithful, if thou demandest in what year this *portal* [desire] was built, I answer thee from above the portal, from *desire* [the portal] demand thy desires." That some gate in Nebuchadnezzar's palace, or some palace inhabited by the monarch, or the family, harem, &c., of the monarch, might bear a name analogous to that of this portal, is all we need presume: the fact can be proved; but it is so exactly in the eastern style, that it includes all points of probability, and may be allowed to pass as a conjecture in a case so entirely devoid of evidence.

9. We now direct attention to the remains of those once magnificent structures which distinguished Babylon as the wonder of the world. Of their elegance we cannot judge, as that has ceased to exist; of their magnitude we can form some estimate, though not of their connexion or mutual dependance: we shall nevertheless find, on examination, sufficient particulars attached to these monuments of persevering labour, to justify the predictions of the prophets, and to clear them from the charge of inconsistency, or prevarication; which is our principal object. The first traveller who communicated an intelligible account of these antiquities was Della Valle, who, in 1616, examined them more minutely and leisurely than some who went before him. His account of the more northerly of these ruins, which he calls the tower of Belus, is instructive, notwithstanding later information. "In the midst of a vast and level plain, about a quarter of a league from the Euphrates, appears a heap of ruined buildings, like a huge mountain, the materials of which are so confounded together, that one knows not what to make of it. Its figure is square, and it rises in form of a tower or pyramid, with four fronts, which answer to the four quarters of the compass, but it seems longer from north to south than from east to west, and is, as far as I could judge by my

* Travels, vol. i., p. 392.

pace of it, a large quarter of a league. Its situation and form correspond with that pyramid which Strabo calls the tower of Belus. . . The height of this mountain of ruins is not in every part equal, but exceeds the highest palace in Naples; it is a mis-shapen mass, wherein there is no appearance of regularity; in some places it rises in sharp points, craggy and inaccessible; in others it is smoother and of easier ascent; there are also traces of torrents from the summit to the base, caused by violent rains. . . It is built with large and thick bricks, as I carefully observed, having caused excavations to be made in several places for that purpose; but they do not appear to have been burned, but dried in the sun, which is extremely hot in those parts. These sun-baked bricks, in whose substance were mixed bruised reeds and straw, and which were laid in clay mortar, compose the great mass of the building; but other bricks were also perceived at certain intervals, especially where the strongest buttresses stood, of the same size, but baked in the kiln, and set in good lime and bitumen.* He paced the circumference, and found it to be 1134 of his ordinary steps; say about 2552 or 2600 feet: consequently the dimensions of each side would have been about 640 or 650 feet. He observed foundations of buildings around the great mass, at the distance of fifty or sixty paces. This ruin has subsequently been known under the appellation of "Della Valle's Ruin;" it is the same as the natives call Makloube, Mujelibà, that is, overturned; or "the pyramid of Haroot and Maroot."

10. M. Beauchamp, Vicar General of Babylon, and Corresponding Member of the French Academy of Sciences, visited these celebrated ruins several times within the [then] last twenty years [1799]. He says, "The ruins of Babylon are very visible a league north of Hellah. There is, in particular, an elevation which is flat on the top, of an irregular figure, and intersected by ravines. It would never have been suspected for the work of human hands, were it not proved by the layers of bricks found in it. Its height is not more than 60 yards. It is so little elevated, that the least ruin we pass in the road to it conceals it from the view. To come at the bricks, it is necessary to dig into the earth. They are baked with fire, and cemented with zeph, or bitumen: between each layer are found osiers. Above this mount, on the side of the river, are those immense ruins, which have served, and still serve, for the building of Hellah, an Arabian city, containing 10 or 12,000 souls. Here are found those

large and thick bricks, imprinted with unknown characters, specimens of which I have presented to the Abbè Barthelemy. This place, and the mount of Babel, are commonly called by the Arabs Makloube, that is, turned topsy-turvy. I was informed by the master-mason employed to dig for bricks, that the places from which he procured them were large thick walls, and sometimes chambers. He has frequently found earthen vessels, engraved marbles, and, about eight years ago, a statue as large as life, which he threw among the rubbish. On one wall of a chamber he found the figures of a cow, and of the sun and moon, formed of varnished bricks. Sometimes, idols of clay are found, representing human figures. I found one brick on which was a lion, and on others a half-moon in relief. The bricks are cemented with bitumen, except in one place, which is well preserved, where they are united by a very thin stratum of white cement, which appears to me to be made of lime and sand. The bricks are every where of the same dimensions, one foot three lines square by three inches thick. Occasionally, layers of osiers and bitumen are found, as at Babel. The master-mason led me along a valley, which he dug out a long while ago, to get at the bricks of a wall, that, from the marks he showed me, I guess to have been sixty feet thick. It ran perpendicular to the bed of the river, and was probably the wall of the city. I found in it a subterranean canal, which, instead of being arched over, is covered with pieces of sand-stone, six or seven feet long by three wide. These ruins extend several leagues to the north of Hellah, and incontestably mark the situation of ancient Babylon."

11. The increasing curiosity of travellers, with the arrival in Europe of several inscribed bricks, and other instances of the kind of letters used in these inscriptions, induced the visits of others. The following are extracts from Kinnier's Memoir on Persia. "In the latitude of 32 deg. 25 min. north, and, according to my reckoning, fifty-four miles from Bagdad, stands the modern town of Hilleh, on the banks of the Euphrates. It covers a very small portion of the space occupied by the ancient capital of Assyria, the ruins of which have excited the curiosity and admiration of the few European travellers whom chance or business has conducted to this remote quarter of the globe, and have been partially described by Benjamin of Tudela, Beauchamp, and Pietro Della Valle (p. 269). The town of Hilleh is said, by the people of the country, to be built on the site of Babel; and some gigantic ruins, still to be seen in its vicinity, are believed to be the remains of that ancient metropolis. I visited these ruins in 1808;

* Vol. ii., let. 17.

and my friend Captain Frederick, whose name I have had frequent occasion to mention in this memoir, spent six days in minutely examining every thing worthy of attention, for many miles round Hilleh. I shall, therefore, without noticing the description given by former travellers, state first what was seen by myself; and afterwards the result of Captain Frederick's inquiries. The principal ruin, and that which is thought to represent the temple of Belus, is four miles north of Hilleh, and a quarter of a mile from the east bank of the Euphrates. This stupendous monument of antiquity is a huge pyramid, nine hundred paces in circumference [Captain Frederick measured the east and south faces at the top, and found the former to be one hundred and eighty, and the latter one hundred and ninety, paces, at two feet and a half each pace], and, as nearly as I could guess, about two hundred and twenty feet in height at the most elevated part. It is an exact quadrangle. Three of its faces are still perfect; but that towards the south has lost more of its regularity than the others. This pyramid is built entirely of brick dried in the sun, cemented in some places with bitumen and regular layers of reeds, and in others with alime and reeds, which appeared to me as fresh as if they had been used only a few days before. [All that Captain Frederick saw were cemented with bitumen. On entering a small cavern, however, about twenty feet in depth, I found that the bricks in the interior of the mass were invariably cemented with alime and layers of reeds at each course.] Quantities of furnace-baked brick were, however, scattered at the foot of the pyramid; and it is more than probable that it was once faced with the latter, which have been removed by the natives for the construction of their houses. The outer edges of the bricks, from being exposed to the weather, have mouldered away; it is, therefore, only on minute examination that the nature of the materials of which it is composed can be ascertained. When viewed from a distance, the ruin has more the appearance of a small hill than a building. The ascent is in most places so gentle, that a person may ride all over it. Deep ravines have been sunk by the periodical rains; and there are numerous long narrow cavities or passages, which are now the unmolested retreat of jackals, hyænas, and other noxious animals. The bricks of which this structure is built are larger, and much inferior to any other I have seen; they have no inscriptions on them, and are seldom used by the natives, on account of their softness. The name given by the Arabs to this ruin is Haroot and Maroot; for they believe that near the foot of the pyramid there still exists (although invisible to mankind)

a well, in which those two wicked angels were condemned by the Almighty to be suspended by the heels until the end of the world, as a punishment for their vanity and presumption. M. Della Valle mentions several smaller mounds, as being situated in the plain in the immediate vicinity of the pyramid. Captain Frederick and myself looked in vain for these mounds; we could only discern the high banks of a canal, running parallel to the S. W. face of the square, and a mound, about half a mile distant, of which I shall speak hereafter. On the opposite [the W.] side of the river, about six miles S. W. of Hilleh, a second eminence, not quite so large as that just mentioned, but of greater elevation, would seem to have escaped the observation of modern travellers; with the exception of Niebuhr, by whom it is slightly mentioned. It is formed of furnace-baked and sun-dried brick, about one foot in diameter, and from three to four inches thick. This pyramid is styled Nimrood by the Arabs; and on its summit are the remains of a small square tower, the wall of which is eight feet thick, and, as nearly as I could guess, about fifty in height. It is built of furnace-baked bricks, of a yellowish colour, cemented with slime, but no reeds or bitumen were perceptible. From this tower there is a most extensive view of the windings of the Euphrates, through the level plain of Shinar. Its banks are lined with villages and orchards, and here and there a few scattered hamlets in the desert appeared like spots on the surface of the ocean. On the top and sides of the mound I observed several fragments of different colours, resembling in appearance pieces of mis-shapen rock. Captain Frederick examined these curious fragments with much attention, and was at first inclined to think that they were consolidated pieces of fallen masonry; but this idea was soon laid aside, as they were found so hard as to resist iron, in the manner of any other very hard stone, and the junction of the bricks was not to be discerned. It is difficult to form a conjecture concerning these extraordinary fragments (some of which are six and eight feet in diameter), as there is no stone of such a quality to be procured any where in the neighbouring country, and we could see or hear of no building of which they could form a part. Here those bricks which have inscriptions on them are generally found by the Arabs, who are constantly employed in digging for them, to build the houses at Hilleh. About a hundred and twenty paces from this pyramid is another, not so high, but of greater circumference at the base. Bricks are dug in great quantities from this place; but none, I believe, with inscriptions. [To return to the E. side.] About one mile and a half from Hilleh, on

the eastern bank of the Euphrates, Captain Frederick discovered a longitudinal mound, close on the edge of the river; and two miles further up, in an easterly direction, a second, more extensive than the first. He was given to understand that the Arabs were in the habit of procuring vast quantities of burnt bricks from this mound, none of which, however, had any inscription. He perceived, on examination, a wall of red bricks, in one part even with the surface of the ground, and open to the depth of thirty feet in the mound, the earth having been moved for the purpose of procuring the bricks. At another place, not far distant, were the remains of an extensive building. Some of its walls were in great preservation, ten feet above the surface of the rubbish; and the foundation, at another part, had not been reached at the depth of forty-five feet. It was six feet eight inches thick, built of a superior kind of yellowish brick, furnace-baked, and cemented, not with bitumen or reeda, but lime mixed with sand. A decayed tree, not far from this spot, was shown by the country people, as being coeval with the building itself. Its girth, two feet from the ground, measured four feet seven inches, and it might be about twenty feet in height: it was hollow, and apparently very old. [Former travellers have asserted that they saw a number of very old and uncommon looking trees along the banks of the river: but neither Captain Frederick nor myself saw any but this one; and it certainly differed from the other trees which grow in the neighbourhood.] The great pyramid first mentioned is only about half or three quarters of a mile from this mound. Captain Frederick, having carefully examined every mound or spot described by the natives as belonging to Babel, endeavoured to discover if any thing remained of the ancient city wall. He commenced by riding five miles down the bank of the river, and then by following its windings sixteen miles north of Hilleh, on the eastern side. The western bank was explored with the same minuteness; but not a trace of any deep excavation, or any rubbish or mounds (excepting those already mentioned), were discovered. Leaving the river, he proceeded from Hilleh, to a village named Karakooli, a distance of 15 miles in a N. W. direction, without meeting any thing worthy of remark. He next rode in a parallel line, six miles to the west, and as many to the east, of the pyramid of Haroot and Maroot, and returned to Hilleh, disappointed in all his expectations; for within a space of twenty-one miles in length, and twelve in breadth, he was unable to discover any thing that could admit of a conclusion, that either a wall or ditch had ever existed within this area. [Captain Frederick informed us, that he

dedicated eight or ten hours each day to his inquiries, during his stay at Hilleh.] The size, situation, and construction of the pyramid of Haroot and Maroot, have led Major Rennell and D'Anville to suppose it to be the remains of the temple of Belus. The latter, as we have already stated, is described as being a square of a stadium in breadth, and of equal dimensions at the base, and built of brick cemented with bitumen. The mass which we now see is an exact quadrangle, which, ten feet within the outer edge of the rubbish, measured nine hundred paces, or two thousand two hundred and fifty feet, exceeding the circuit of the base of the tower of Belus by two hundred and fifty feet: a trifling excess, when we consider how much it must have increased by the fallen ruins. Its elevation, at the S. W. angle, is still upwards of two hundred feet; which is very great, considering its antiquity, and the soft materials of which it is composed. Strabo represents the temple of Belus as having an exterior coat of burnt brick; and, as I have before said, there is every reason to believe, from the accumulation of pieces of furnace-baked bricks at the foot of each face, that this was the case with the great pyramid to the north of Hilleh. We are, however, left in some doubt respecting the situation of the temple. Diodorus says, that it stood in the centre of the city: but the text is obscure; and it may be inferred, that the palace on the east bank of the Euphrates and [the] temple were the same. If this be the case, we may be permitted to conjecture, that the Euphrates once pursued a course different from that which it now follows, and that it flowed between the pyramid of Haroot and Maroot, and the mound and the ruins, already mentioned as half a mile further to the west. The present course of the river would appear to justify this conclusion; for it bends suddenly towards these mounds, and has the appearance of having formerly passed between them. Should this conjecture be admitted, then will the ruins just mentioned be found to answer the description given by the ancients of the materials, size, and situation of the two principal edifices in Babylon. But if not, we shall continue in ignorance concerning the remains of the palace; for the pyramid is far too distant from the river and the other ruins, to incline us to suppose it to have been the royal residence."

12. To Mr. Rich, resident at Bagdad for the East India Company, we are indebted for a still more particular account of these monuments of antiquity; his tracts have greatly engaged the attention of the public, and have given occasion to much investigation. The following are extracts from his first work (Lond. 1815): "The ruins of

Babylon may in fact be said almost to commence from Mohawil, a very indifferent khan, close to which is a large canal, with a bridge over it, the whole country between it and Hellah exhibiting at intervals traces of building, in which are discoverable burnt and unburnt bricks and bitumen. Three mounds in particular attract attention from their magnitude. The district called by the natives El-Aredh Babel extends on both sides of the Euphrates. The ruins of the eastern quarter of Babylon commence about two miles above Hellah, and consist of two large masses or mounds connected with, and lying N. and S. of each other; and several smaller ones which cross the plain at different intervals. [At] the northern termination of the plain is Pietro Della Valle's ruin; from the S. E. (to which it evidently once joined, being only obliterated there by two canals) proceeds a narrow ridge or mound of earth, wearing the appearance of having been a boundary wall. This ridge forms a kind of circular inclosure, and joins the S. E. point of the most southerly of the two grand masses. The whole area, inclosed by the boundary on the east and south, and the river on the west, is two miles and six hundred yards from E. to W., as much from Pietro Della Valle's ruin to the southern part of the boundary, or two miles and one thousand yards to the most southerly mound of all. The first grand mass of ruins [south] is one thousand one hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in the greatest breadth. . . . The most elevated part may be about fifty or sixty feet above the level of the plain, and it has been dug into for the purpose of procuring bricks. On the north is a valley of five hundred and fifty yards in length, the area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass, [is longest from E. to W.] and crossed [from S. to N.] by a line of ruins of very little elevation. To this succeeds [going N.] the second grand heap of ruins, the shape of which is nearly a square of seven hundred yards length and breadth. . . . This is the place where Beauchamp made his observations; and it certainly is the most interesting part of the ruins of Babylon; every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter; the bricks are of the finest description; and notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest supplies have been and are now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant. In all these excavations, walls of burnt brick, laid in lime mortar of a very good quality, are seen; and in addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of all these mounds, we here find fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthenware, marble, and great quan-

ties of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which is surprisingly fresh. In a hollow, near the southern part, I found a sepulchral urn of earthen ware, which had been broken in digging, and near it lay some human bones, which pulverized with the touch. To be more particular in my description of this mound: not more than two hundred yards from its northern extremity is a ravine, hollowed out by those who dig for bricks, in length near a hundred yards, and thirty feet wide by forty or fifty deep. On one side of it a few yards of wall remain standing, the face of which is very clear and perfect; and it appears to have been the front of some building. The opposite side is so confused a mass of rubbish, that it should seem the ravine had been worked through a solid building. Under the foundations of the southern end an opening is made, which discovers a subterranean passage, floored and walled with large bricks, laid in bitumen, and covered over with pieces of sand-stone, a yard thick and several yards long, on which the whole [weight rests], being so great as to have given a considerable degree of obliquity to the side walls of the passage. It is half full of brackish water (probably rain-water impregnated with nitre, in filtering through the ruins, which are all very productive of it); and the workmen say that some way on it is high enough for a horseman to pass upright; as much as I saw of it, it was near seven feet in height, and its course to the south. This is described by Beauchamp, who most unaccountably imagines it must have been part of the city wall. The superstructure over the passage is cemented with bitumen; other parts of the ravine [are cemented] with mortar, and the bricks have all writing on them. The northern end of the ravine appears to have been crossed by an extremely thick wall of yellowish brick, cemented with a brilliant white mortar, which has been broken through in hollowing it out; and a little to the north of it I discovered what Beauchamp saw imperfectly, and understood from the natives to be an idol. I was told the same, and that it was discovered by an old Arab in digging; but that, not knowing what to do with it, he covered it up again. [It is probable that many fragments of antiquity, especially of the larger kind, are lost in this manner. The inhabitants call all stones with inscriptions or figures on them idols.] On sending for the old man, I set a number of men to work, who, after a day's hard labour, laid open enough of the statue to show that it was a lion of colossal dimensions standing on a pedestal of a coarse kind of grey granite, and of rude workmanship; in the mouth was a circular aperture, into which a man might introduce his fist. A little to the west of the

ravine is the next remarkable object, called by the natives the Kaar or Palace, by which appellation I shall designate the whole mass. It is a very remarkable ruin, which, being uncovered and in part detached from the rubbish, is visible from a considerable distance; but so surprisingly fresh in its appearance, that it was only after a minute inspection that I was satisfied of its being in reality a Babylonian remain. It consists of several walls and piers (which face the cardinal points), eight feet in thickness, in some places ornamented with niches, and in others strengthened by pilasters and buttresses, built of fine burnt-brick (still perfectly clean and sharp), laid in lime-cement of such tenacity, that those whose business it is have given up working, on account of the extreme difficulty of extracting them whole. The tops of these walls are broken, and many have been much higher. On the outside they have in some places been cleared nearly to the foundations; but the internal spaces formed by them are yet filled with rubbish, in some parts almost to their summit. One part of the wall has been split into three parts, and overthrown, as if by an earthquake; some detached walls of the same kind, standing at different distances, show what remains to have been only a small part of the original fabric; indeed, it appears that the passage in the ravine, together with the wall which crosses its upper end, were connected with it. There are some hollows underneath, in which several persons have lost their lives; so that no one will now venture into them, and their entrances have become choked up with rubbish. Near this ruin is a heap of rubbish, the sides of which are curiously streaked by the alternation of its materials, the chief part of which, it is probable, was unburnt brick, of which I found a small quantity in the neighbourhood; but no reeds were discoverable in the interstices. There are two paths near this ruin, made by the workmen who carry down their bricks to the river side, whence they are transported by boats to Hellah; and a little to the N.N.E. of it is the famous tree which the natives call Athele, and maintain to have been flourishing in ancient Babylon, from the destruction of which they say God purposely preserved it, that it might afford Ali a convenient place to tie up his horse after the battle of Hellah! It stands on a kind of ridge, and nothing more than one side of its trunk remains (by which it appears to have been of considerable girth); yet the branches at the top are still perfectly verdant, and, gently waving in the wind, produce a melancholy rustling sound. It is an evergreen, something resembling the *lignum vicia*, and of a kind, I believe, not common in this part of the country, though I am told there is a

tree of the same description at Bassora. All the people of the country assert that it is extremely dangerous to approach this mound after night-fall, on account of the multitude of evil spirits by which it is haunted. A mile to the north of the Kaar [palace], and nine hundred and fifty yards from the river bank, is the last ruin of this series, described by Pietro Della Valle. The natives call it Mukallibè (or, according to the vulgar Arab pronunciation of these parts, Mujelibè), meaning overturned. It is of an oblong shape, irregular in its height and the measurement of its sides, which face the cardinal points; the northern side being two hundred yards in length; the southern two hundred and nineteen; the eastern one hundred and eighty-two; and the western one hundred and thirty-six. The elevation of the S.E. or highest angle, one hundred and forty-one feet. Near the summit, W., appears a low wall, built of unburnt bricks mixed up with chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with clay-mortar of great thickness, having between every layer a layer of reeds . . . All are worn into furrows by the weather;—in some places of great depth. The summit is covered with heaps of rubbish; whole bricks with inscriptions on them are here and there discovered; the whole is covered with innumerable fragments of pottery, brick, bitumen, pebbles, vitrified brick or scoria, and even shells, bits of glass, and mother-of-pearl. There are many dens of wild beasts in various parts; in one of which I found the bones of sheep and other animals, and perceived a strong smell, like that of a lion. I also found quantities of porcupine quills, and in most cavities are numbers of bats and owls. It is a curious coincidence, that I here first heard the oriental account of satyrs. I had always imagined the belief of their existence was confined to the west; but a Choadar, who was with me when I examined this ruin, mentioned by accident, that in this desert an animal is found resembling a man from the head to the waist, but having the thighs and legs of a sheep or goat; he said, also, that the Arabs hunt it with dogs, and eat the lower parts, abstaining from the upper, on account of their resemblance to those of the human species. 'But the wild beast of the desert shall lie there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there,' Isai. xiii. 21."

13. These are all the great masses of ruins on the eastern side of the river. The western side affords none immediately adjacent to the river; but about six miles south-west of Hellah is a vast mass, previously known to us only by the cursory report of Niebuhr, who had not opportunity to examine it. It is called by the Arabs, *Birs Namroud*; by the Jews, Nebuchadnezzar's prison. Of

this Mr. Rich says: "I visited the Birs under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the grandeur of its effect. The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy cloud separating discovered the Birs frowning over the plain, and presenting the appearance of a circular hill crowned by a tower with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. Its being entirely concealed from our view during the first part of our ride, prevented our acquiring the gradual idea, in general so prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who visit the pyramids. Just as we were within the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight in the midst of rolling masses of thick black clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light, thrown upon the desert in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent, and dreary solitude, of the wastes in which this venerable ruin stands. It is a mound of an oblong figure, the total circumference of which is seven hundred and sixty-two yards. At the eastern side it is not more than fifty or sixty feet high; at the western it rises in a conical figure to one hundred and ninety-eight feet; and on its summit is a solid pile of brick thirty-seven feet high, by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is irregular. It is built of fine burnt bricks, which have inscriptions on them, laid in lime-mortar of admirable cement. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the fiercest fire, or been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of bricks, being perfectly discernible—a curious fact, and one for which I am utterly incapable of accounting. The whole of this mound is itself a ruin, channelled by the weather, and strewed with the usual fragments, and with pieces of black stone, sand-stone, and marble. No reeds are discernible in any part. At the foot of the mound a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent by several feet the base; and there is a quadrangular inclosure round the whole, as at the Mujelibé, but much more perfect, and of greater dimensions. At a trifling distance from the Birs, and parallel with its eastern face, is a mound not inferior to the Kasr in elevation, much longer than it is broad. Round the Birs are traces of ruins to a considerable extent."

14. Leaving to these authorities the task of establishing their respective theories, Mr. Taylor offers the following conjectures founded on the

voice of current and apparently unbroken tradition. The Makloube, the Mujelibé, the pyramid of Haroot and Maroot (in other words, Della Valle's Ruin), or by whatever other appellation the signification of overturned, or topsey-turvy, be preserved—this ruin, he thinks, marks the original tower of Babel; and, so far as may be judged by comparison of its present shape with the neighbouring mounds, it never was finished. It is all but impossible, that the ruins of a building raised to that central elevation which might give it the appearance or entitle it to the appellation of a pyramid, should form an outline of surface on its top, so nearly equable as this object presents in Mr. Rich's delineation of it. That it was raised to unequal heights in different parts, or on its different faces, is every way likely; that it might answer, more or less, the purpose of a cemetery, in after-ages, is credible; and that it might even receive some additions from its votaries, for such it had, no doubt, may be admitted: yet, without impeaching the proposition that it never reached that height, or that complete form and condition, which its founders contemplated. Mr. Rich himself remarks, "that there does not remain in the irregularities on the top a sufficient quantity of rubbish to account for an elevation equal to that of the tower, the whole height being now only one hundred and forty feet." This testimony is decisive. There is no need to expatiate on the confirmation this affords to Scripture history. Except the deluge, the tower of Babel, with the circumstances attending it, is the most ancient fact recorded, or that could be recorded. That it was followed by consequences of the most interesting nature to the human race, is attested by profane authority as well as sacred; and these ruins, to this day, afford effective evidence that the writer of the Mosaic narration was equally faithful and well informed. To enlarge would be to intrude on the reader's own reflections. Descending southward, we next arrive at that grand mass of ruins, called by tradition the Kasr, or Palace. We find no difficulty in deferring to this tradition; or in believing that the single remaining three, the Athele, may be a descendant of some which formerly composed the ornaments of the famous hanging gardens. This building has evidently been constructed with the greatest care; and its peculiar "freshness," on which Major Rennell founds an argument against its Babylonish origin, appears to be nothing beyond what might be expected from more careful selection of materials, better manipulation and workmanship, and, in one word, from royal liberality and patronage. Uniformity of plan is seldom consulted in the palaces of eastern monarchs, nor is the arrange-

ment of their several offices such as European judgment would prefer. Unless, therefore, we could suppose that the palace of Semiramis, or of Nebuchadnezzar, or of any other Babylonish monarch, with the additions of later times, was conceived on principles of more than common correctness, we must allow that in its best condition it was little other than a labyrinth; and consequently its ruins became nothing but confusion. Immediately south of the Kasr is Mr. Rich's "valley of five hundred and fifty yards in length, the area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass:"—this is the very place, then, where we should look for the "sea of Babylon:" that is to say, a natural valley, enlarged by art and labour, and rendered a proper receptacle for a great body of water derived from the Euphrates, and preserving a current coincident with that stream. It is above eight hundred yards in breadth; and it is "crossed by a line of ruins of very little elevation," which is exactly what the famous bridge would form; for that structure was not a solid building of remarkable height, but, in decaying, would fill up a depth little more than level with the surface of the water, or with that of the present soil. This affords another instance, then, of the correctness of prophetic foresight: "I will make her sea dry," says Jeremiah, speaking of Babylon; and though this lake were more than half a mile in breadth by one third of a mile in length, and thirty-five feet in depth, as Diodorus reports, yet dry it is. No longer the gilded barge floats on its waters, or the voluptuous kiosk invites the owner to reverie and repose; no verdant carpet bedecks the walks along its margin; no overhanging willows meet their reflections in its stream. It is now merely a valley, the whole area of which is covered with tussocks of rank grass. Directly the contrary fact is produced from one of the same causes by which this sea has been dried up, which is, the inundations of the Euphrates. So long as the overflowing water was controlled by banks and walls, and found a passage through this lake, so long would the lake continue in condition; but, when that passage was closed, whether by the ruins of the buildings, damming up the outlet, or by any other impediment, the water becoming stagnant would deposit a sediment; and this would gradually accumulate till it filled up the basin. Mr. Rich says (Second Memoir, p. 10), "The strong embankment built by the Babylonian monarchs was intended to prevent the overflow, not to secure its running in one channel; and ever since the embankment was ruined, the river has expended itself in periodical inundations. This is the case in many parts of its progress; for instance, at

Feluja, the inundation from whence covers the whole face of the country, as far as the walls of Bagdad, with a depth of water sufficient to render it navigable for rafts and flat-bottom boats. At Hilla, notwithstanding the numerous canals drawn from it, when it rises it overflows many parts of the western desert; and on the east it insinuates itself into the hollows and more level parts of the ruins, converting them into lakes and morasses." The reader who has seen the overflowing Nile, called sea by Nahum, in the instance of Memphis, will, without reluctance, allow the same appellation to the overflowing Euphrates; and truly enough may it be said, that the sea has come up over Babylon; since the more level parts of the ruins are converted into lakes and morasses, during the seasons of the river's swelling; though at intervals these swamps may be tolerably dry. There seems to be no cause whatever for doubting whether the bridge formed a communication between the palace and the tower of Belus. Admitting this, it follows that the southern mass of ruins is the existing remain of that famous temple. It extends one thousand one hundred yards in length, by eight hundred yards in breadth: it would be, on our hypothesis, surrounded by a stream of the Euphrates; consequently, it occupied an island, like many consecrated localities of antiquity. It possessed, of course, every convenience for personal and priestly ablution, and was situated, as ancient writers describe it, sufficiently in the centre of the city to justify their descriptions. East of the palace and the temple a very large inclosure, of a circular form, is still distinguishable: if this, or any part of it, may be the famous plain of Dura, then might the golden image be inaugurated either in the temple adjacent, or in the plain itself. Nothing could be more convenient to the priests, who, doubtless, assisted in full costume at the ceremony; nor to the monarch, who might easily repair from his palace to the temple, in all the pomp attendant on oriental despotism; while the intervening canal would preserve a due distance between the concourse of ordinary worshippers and the consecrated devotees of the idol. It is evident from what has been adduced, that no other remains of ancient Babylon than those of its public buildings can now be discovered or distinguished: the houses of individuals, which Herodotus describes as being three stories in height, have disappeared, with all their accommodations and accompaniments. No doubt they had gardens and pleasure-grounds, embellished and refreshed by streams of water, and by plantations affording shade and privacy—those indispensable luxuries in the East. These are destroyed; no trace of them exists;

and therefore we cannot wonder that more accessible retreats, in which those who carried them captive demanded of the forlorn Israelites to sing the Lord's song in this foreign land, should have shared in the general fate. We see by what means the willows on which they hanged their harps might grow among the water-courses; but the water-courses are ruined, and the willows are extinct. Whether we should seek the exterior walls of the province of Babylon in the direction taken by Captain Frederick, is of small importance, since we have ventured to conjecture that they were not distinguished by magnitude or solidity: whether those more proximate to the city, and especially whether those which have left long mounds, in ruins, but which evidently inclosed the temple and the palace, may be any part of the broad walls, is a question of greater importance, and, at present, of difficult solution. Whether these long inclosures have ever been faced with brick, whether they have ever had a ditch before them, and whether their breadth answers to that assigned to the famous walls of Babylon by ancient writers, we can neither affirm nor deny, till possessed of more accurate information. Hitherto, though under the necessity of admitting conjecture, our conjectures have obtained some direction, either from ancient authority or from modern description; but, if we should venture to surmise that the *Birs Nimrod*, called by the Jews of the country the prison of Nebuchadnezzar, but rather his palace, were the Shehach of the prophet, both ancient and modern authorities forsake us. Nevertheless, there are some things spoken in reference to Babylon, which are fulfilled in this ruin only; and it signifies so little under what name it was originally known, that no further notice of that particular need be taken. "The *Birs Nimrod* stands in a spot that commands a view of the very distant domes of Meschid Ali, in one direction," says Mr. Rich, while in another, says Mr. Kinneir, "from this tower there is a most extensive view of the windings of the Euphrates, through the level plain of Shinar." He adds, "Its banks are lined with villages and orchards." But the present state of these banks can give but a very feeble idea of the magnificent *coup d'œil*, when the great metropolis was in its glory. At that time the interior, as well as the banks, was filled as far as the eye could reach with villas and groves, with tanks and villages, equal, and more than equal, to what Mr. Wathen has reported of his prospect from Conjeveram. The "sublime and beautiful prospect" alluded to, betrayed that traveller into an ecstatic forgetfulness of all the world beside, into a feeling as if he could "have continued on this

spot for ever." Had he been the creator of this magnificence, as Nebuchadnezzar was creator of that around Babylon, we could not have wondered at his adopting the language of the too greatly transported monarch. This feeling suggests the possibility that an aberration of mind struck the king of Babylon while walking on the roof of his residence: in the present discussion, the possibility of that calamity occurring while he was in his hall of audience has been hinted. The *Birs* is equally suitable for either supposition. It was, most probably, the palace of his pride; nor is it unlikely that it was pointed at by the prophet, when he says (Jer. li. 25), "Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, [a mountain] which destroyeth all the earth: and I will stretch out my hand upon thee, and will roll thee down from the rocks [perhaps, like rocks—in the form of rocks], and will make thee a burned mountain. And they shall not take from thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for a foundation; but thou shalt be desolate for ever." A city like Babylon, seated on many streams, and deriving its advantage from its lower level, which admitted of wonderful facilities for its waters, would be ill described as "a mountain:" nor is there any mountain near it, but what has been raised by the hand of man. It was, no doubt, this consideration that induced Dr. Blayney to explain this language as metaphorical. He says, "Any nation, or prince, that rises in power above others, may be called, metaphorically, 'a mountain'; and the Babylonish nation is accordingly here to be understood by the 'destroying mountain.' The 'rocks,' from whence it was to be rolled, were its strongholds. And in the next verse, where it is said, 'They shall not take of thee a stone for a corner-stone, or for foundations,' we may understand thereby, that they should no longer have kings and governors taken from among themselves, but should be under the dominion of foreigners." Notwithstanding this principle of interpretation is proper in many places, we may ask whether there would be any impropriety in taking this passage literally? in supposing, that a palace, rising to a vast height, might be called "a mountain" from its bulk; also, "a destroying mountain," if from its council-chamber issued those orders which directed the operations of its armies to the destruction of all the earth? [but, if corruption (by idolatry, suppose) be preferred as the meaning of the word used, the orders equally issued from the palace.] That this palace must have been of a mountainous height, when perfect, is evident from the extent of view it still commands. Mr. Rich insists that it is the real tower of Belus. That it

has been "a burnt mountain," appears from the testimony of Mr. Kinneir, who says, "on the top and sides of the mound I observed several fragments of different colours, resembling, in appearance, pieces of mis-shapen rock." Captain Frederick examined these curious fragments with much attention. "They were found so hard as to resist iron; some of them are six or eight feet in diameter: there is no similar stone in the neighbouring country." Mr. Rich was equally struck by their appearance; he speaks of parts of the summit of the hill as being occupied by "immense fragments of brick-work of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the fiercest fire, or had been blown up with gunpowder." These words may stand as a comment on the predictions of the text.—"A burnt mountain," says the prophet;—"solid vitrified masses, as if by the fiercest fire, as if blown up with gunpowder," says Mr. Rich. "I will roll thee down in the form (or species) of rocks," says the prophet;—"fragments [immense fragments, tumbled together," says Mr. Rich] of mis-shapen rocks," says Mr. Kinneir. "No stone shall be taken from thee," says the prophet, that is, for another edifice. Certainly not; because those mounds only which are by the river's side can be wrought to profit, and their bricks conveyed with facility; whereas the Birs is five or six miles distant from Hellah, and land carriage is too laborious. In short, the more closely this passage is examined, the more strongly will its literal sense with its accomplishment appear. We cannot at present tell the occasion, or the history, of this conflagration; but its consequences are striking.

15. Mr. Rich has very properly called the attention of his readers to the accomplishment of that prophecy of Isaiah which predicts the overthrow of Babylon, "as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah. It shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation: neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but wild beasts of the desert shall lie there; and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures; and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there: and the wild beasts shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces." The prophet adds, in the following chapter, xiv. 23: "I will make it a possession for the bittern (says our translation, but we venture to think it the porcupine), and pools of water"—rather, stagnant marshes of reeds. Almost every word of these prophecies may be justified from Mr. Rich himself. He mentions his perception of a strong smell, like that of a lion;—

his finding bones of sheep, &c., doubtless of animals carried there and devoured by the wild beasts, many dens of which are in various parts;—he found quantities of porcupine quills;—numbers of bats and owls;—and, to close the list of these doleful creatures, here he learned the existence of satyrs;—here he was cautioned against the violence of evil spirits after nightfall;—and, in short, his "tussocks of rank grass" are no other than the "reeds of stagnant marshes" of the prophet.

16. There would be something extremely melancholy in the fate of Babylon, its desolation, its disappearance, its external annihilation, after so vigorous and so long continued exertion to raise it to pre-eminence, did we not know that its pride was excessive, and its power was cruel. The fierceness of war was the delight of its kings. Nebuchadnezzar himself had been a warrior of no limited ambition; the Chaldeans were bitter, hasty, sanguinary, ferocious; and to read the accounts of their inhumanity prepares us for a reverse, which we await, but do not regret. There is something in the idea of retaliation from which the human mind is not averse: "As she hath done, so do to her," is the language, not of prophecy or of poetry only, but of "even-handed justice," in the common acceptation of mankind. It is not only because we are better acquainted with the miseries inflicted on Jerusalem and the sanctuary that we admit these feelings in respect to Babylon. There can be no doubt, but what other nations had equally suffered under her oppression. The people who are emphatically called on to execute the vengeance determined against her, had certainly been galled under her yoke. Cyrus and Xerxes, who captured her city and destroyed her temple, were but the avengers of their country. Alexander considered himself in the same light. It is rather from a deficiency of historical accounts, than from the facts of the case, that Babylon has been supposed to have been reduced by a gradual decay only. Already have more symptoms of violence been discovered than were formerly supposed; and it is more than possible, that our intercourse with Eastern writers may bring us acquainted with events which will enable us to account for appearances that now present nothing but uncertainties. Idolatry took its rise at Babylon, was fostered and protected there, and from thence was diffused throughout (at least) the western world: the liberal arts, the more recondite sciences, with every power of the human mind, were rendered subservient to systematic idolatry. Its doom, therefore, must correspond with its crimes. It is enough for us that we know its punishment to be just; and that we

are happily enabled to trace in its ruins the unequivocal and even verbal accomplishment of those predictions which denounced its calamities—the monuments of miseries long deserved, but not remitted though postponed.*

18. There have been many and long continued controversies among the learned on the subject of the Babylon of Peter, 1 Epist. v. 13. Mr. Taylor differs from them all, by assuming the existence of a third Babylon, in favour of which he adduces the following arguments. We read, 2 Macc. viii. 20, of a battle fought by the Jews in Babylonia against the Galatians; eight thousand Jews, and four thousand Macedonians, against one hundred and twenty thousand, or perhaps more, for “the eight thousand destroyed one hundred and twenty thousand; because of the help they had from heaven.” Now, admitting that the Jews in the Chaldean Babylonia might have mustered eight thousand fighting men, it is incredible that ever one hundred and twenty thousand Galatians, or Gauls, were present as an army at that Babylon. We are under the necessity, therefore, of seeking another Babylon nearer to Galatia, where the Gauls settled, in order to reduce the fact stated in this passage to credibility. We find, moreover, in the rabbins, allusions to a Babylon much nearer to the land of Israel than Chaldean Babylon; for, speaking of some mountainous parts in the north of the land of Israel, Rab. Honna says, in the Jerusalem Gemara, “When we came hither, we went up to the top of Beth Bal-tin, and discerned the palm-trees in Babylon.” As it is impossible that Babylon in Chaldea, or any thing connected with it, could be seen in any part of the land of Israel, by reason of its very great distance, we must seek this Babylon much nearer. It is remarkable, that Ezekiel (xlvii. 16) places Hauran far north in the land of Israel: and the Gemarists say, the lights from Hauran, intended to communicate intelligence, were seen at *Beth Bal-tin*. Allow fifty or sixty miles for this distance; then may the palm-trees of Babylon, seen from Beth Bal-tin, be estimated about fifty, or say eighty, miles’ distance from Hauran. Or, we may enlarge this distance to a hundred miles, or more, if this Babylon stood on a hill. The Gemarist queries, “What is Beth Bal-tin? Rab. saith it is Biram.”—Biram is supposed to be Bir on the Euphrates, N.E. of Aleppo; and so far from this Bir as it is credible the sight may extend, seems to be the place for Babylonia, and its palm-trees. “They (the rabbins) place Beth Bel-tin,” says Lightfoot; “not far from the bank, on this side the river Euphrates;” and they

included all within the Euphrates, in the land of Israel. Now, within the compass of rabbinical *visibility* from Bir, looking N.E., or N., or towards Galatia, we may easily imagine, that a body of Galatians, intent on overrunning Asia, might penetrate; and this brings us to the edge of, if not actually into, some of the provinces addressed by Peter, who enumerates them in the following order: 1. Pontus; 2. Galatia; 3. Cappadocia; 4. Asia; 5. Bithynia. We are sure that in these provinces the Jews might raise an army of eight thousand men; and Mr. Taylor has on another occasion supposed the prophet Ezekiel to have been stationed at Erzeroum; undoubtedly, in company with many of his countrymen, much further north than this *Babylonia*. There is, moreover, a note of time (as he conjectures) employed by Peter, in his salutation, which has not hitherto been explained, chap. v. 13, “The co-elected *with you* in *Babylon*—saluteth you.” Now when, or where, he asks, were the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, &c., *elect*? We may read the history, Acts ii. init., “The dwellers in Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Pontus, and Asia,” are expressly named; and the countries are evidently those adjacent to this situation, in which we suppose a Babylonia. Nothing, therefore, hinders that residents in this *Babylonia* should have accompanied those from the adjoining districts, and should have been converted at the same time, and by the same mean; and if that mean were Peter’s sermon, then we see the reason of his visit to this *Babylonia*. It is remarkable, too, that this apostle (2 Epist. i. 10) uses the term *election* in this very acceptation, placing it after *calling*, “give diligence to make, (1) your calling, and, (2) your election, sure.” He seems, also, to use it in the same sense, 1 Epist. i. 1: “Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the *elect strangers* scattered in Pontus, Galatia, &c. These *elect strangers*, then, were co-elected with the professors of Christianity in *Babylonia*; and the natural inference is, that they were neighbours by situation, as well as fellow-Christians by grace. We do not find that this Babylon was a city: in the Maccabees, it clearly is a district of country; in the hints gathered from the rabbins, this seems also to be the case; and nothing in the language of Peter obliges us to restrain his expressions to a city; though it was usual for a city and a province around it to bear the same name, and therefore it might be either, or both. Possibly it was in the neighbourhood of Orfa or Roha; such a conjecture may, at least, be ventured, with some circumstances not unfavourable to it. Mr. Taylor merely observes further that Niebuhr says of Bir (p. 334, Fr. edit., vol. ii.). “This city is situated on the eastern bank of the

* Fragments to Calmet, and Calmet’s Dictionary, 8vo. edit. arts. “Babylon” and “Babel.”

Euphrates, and on a *high mountain*:" also of Orfa (p. 329): "Its citadel is on one side of the city, on a rock, but exposed to a mountain *infinitely higher* than itself. There are ruins on this high mountain behind the citadel. As to this mountain, which is called Nimrod, the opinion here is, that it is derived from Nimrod, mentioned in the Bible, who, it is said, had here a palace." This hint about Nimrod, certainly agrees with the notion of a Babylonian hereabouts; as do the heights of these mountains respectively, with their being visible from each other. Their distance is about forty-two miles. Orfa is the ancient Edessa. The Babylon of Peter has been thought to be Rome; but in disproof of this notion it is only necessary to recall attention to the order of the provinces saluted by the apostle. He places Pontus and Cappadocia first, certainly because they were nearest to him; and Bithynia last, because it was most distant from him. This is utterly inconsistent with his being at this time resident in Rome, which would have prescribed a contrary order. "The Syrian and Chaldee writers," says Mr. Yeates, "in the Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs, record of the apostle Peter, that "he preached in Syria and Antioch, and in Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, and other regions." They say nothing of Babylon. "Elias, bishop of Damascus, writes that . . . the country of Babylon . . . was called to the faith by Addeus and Marus, of the seventy disciples, which followed Bartholomew." And in the epitome of the Syrian canons they write, "The fifth sect is Babylon, in honour of the three constituted apostles: Thomas, the apostle of the Hindoos and Chinese; Bartholomew, who also is the Nathaniel of the Syrians; and Addeus, one of the seventy, who was master to Agheus and Marus, the apostle of Mesopotamia and Persia." Here they say nothing of Peter; who, most assuredly, could not have been omitted in this enumeration, had there been any reason for inserting him.

BABYLONIA, the province of which Babylon was the capital, and which is now called Irac.

BACA, the valley of, or of Tears (Ps. lxxxiv. 6), probably the same as the valley of Tears, or Weepers, or Bochim, Judg. ii. 1; 2 Sam. v. 23. The Psalmist says, "Blessed is the man whose strength is in thee, in whose heart are the ways of them; who, passing through the valley of Baca, or tears, make it a well: the rain also filleth the pools;" from which it has been generally inferred that the valley of Baca was a dreary, thirsty, undesirable place: the very reverse of what appears to be the fact. The following is from De la Roque (Voy. de Syrie, p. 116): "I was extremely satisfied with our walk; which, besides,

gave me an opportunity of admiring the most agreeable territory and the best cultivated, perhaps, in all Syria, lying the length of the plain from north to south, to the mountains which separate it from that of Damascus. This plain, or more properly speaking, the whole territory of Baalbec, to the mountains, is named in Arabic, *AL-BKAA*, which we express by *Bekaa*. It is watered by the river Letanus, and by many other streams; it is a delicious, I might say an enchanted, country, and in nothing inferior to the country of Damascus, which is so renowned among the Orientals. Bekaa produces, among other things, those beautiful and excellent grapes which are sent to various parts, under the name of grapes of Damascus." This seems to be the very same place meant by the Psalmist, and to have retained (or recovered, as many places have, under the present Arab government) its ancient appellation. It is among the mountains of Lebanon, north of Judæa.

BASHAN, or the **BATANEA**, is a district east of the river Jordan, north of the tribes of Gad and Reuben: being bounded east by the mountains of Gilead, the land of Ammon, and East Edom; north by Mount Hermon; south by the brook Jabbok; and west by the Jordan. It was esteemed one of the most fruitful countries in the world; and its rich pastures, oaks, and fine cattle, are exceedingly commended, Numb. xxi. 33; xxxii. 33; Isai. ii. 13; Deut. iii. 1; Ps. xxii. 12. Mr. Buckingham thus describes the Batanea: "We had now quitted the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, and entered into that of Og, the king of Bashan, both of them well known to all the readers of the early Scriptures. We had quitted, too, the districts apportioned to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and entered that which was allotted to the half-tribe of Manasseh, beyond Jordan, eastward, leaving the land of the children of Ammon on our right, or to the east of the Jabbok, which divided Ammon, or Philadelphia, from Gerasa. The mountains here are called the land of Gilead in the Scriptures; and in Josephus, and according to the Roman division, this was the country of the Decapolis, so often spoken of in the New Testament, or the province of Gaulonitis, from the city of Gaulon, its early capital. We continued our way over this elevated tract, continuing to behold, with surprise and admiration, a beautiful country on all sides of us: its plains covered with a fertile soil, its hills clothed with forests, and at every new turn presenting the most magnificent landscapes that could be imagined. Amongst the trees, the oak was frequently seen; and we know that this territory presented them of old. In enumerating the sources from which the supplies of Tyre were drawn in the

time of her great wealth and naval splendour, the prophet says, "Of the oaks of Bashan have they made thine oars." (Ezek. xxvii. 6.) Some learned commentators, indeed, believing that no oaks grew in these supposed desert regions, have translated the word by *alders*, to prevent the appearance of inaccuracy in the inspired writer. The expression of 'the fat bulls of Bashan,' which occurs more than once in the Scriptures, seemed to us equally inconsistent, as applied to the beasts of a country generally thought to be a desert, in common with the whole tract which is laid down in the modern maps as such, between the Jordan and the Euphrates; but we could now fully comprehend, not only that the bulls of this luxuriant country might be proverbially fat, but that its possessors, too, might be a race renowned for strength and comeliness of person. . . . The general face of this region improved as we advanced further in it; and every new direction of our path opened upon us views which surprised and charmed us by their grandeur and beauty. Lofty mountains gave an outline of the most magnificent character; flowing beds of secondary hills softened the romantic wildness of the picture; gentle slopes clothed with wood, gave a rich variety of tints, hardly to be imitated by the pencil; deep valleys, filled with murmuring streams and verdant meadows, offered all the luxuriance of cultivation, and herds and flocks gave life and animation to scenes as grand, as beautiful, and as highly picturesque as the genius or taste of a Claude could either invent or desire."

BEREA, a city of Macedonia, near Mount Cithæra, where Paul preached the gospel with success, Acts xvii. 11—13. There is a medal of Berea extant, which is remarkable for being inscribed, "of the second Macedonia," and also for being the only Macedonian medal of the date (A. U. C. 706), inscribed with the name of the city where it was struck. Compare Acts xvii. 11, "*noble Bereans*."—Taylor.

BETHANY, a village about two miles east of Jerusalem, at the ascent of the Mount of Olives, and on the way to Jericho. Here Martha and Mary dwelt, with their brother Lazarus, whom Jesus raised from the dead; and here Mary poured perfume on our Saviour's head.

BETHEL, a city west of Hai, on the confines of the tribes of Ephraim and Benjamin (Gen. xii. 8, xxviii. 10); and occupying the spot where Jacob slept, and had his memorable dream. Eusebius places it twelve miles from Jerusalem, in the way to Sichem, or Napolose. Bethel was also called Bethaven.

BETHESDA, a pool near Jerusalem, around which, the evangelist informs us, there were five porches,

and many sick persons constantly waiting, in order to descend into the water when it was stirred; for an angel came down at a certain season and stirred the water; and the first who then plunged into it was cured, be his disease what it might, John v. 1—4. The majority of writers have regarded the cures thus wrought as a standing miracle among the Jews; and yet they have been surprised that Josephus should omit to mention a fact so honourable to his nation. The learned Dr. Hammond supposed that the blood of the great number of sacrifices which were washed in the pool communicated a salutary efficacy to the water, on its being stirred up by a messenger from the high-priest: a strangely unphilosophical suggestion, surely! and yet Dr. Pococke was so far captivated by it, as to seek at Jerusalem for the pool of Bethesda, on the *wrong* side of the city, where *it is not*; and where it is, he could not see it. Dr. Doddridge imagined that the pool might have been remarkable for some mineral virtue attending the water; which, together with its being so very near the temple, where a bath was so much needed for religious purposes, may account for the building such stately cloisters around it. "But sometime before this passover," he remarks, "an extraordinary commotion was probably observed in the water: and Providence so ordered it, that the next person who accidentally bathed here, being under some great disorder, found an immediate and unexpected cure. The like phenomenon, in some other desperate case, was probably observed on a *SECOND* commotion; and these commotions and cures might happen periodically, perhaps every sabbath (for that it was yearly none can prove), for some weeks or months. This the Jews would naturally ascribe to some angelic power, as they did afterwards the voice from heaven (John xii. 29), though no angel appeared; and they and St. John had reason to do it, as it was the Scripture scheme, that these benevolent spirits had been, and frequently are, the invisible instruments of good to the children of men, Ps. xxxiv. 7, xci. 11; Dan. iii. 28, vi. 22. On their making so ungrateful a return to Christ for this miracle, and those wrought at the former passover, and in the intermediate space, this celestial visitant probably from this time returned no more: and therefore it may be observed, that though the evangelist speaks of the *pool* as still at Jerusalem when he wrote, yet he mentions the descent of the angel as a thing which *had been*, but not as still continuing." (Comp. ver. 2 and 4.) This may account, he thinks, for the surprising silence of Josephus in a story which made so much for the honour of his nation. He was himself not born when it happened; and though he might

have heard the report of it, he would, perhaps (as in the modern way), oppose *speculation* and *hypothesis* to *fact*, and have recourse to some indigested and unmeaning harangues on the unknown force of *imagination*; or if he secretly suspected it to be *true*, his dread of the *marvellous*, and fear of disgusting his pagan readers with it, might as well lead him to suppress this, as to disguise the *passage through the Red Sea*, and the *Divine voice from Mount Sinai*, in so cowardly and ridiculous a manner as it is known he does. And the relation in which this fact stood to the history of Jesus would make him peculiarly cautious in touching upon it, as it would have been so difficult to handle it at once with decency and safety. The remains of this pool, it seems, are seen to this day; and as it is sunk in the rock, it may still remain for ages. The place now shown is *square*; nevertheless, it might have had five porches; one on each hand at entering, the entrance being in the middle of one side; and three on the other sides. It was probably very simple, and neither stately nor fit for purification for religious purposes, notwithstanding its vicinity to the temple. Sandys thus describes it: "A little above, we entered the city at the gate of St. Stephen (where, on each side, a lion retrograde doth stand), called in times past *the port* [gate] of the valley, and *of the flock*; for that *the cattle came in at this gate which were to be sacrificed in the temple, and were sold in the market adjoining*. On the left hand is a strong bridge, which *passeth at the east end of the north wall, into the court of the temple of Solomon: the head* [i. e., of the bridge] *to the pool of Bethesda (underneath which it [the water of the pool] had a conveyance), called also probaticum*, for that the sacrifices were therein washed, ere delivered to the priests. Now it is a *great square profundity, green and uneven at the bottom*; into which a BARREN SPRING doth drill BETWEEN the stones of the NORTHWARD wall; and *stealeth away almost undiscovered*. The place is for a good depth *hewn out of the rock*; confined ABOVE on the north side with a steep wall, on the west with the high buildings (perhaps a part of the castle of *Antonia*, where are two doors to descend by, now all that are, half choked with rubbish), and on the south with the wall of the court of the temple." Such is the account of Sandys, who was there in 1611. He found the spring running, but in small quantities; and "stealing away" unnoticed. But it should seem that when Mr. Maundrell was there, in 1697, this stream did not run, as he does not mention that circumstance; so that possibly it is still intermitting, and to this day runs (*ααρα ναϊσος*) occasionally. We have every reason to suppose that the spring was formerly

more copious and abundant, as well as medicinal; as the rubbish which now chokes up the passage for its waters may not only diminish their quantity, but injure their quality. "On the 9th [April, 1697], we went to take a view of what is now called the Pool of Bethesda, which is 120 paces long, 40 broad, and 8 deep; at the west end are some old arches, now dammed up, which, though there are but three in number, some will have to be the five porches, in which sat the lame, halt, and blind." (Maundrell's Journey.) From the account of Sandys it appears, that the bason being hewn deep in the rock, and upon ("above") that rock the *northern* wall standing, and the spring issuing from between the stones of *this* wall; the place whence the spring issues must be several feet above the level of the water in the bason; which bason, being deeper in some places than in others, "UNEVEN at the bottom," might be deep enough to swim in, in some parts, while in others it might merely serve to wash the sheep.

BETH-LEHEM, a city of Judah (Judg. xvii. 7), generally called Bethlehem of Judah, to distinguish it from another town of the same name in Zebulun. It is also called Ephratah (Bethlehem Ephratah), and its inhabitants Ephrateans, Gen. xlviii. 7; Mic. v. 2. It is six miles south of Jerusalem, on the way to Hebron. Here David was born, and dwelt, until his combat with Goliath introduced him to the court of Saul. But that which imparts to Bethlehem the highest interest, is, that in it our Lord Jesus Christ was born. Micah (chap. v. 2), extolling this pre-eminence of Bethlehem, says, "Thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall He come forth unto me, who is to be ruler in Israel;" or, "who is the Messiah," as the Chaldee paraphrast has translated it. The cave in which it is said our Saviour was born, was not within the city. The church, built over it by the empress Helena, still exists, but is blended with the necessary repairs and restorations from the devastations of inimical hordes of Mahometans and others, during the Crusades, and especially at the close of the thirteenth century. Near it are said to be the chapel of the innocents and their sepulchre; as well as the sepulchres of Jerome, of Eusebius, and of Paula and Eustochius. The tomb of Rachel, near Bethlehem, is of no antiquity. Dr. Clarke found Bethlehem a larger place than he expected, and describes the first view of it as imposing. It is built on the ridge of a hill which overlooks the valley reaching to the Dead Sea, of which it commands a distinct prospect; so that any phenomenon elevated over Bethlehem, would be seen from afar in the east country, beyond the Dead Sea. The convent is not in the town, but

adjacent; it has the air of a fortress, and might even stand a siege against the Turks. The inmates manufacture crucifixes and beads for the devout, and mark religious emblems on the persons of pilgrims, by means of gunpowder. The Doctor descended into the valley of Bethlehem, where he found a well of "pure and delicious water," which he thinks is that so ardently longed for by David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 15.

BETH-ORON, a Levitical city in the tribe of Ephraim (Josh. xxi. 22), four leagues from Jerusalem, towards Sichem or Napolose, north of Jerusalem. Dr. Clarke mentions a *Bathoor*, which he reasonably supposes to be the ancient Bethoron, "in the high way from Jaffa to Jerusalem." It is placed not far from Ramah, by Jerome; and stood on the confines of Ephraim and Benjamin.

BETHPHAGE, a small village at the foot of the Mount of Olives, between Bethany and Jerusalem, Luke xix. 29.

BETHSAIDA, a city on the north-eastern shore of the sea of Galilee, which was enlarged and adorned by Philip the Tetrarch, who called it *Julias*, though it is not known by this name in the New Testament. The apostles Peter, Andrew, and Philip were of this city (John i. 44), which our Saviour often visited, Mark viii. 22. The inhabitants were not benefited by his instructions or by his miracles, which induced him to denounce a woe upon it, Luke x. 13.

BETH-SHEAN, more generally known as *Scythopolis*, was a town of Manasseh, but situated in Issachar (Josh. xvii. 11, 16; Judg. i. 27; 1 Kings iv. 12), and about 600 furlongs, or 75 miles, from Jerusalem, west of the Jordan. Josephus says it was 120 furlongs, or 15 miles, from Tiberias; so that it cannot be so near that lake, as some geographers have supposed. After the battle of Gilboa, the Philistines, having taken the bodies of Saul and Jonathan, hung them on the walls of this city; but the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead, on the other side of the Jordan, came in the night, carried off the bodies, and interred them honourably under a grove of oaks near their city, 1 Sam. xxxi. 10. The fruits of Bethshan were the sweetest in the land of Israel; and fine linen garments were made here. Before the Babylonian captivity it was included *within* the land of Israel; but after that period it was reckoned *without* the land; and none of its productions were tithed. It is now called *Bysan*, and is described by Burckhardt as situated on rising ground, on the west of the river Jordan. It contains 70 or 80 houses, the inhabitants of which are in a miserable condition, owing to the depredations of the Bedouins. The ruins of the ancient city are of considerable extent, along the banks of the rivulet which ran

by it, and the valley formed by its branches; and bespeak it to have been nearly three miles in circuit.

BETH-SHEMESH, a Levitical city in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 10; xix. 22; 1 Sam. vi. 12), ten miles from Eleutheropolis, east, in the way to Emmaüs; that is, about 30 miles north-west of Jerusalem. The Philistines returning the ark of the Lord into the land of Israel, it came to Beth-shemesh; and some of the people looking with too much curiosity into it, the Lord smote seventy principal men of the city, and 50,000 of the common people. There was a city of Issachar of the same name (Josh. xix. 22), and also a city of Naphtali, Josh. xix. 38; Judg. i. 33.

BETHULIA, a city celebrated for its siege by Holofernes, at which he was killed by Judith, Judith vii. 1. Calmet thinks it to be Bethul or Bethuel, a city of Simeon (Josh. xix. 4).

BEZER, or **BOZRA**, or **BOZTRA**, a city of Reuben, given to the Levites of Gershom's family, Deut. iv. 43. When Scripture mentions Bezer, it adds, "in the wilderness," because it lay in Arabia Deserta, and the eastern part of Edom. It was, in fact, a frontier town to the three provinces, occasionally in the hands of one, and then taken by another. It is sometimes in the land of Gilead; sometimes in the Trachonitis; at others, again, in the Auranitis; but most frequently in Arabia, or Idumæa. It is called by heathen writers *BOSTRA*; or *BOSSORA* (1 Mac. v. 26); and is now called *Boszra*. It is described by Burckhardt as the largest town in the Haouran, including its ruins, though only inhabited by twelve or fifteen families.

BEZETHA, or **BETZETA**, a district of Jerusalem, situated on a mountain, encompassed with good walls; being, as it were, a new city added to the old one. See **JERUSALEM**.

CÆSAREA, in **PALESTINE**, a city on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, 36 miles south of Acre, 30 north of Jaffa, and 62 north-west of Jerusalem. Here Paul was held two years a prisoner, that is, till he could be conveniently conducted to Rome, after having appealed to Nero. Whenever *Cæsarea* is named, as a city of Palestine, without the addition of *Philippi*, this *Cæsarea* is supposed to be meant. Dr. Clarke, viewing the city from off the coast, says, "By day-break the next morning we were off the coast of *Cæsarea*; and so near with the land that we could very distinctly perceive the appearance of its numerous and extensive ruins. The remains of this city, although still considerable, have long been resorted to as a quarry, whenever building materials are required at Acre. Djezzar Pasha brought from thence the columns of rare and beautiful marble, as well as the other

ornaments of his palace, bath, fountain, and mosque at Acre. The place at present is only inhabited by jackals and beasts of prey. As we were becalmed during the night, we heard the cries of these animals until day-break. Pococke mentions the curious fact of the existence of crocodiles in the river of Cæsarea. Perhaps there has not been in the history of the world an example of any city, that in so short a space of time rose to such an extraordinary height of splendour as did this of Cæsarea, or that exhibits a more awful contrast to its former magnificence, by the present desolate appearance of its ruins. Not a single inhabitant remains. Its theatres, once resounding with the shouts of multitudes, echo no other sound than the nightly cries of animals roaming for their prey. Of its gorgeous palaces and temples, enriched with the choicest works of art, and decorated with the most precious marbles, scarcely a trace can be discerned. Within the space of ten years after laying the foundation, from an obscure fortress it became the most celebrated and flourishing city of all Syria. It was named Cæsarea by Herod, in honour of Augustus, and dedicated by him to that emperor, in the twenty eighth year of his reign. Upon this occasion, that the ceremony might be rendered illustrious, by a degree of profusion unknown in any former instance, Herod assembled the most skilful musicians and gladiators from all parts of the world. The solemnity was to be renewed every fifth year. But, as we viewed the ruins of this memorable city, every other circumstance respecting its history was absorbed in the consideration that we were actually beholding the very spot where the scholar of Tarsus, after two years' imprisonment, made that eloquent appeal, in the audience of the king of Judea, which must ever be remembered with piety and delight. In the history of the acts of the holy apostles, whether we regard the internal evidence of the narrative, or the interest excited by a story so wonderfully appealing to our passions and affections, there is nothing that we call to mind with fuller emotions of sublimity and satisfaction. 'In the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power,' the mighty advocate for the Christian faith had before reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, till the Roman governor, Felix, trembled as he spoke. Not all the oratory of Tertullus, nor the clamour of his numerous adversaries, not even the countenance of the most profligate of tyrants, availed against the firmness and intrepidity of the oracle of God. The judge had trembled before his prisoner; and now a second occasion offered, in which, for the admiration and triumph of the Christian world, one of its bitterest persecutors, and a Jew, appeals, in the public tribunal of a

large and populous city, to all its chiefs and its rulers, its governor and its king, for the truth of his conversion, founded on the highest evidence, delivered in the most fair, open, and illustrious manner."

CÆSAREA PHILIPPI. This city, which is mentioned several times in the books of the New Testament, was originally called Panias; and has been generally confounded with the ancient Laish or Leshem, which was taken by the Danites, and after them named Dan. Eusebius and Jerome, however, make a manifest difference between these two cities, placing them four miles asunder; in which they are supported by several circumstances. Cæsarea was a day's journey from Sidon; a day and a half from Damascus. It was much enlarged and beautified by Philip the Tetrarch; and was named by him Cæsarea, in honour of Tiberius; it was afterwards called Neronias, in compliment to Nero. In the time of the Crusades, it was called Belines. The following admirable account of this place is furnished by the Editor of the "Modern Traveller." Burckhardt, in coming from Damascus, pursued the more direct route taken by the caravans, which crosses the Jordan, at Jacob's Bridge. Captains Irby and Mangles left this road at Khan Sasa, and passed to the westward for Panias, thus striking into a middle route between the high road to Acre, and that by Raschia and Hasbeia. The first part of the road from Sasa led through a fine plain, watered by a pretty winding rivulet, with numerous tributary streams, and many old ruined mills. It then ascended over a very rugged and rocky soil, quite destitute of vegetation, having in some places traces of an ancient paved way, probably the Roman road from Damascus to Cæsarea Philippi.* The highest part of Djebel Sheikh was seen on the right. The road became less stony, and the shrubs increased in number, size, and beauty, as they descended into a very rich little plain, at the immediate foot of that mountain. "There is a conspicuous tomb in this valley; and a rivulet, which appears to take its source at the foot of the mountains, passes along the western side of the plain in a southerly direction, when its course turns more to the westward, and rushing, in a very picturesque manner, through a deep chasm, covered by shrubs of various descriptions, it joins the Jordan at Panias." * This is marked in Arrowsmith's chart, as the real source of the Jordan; the fountains at Panias, though by far the most copious, not being the most distant, source. "From this plain," continues

* This description seems to answer to the water of Hasbeia; whether it joins the Jordan at Panias, is a question.

Captain M., "we ascended, and, after passing a very small village, saw on our left, close to us, a very picturesque lake, apparently perfectly circular, of little more than a mile in circumference, surrounded on all sides by sloping hills, richly wooded. The singularity of this lake is, that it has no apparent supply or discharge; and its waters appeared perfectly still, though clear and limpid. A great many wild-fowl were swimming in it. Josephus mentions it under the name of Phiala (cup), in allusion to the shape of the lake. It was supposed by the ancients to be the real source of the Jordan. A passage in the Jewish historian notices, that they threw straw into the lake, which came out at the *apparent source* at Panias.* But this is impossible; for, to arrive at Panias, its discharge must pass under the rivulet which Arrowsmith points out as the true source. On quitting Phiala, at but a short distance from it, we crossed a stream which discharges into the larger one which we first saw. The latter we followed for a considerable distance; and then, mounting a hill to the S.W., had in view the great Saracenic castle near Panias, the town of that name, and the plain

of the Jordan, as far as the lake Houle, with the mountains on the other side of the plain, forming altogether a fine *coup d'œil*. As we descended towards Panias, we found the country extremely beautiful. Great quantities of wild-flowers, and a variety of shrubs just budding, together with the richness of the verdure, grass, corn, and beans, showed us all at once the beauties of spring (Feb. 24), and conducted us into a climate quite different from that of Damascus. In the evening, we entered Panias, crossing a causeway constructed over the rivulet which flows from the foot of Djebel Sheikh. The river here rushes over great rocks in a very picturesque manner, its banks being covered with shrubs and the ruins of the ancient walls." Panias, afterwards called Cæsarea Philippi, has resumed its ancient name. The present town of Banias is small. Seetzen describes it as a little hamlet of about twenty miserable huts, inhabited by Mahomedans; but Burckhardt says, it contains about 150 houses, inhabited mostly by Turks; there are also Greeks, Druses, and Enzairies. It belongs to Hasbeia, whose emir nominates the sheikh. It is situated at the foot of the mountain called Djebel Heish. To the N. E. of the village is the source of the river of Banias, which flows under a well-built bridge on the north-side of the village, near which are some remains of the ancient town. The ground it now occupies is of a triangular form, inclosed by the river on one side, a rivulet on the other, and the mountain at the back. The "Castle of Banias" is situated on the summit of a lofty mountain; it was built, Seetzen says, without giving his authority, in the time of the caliphs. Burckhardt says, it seems to have been erected during the period of the Crusades; he saw no inscriptions, but was afterwards told that there are several, both in Arabic and in Frank (Greek or Latin). The mountain on which it stands, forming part of the Djebel Heish, is an hour and a quarter from Banias, bearing from it E. by S. "It is now completely in ruins, but was once a strong fortress. Its whole circumference is twenty-five minutes. It is surrounded with a wall ten feet thick, flanked with numerous round towers, built with equal blocks of stone, each about two feet square. The keep, or citadel, seems to have been on the highest summit on the eastern side, where the walls are stronger than on the other side. On the western side, within the precincts of the castle, are ruins of many private habitations. At both the western corners, runs a succession of dark, strongly-built, low apartments, like cells, vaulted, and with small narrow loop-holes, as if for musketry. On this side also is a well, more than 20 feet square, walled in, with a vaulted roof, at least 25 feet high. The well was, even in this

* "Now, Panium is thought to be the fountain of Jordan; but, in reality, it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called *Phiala*. This place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is 120 furlongs from Cæsarea, and is not far out of the road, on the right hand. And indeed it hath its name of *Phiala* (vial or bowl) very justly, from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel; its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over. And this origin of Jordan was formerly not known. It was discovered so to be when Philip was Tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into *Phiala*, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, whither it had been, therefore, carried by the waters. Now Jordan's visible stream arises from this cavern, and divides the marshes and fens of the lake Semechonitis; and when it hath run another 120 furlongs, it first passes by the city Julius, and then passes through the middle of lake Genuesareth."—Josephus, Wars, b. iii., chap. 10, § 7. M. Seetzen makes the lake of *Phiala* two leagues distant to the east of Panias; and says, it now bears the name of *Birket-el-Ram*, under which name it is given in Arrowsmith's map. But Burckhardt states, that what the Bedouins call *Birket-el-Ram*, and the peasants *Birket Abou Ermeil*, is a reservoir of water a few hundred paces to the south of the regular road, near the foot of Tel Abou Nedy; it is, he says, about 120 paces in circumference, and is supplied by two springs which are never dry, one of which is in the bottom of a deep well in the midst of the *Birket*. Just by this reservoir are the ruins of an ancient town, about a quarter of an hour in circuit, of which nothing remains but large heaps of stones. Five minutes further is another *Birket*, which is filled by rain-water only. The neighbourhood of these reservoirs is covered with a forest of short oaks. The road now begins to descend gently; and an hour and a half further, just by the road on the left, is 'a large pond,' about 200 paces in circumference, called *Birket Nejeh*, or *Tefah*; it was said to contain a spring, but some denied it. "From which I inferred," says Burckhardt, "that the water never dries up completely. I take this to be the lake *Phiala*, as there is no other lake or pond in the neighbourhood."—Travels in Syria, p. 314.

dry season, full of water; there are three others in the castle. It has but one gate, on the south side. In winter time, the shepherds of the Felahs of the Heish, who encamp upon the mountain, pass the night in the castle with their cattle." The view from hence is described as magnificent. The wady at its S. E. foot is called *Wady Kyb*; that on its western side, *Wady-el-Kashabs*; and that "on the other side of the latter" (the equivocal expression is Burckhardt's), *Wady-el-Asal*. Where was the temple erected by Herod the Great, in honour of Augustus, out of gratitude to the emperor for having put him in possession of Trachonitis? Seetzen remarks, that the circuit of the ancient walls of the city is easily distinguishable, but that no traces remain of this magnificent edifice. Burckhardt noticed some remains of the ancient town near the bridge, but says that the principal part seems to have been on the opposite side of the river, where the ruins extend for a quarter of an hour beyond the bridge. No walls remain; but great quantities of stones and architectural fragments are scattered about. He saw here one entire column, of small dimensions, and in the village, on the left side of the river, a granite column, one foot and a half in diameter. On the south side of the village, are the ruins of a strong castle, which, from its appearance and mode of construction, may, he conjectures, be of the same age as the castle on the mountain. It is surrounded with a broad ditch, within which was a wall: several towers are still standing. A very solid bridge, which crosses the winter torrent Wady-el-Kyd, leads to the entrance of the castle, over which is an Arabic inscription, with a date coinciding with the era of the crusades. There are five or six granite columns built into the walls of the gateway. There can be no doubt that these formed part of some ancient edifice, and possibly of the temple in question. The whole mountain, however, had the name of Panium; and Dr. Richardson is disposed to imagine, that the *Khallat-el-Banias* on the mountain may be built on the site of the temple. The commanding situation, overlooking the whole plain, may be thought to have recommended it to Herod, as comporting with the magnificence of his conceptions; and it is remarkable, that, distant as it is from the town, it should preserve the name of the Castle of Banias. The determination of this point must be left to future travellers. The city of Panias owed its Roman name, and much of its consequence and architectural decoration, to Herod Philip, the Tetrarch, who called it Cæsarea, in honour of Tiberius Cæsar: it received the adjunct of his own name to distinguish it from Cæsarea of Palestine. It was indebted for further improve-

ments to the royal liberality of Agrippa.* The neighbourhood is very beautiful, richly wooded, and abounding with game. The "apparent source of the Jordan" flows from under a cave at the foot of a precipice, in the perpendicular sides of which are several niches, adorned with pilasters, having under them Greek inscriptions. Upon the top of the rock, to the left of these, is a mosque dedicated to Nebbi Khouder, called by the Christians *Mar Georgius*, which is a place of devotion for Mahommedan strangers passing this way. Seetzen says: "The copious source of the river of Banias rises near a remarkable grotto in the rock, on the declivity of which I copied some ancient Greek inscriptions, dedicated to *Pan* and the Nymphs of the Fountain. The ancients gave the name of 'Source of the Jordan' to the spring from which the Banias rises; and its beauty might entitle it to that name. But, in fact, it appears that the preference is due to the spring of the river Hasbeia, which rises half a league to the W. of Hasbeia, and which forms the largest branch of the Jordan. The spring of Tel-el-Kadi, which the natives take for the source of the Jordan, is that which least merits the name." Pococke observes, that Jerome mentions a village called Dan, four miles from this site. Burckhardt states, that an hour and a quarter to the N. E. of Banias, is situated "the source of the Jordan, or, as it is here called, *Dhan*," in the plain, near the hill called Tel-el-Kadi—the spring to which Seetzen refers; and the distance agrees with the place mentioned by Jerome. There are, we are told, two springs near each other, one smaller than the other, whose waters unite immediately below: the larger source immediately forms a river 12 or 15 yards across, which rushes rapidly over a stony bed into the lower plain. Both sources are on a level ground, among rocks of tufwacke. There are no ruins of any kind near the springs; but the hill over them seems to have been built upon, though nothing now is visible. At a quarter of an hour to the N. of the spring, are ruins of ancient habitations, built of the black tufwacke, the principal rock found in the plain. The few houses at present inhabited on that spot, are called *Enkeil*. "I was told," adds Burckhardt, "that the ancient name of the river of Banias was *Djour*, which, added to the name of *Dhan*, made Jourdan. The more correct etymology is, probably, Or Dhan—in Hebrew, the River of Dhan. Lower down, between the Houle and the lake Tabaria, it is called Orden

* As for Panium itself, its natural beauty had been improved by the royal liberality of Agrippa, and adorned at his expense."—Joseph., Wars, book iii., chap. 10.

by the inhabitants. To the southward of the lake of Tabaria, it bears the name of Sherya, till it falls into the Dead Sea." The whole of this statement, there is reason to suspect, rests upon hearsay; and when it is recollected that Burckhardt's authorities in this quarter were, for the most part, Greek priests, there is the more necessity for caution in receiving that part of it which relates to the ancient names. That the Banians was anciently called the Djour, is a mere legend; and as little is it to be believed, that the river, below lake Houle, is called the Orden, unless by the Christians. It is, however, to this legendary opinion respecting the source of the Jordan, that Milton may be thought to refer, when he says—

"Here the double-founted stream,
Jordan, true limit eastward."*

The same description would, nevertheless, apply to it, as formed by the junction of the waters of Hasbeia and Banias; and Seetzen's remark is deserving of attention, that this third source of Tel-el-Kadi least merits the name of the source of the Jordan. The name Panias is of classic origin, and is supposed to be derived from the worship of Pan. The cavern and Πανιον, or sanctuary of Pan, are described by Josephus. The niche in the cavern probably contained a statue of the god. In the middle niche in the rock the base of a statue is still visible. Round the source of the river are a number of hewn stones, which appear to have belonged to some ancient edifice. Some have supposed this place to be the Dan of the Scriptures, on the slender ground of the faint resemblance of the names. The hill is considered as the Mount Hermon of the Old Testament, that being mentioned as the northern boundary of the Land of Israel, on the other side of Jordan, as overlooking the Valley of Lebanon, and as a boundary of the country of the Hivites in Mount Lebanon, which extended from Baal-Hermon to Hamath.† If so, this would seem to be "the Valley of Lebanon," and Panias might claim to be considered as the Baal-Gad which was under Mount Hermon.‡ The name of Baal, thus connected both with the mountain and the city, would seem to refer to the heathen worship that was carried on here. It was the same deity, apparently, that gave his name to Baalbec. Without attempting to trace any connexion between the attributes of the Syrian Baal and the classic Pan, it would not be a violent conjecture, that the worship of the

one might succeed the adoration of the other deity. The mountain, as well as the city, would undergo a correspondent change of name; and thus, Baal-Hermon would become Panium, and Baal-Gad, Panias. In like manner, Baal-Bek was changed, we might say translated, into Heliopolis. A sacred fountain in Greece almost invariably points out the site of an ancient temple; and the usual characteristics of these *hajiasmata*, or holy fountains, are, a romantic landscape, and the neighbourhood of a cavern or grove. Here we have every circumstance united that superstition required to give sacredness to the place. But, in reference to the ancient names, there is a remarkable passage in Josephus, which deserves consideration. The marshes of lake Semechonitis reach, he says, "as far as the place Daphne, which, in other respects, is a delicious place, and hath such fountains as supply water to what is called *Little Jordan*, under the temple of the golden calf, where it is sent into Great Jordan."|| Reland supposes that the text is corrupted, and that, instead of Daphne in this place, we should read Dan. If not, we may conclude that the ancient Dan was afterwards called Daphne. The Little Jordan is, most probably, the Banias of Burckhardt, which, at the distance of an hour and a half in the plain below, falls into what Seetzen denominates the Hasbeia—the *Moiel Hasbeia*, which is the larger branch. Near the confluence of these streams, we must look for the Dan of Scripture, and the exact situation of one of Jeroboam's golden calves.§ Panias, supposed by the ancients to be the source of the Jordan, can hardly be the place referred to by Josephus. It must, therefore, be below it; and we are strongly inclined to believe, that the sequestered mound and the grove of venerable oaks, described by Dr. Richardson in such glowing language, will be found to answer most completely to the Daphne of Josephus,¶ and the Dan of Scripture, where once stood the temple of the golden calf. It must be near this delicious spot, that the river of Hasbeia meets with the Banias or Little Jordan; and the marshes of Semechonitis extend almost to the base of the mount. It is observable, also, that the plain changes its name nearly about the same place, from Ard Houle to Ard Banias; and it is by the confluence of the streams here that the river is formed, which Josephus distinguishes as the Great Jordan.

|| Wars, b. iv., chap. i.

§ See Judg. xviii. 29; 1 Kings xii. 29.

¶ Lightfoot says, that Riblah, a place on the border of Israel, is by the Targumists rendered *Daphne*. They render Numb. xxxiv. 11, "and the border shall go down to Daphne."

* Paradise Lost, book xii., line 144.

† Josh. xi. 17; xiii. 11; Judg. iii. 3

‡ Josh. xiii. 5.

CALAH, a city of Assyria, built by Asher, or by Nimrod (Gen. x. 11, 12), and which Bochart thinks to be the same city as is called Halah in 2 Kings xvii. 6. Celarius takes it to be Holwan, a famous town in the ages of the Caliphs, in the Syriac dialect called *Hhulon*, but in the Syriac documents written *Hhalach*; and Mr. Taylor inclines to this opinion, remarking, that this city is called by the Arab geographer, *Aklah*, which, though it differs somewhat from the Hebrew *Calach*, and from the Syriac *Hhalach*, not only approaches it as it stands, but, by transposition of the syllables, forms the name *Ach-lah*. Holwan would suit the geographical intention of the text completely, in reference to its connexion with the other cities mentioned; but the locality of Calah must still remain doubtful.

CALVARY, or *Golgotha*, that is, *the place of a skull*, a little hill north-west of Jerusalem, and so called, it is thought, from its skull-like form. It formerly stood outside of the walls of Jerusalem, and was the spot upon which our Saviour was crucified. When Barchochebas revolted against the Romans, Adrian, having taken Jerusalem, entirely destroyed the city, and settled a Roman colony there, calling it *Ælia Capitolina*. The new city was not built exactly on the ruins of the old one, but further north; so that Calvary became almost the centre of the city of *Ælia*. Adrian profaned the mount, and particularly the place where Jesus had been crucified, and his body buried; but the empress Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, erected over the spot a stately church, which is still in being. The objections to the location of Calvary which were urged at an early period of the Christian history, have been renewed by some intelligent travellers and writers, whose high character gives to their decisions a degree of authority, and renders an examination of them necessary in a work like the present. Among these writers Dr. E. D. Clarke stands foremost, whose objections to the identity of the present Calvary with the place of our Saviour's crucifixion and sepulture may be thus summed up: (1) All the evangelists agree in representing the place of crucifixion as "the place of a skull;" that is to say, "a public cemetery;" whereas the spot now assumed as Calvary does not exhibit any evidence which might entitle it to this appellation. (2) The place called "Golgotha," or "Calvary," was a *mount* or *hill*, of which the place now exhibited under this name has not the slightest appearance. (3) The sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, in which our Saviour was laid, was a tomb *cut out of a rock*, instead of which the modern sepulchre is a building of comparatively modern date, and *above ground*. To

these objections Captain Light has given his assent; and adds, "When I saw Mount Calvary within a few feet of the alleged place of sepulture, and the apparent inclination to crowd a variety of events under one roof, I could not help imagining that the zeal of the early Christians might have been the cause of their not seeking among the tombs further from the city the real sepulchre." Dr. Richardson, who also questions the identity of these sacred places, considers, with Captain Light, that the contiguity of the present tomb of Christ to Mount Calvary, is another objection to its identity with the original one. To these objections, which are urged at great length, and with much ingenuity, Mr. Taylor has devoted considerable attention. The following remarks comprise the substance of his arguments, as collected and condensed by the editor of the 8vo. edition of Calmet.

1. THE NAME GOLGOTHA—CALVARY—THE PLACE OF A SKULL—given to the scene of our Saviour's crucifixion, by the evangelists, does not signify, as Dr. Clarke interprets it, after Stockius, "a place of sepulture"—"a public cemetery." It is always used in the singular, "the place of a skull," which would have been a very improper designation for a place of *many skulls*. The language of Luke, however, is peculiar, and places it beyond doubt that *skull* was the proper name of the place. This evangelist, without mentioning Golgotha, writes, *καὶ ὅτε ἀπηλθὼν ἐστὶ τὸν τόπον καλοῦμεν κρανίον*—"and when they were come to a place called SKULL," chap. xxiii. 33. Luke, therefore, appears to have strictly translated the word *Golgotha*, which signifies, not *κρανίον τόπος*—"place of a skull," but simply, *κρανίον*, SKULL. Now, that this name was given from the peculiar form of the place, and not in consequence of any purpose to which it was devoted, will appear from the following considerations: (1) GOLGOTHA (גולגתא) is derived from the root גל *gal*, a circle, knoll, or *rotundity*. Being in the duplicate form, *Gal-gal-ta*, it expresses—circle around circle, or circle above circle (as *Gilgal*, written *Galgala* in the Greek, 1 Mac. ix. 2), or *round upon round*; which is, no doubt, its import here, with an emphatic suffix; "THE round upon round." Compare Josh. xviii. 17, and for the emphatic prefix, Neh. xii. 29. (2) The Greek term employed by the evangelists to translate this Hebrew term is, as we have seen, *κρανίον* (*kranion*), which imports the *top* or *summit* of the head [it is applied in Homer to the summit of a mountain]; the *cra-nium*, not the whole head; and this further appears from the name given to the place in Latin. (3) CALVARY, from *Calvus*, a bald *pate*; or the upper part of the head, where baldness begins

and fixes itself. Not the whole head (*caput*), from the neck upwards, but that prominence on the head, which is a smaller round (the *pate*) on a larger round (the skull). In some persons this is very conspicuous; in all it is sufficiently marked to justify the distinction between *pate* and *head*. There may be much hair on the *head*, the *pate* of which is bald. Comp. Gen. xlix. 26.

2. It is not a little curious that Dr. Clarke should not have perceived that his objection to the present site of Calvary—that it has no appearance of a mount—imposes an insuperable difficulty in the way of his own hypothesis, which places Calvary in “a deep trench”—the valley Tyropæon—between Acna and Sion. Not to dwell, however, upon this glaring inconsistency, we proceed to consider, whether the spot now shown as Calvary does not exhibit the appearance of a mount, and also that peculiar form from which it has been as probable that Calvary derived its name. In this inquiry Father Bernardino may be a guide. He says, “The space occupied by Mount Calvary is now divided into two parts, forming chapels; the first of these is *twenty-one palms* in width, and *forty-seven* in length. . . . The second division of Mount Calvary is *eighteen palms* in width, and *forty-seven* in length.” Speaking of the chapels, he says, they are not on the same level; but, “the MOUNT is in height towards the north two palms and a half; and towards the S. W. two palms and ten inches; and the SMALLER RISING (*il poggio*) is in height *seven inches two minutes and a half*. This was the place of the bad thief. Towards the north, the place of the good thief, it is in height *one palm and six inches*. . . .” “The steps under the arch towards the north leading to the LITTLE HILL, are in height—the first, *two palms*; the second, one palm *ten inches*. . . .” “The letter H IS THE PROPER MOUNT CALVARY;”—this letter H is placed on the rising described as *il poggio*, the LITTLE HILL, marked by a circle, as the place of the cross of Jesus. This is evidence that this ignorant and superstitious monk, as Dr. Clarke would probably call him, distinguished two risings in Mount Calvary; though Dr. Clarke passed the distinction over without notice. How greatly his observation confirms the derivation traced in the name, may safely be left to the reader's intelligence. To obtain a clear idea of Mount Calvary, we must imagine a rising, now about *fifteen* feet high. The ascent comprises *eighteen* stairs. The first flight contains *ten* stairs, the second flight contains *eight*. There are also two others, in length more than *forty* feet, and in width more than *thirty* feet; and upon this, nearly in the centre, a smaller rising about *seventeen* inches in height; which smaller

rising is, says Bernardino, “IL PROPRIO MONTE CALVARIO.” After this, how can Dr. Clarke affirm that there exists no evidence in the church of the holy sepulchre; “*nothing that can be reconciled* with the history of our Saviour's sufferings and burial?” It is affirmed that Mount Calvary was levelled for the foundations of the church.

3. In reply to Dr. Clarke's last objection, Mr. Taylor adopts a course of reasoning to the following effect: The first step to be taken in the inquiry is, to determine what kind of sepulchral edifice was constructed by Joseph of Arimathea; and this can only be accomplished, by strictly examining the words of the original writers who describe it. Dr. Clarke, having inspected a great number of ancient tombs cut in the rock, in various parts of the countries through which he had travelled, and not a few at Jerusalem itself, had suffered this idea to take entire possession of his mind; he looked for an excavation in a rock, and *nothing more*. But, before we determine that there really was nothing more, we are bound to examine whether the terms employed by the evangelists to describe the eventually sacred sepulchre, are completely satisfied, by this restricted acceptance.

4. It is so well known that the Greeks employed several terms to describe different kinds of sepulchral constructions, that a bare notice of it is sufficient in this place: *Ταφος*, *Σημα*, *Τυμβος*, *Σοφος*, *Σαρκοφάγος*, *Μνημειον*, &c., all refer to the deposition, interment, or commemoration of the dead; but these are not indiscriminately interchangeable; though, perhaps, we may find *τυμβος*; connected occasionally with most of them; and *ταφος*, possibly, with all of them. Matthew (whose work, it will be remembered, is a translation from the Syriac) uses two words to describe Joseph's intended place of burial. In chap. xvii. 60, he says, *he laid the body of Jesus in his own new μνημειον* [TOMB, Eng. Tr.]—*and they rolled a great stone to the door του μνημειου* [of the SEPULCHRE, Eng. Tr.]—*And there were Mary Magdalene, &c., sitting over against του ταφου* [the SEPULCHRE, Eng. Tr.]. This rendering of the same word, *μνημειον*, by both *tomb* and *sepulchre*, is injudicious. Campbell more prudently continues to each term of the original that by which he had first chosen to express it, in English: “He deposited the body in his own *monument*—Mary Magdalene, &c., sitting over against the *sepulchre*.”—“Command that the *sepulchre* (του ταφου) be guarded.”—“Make the *sepulchre* (του ταφου) as secure as ye can.” Mary Magdalene, &c., went to visit the *sepulchre* (του ταφου). “Come, see the place where the Lord lay;—they went out from the *monument*, το μνημειον.” It is inferred, then, that what is ren-

dered *monument*, implies a kind of frontispiece, or ornamental door-way [the *stone portal* of Captain Light]; and the evangelist may include the chambers in this term, as from these the women *came out*. It will follow, that the women, if they sat behind the *taphos*, or on either side of it, while Joseph and the other persons were washing and preparing the body, were, as decorum demanded, somewhat withdrawn from the *monument*; to which they directed their attention, not till the body was deposited, or on the point of being deposited. Neither of the other evangelists uses more than one term—the *monument*. The nature of this will justify a closer inspection of it.

5. The evangelist Matthew says, this *monument* was *ἐλατύνουν ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ, cut out, hollowed out, scooped out of the rock*, which formed the substratum of the soil; while his other term (*taphos*) intends the external hillock, or mound-like form of the rock, rising above the general level of the ground. There is no occasion for going beyond the volumes of Dr. Clarke for proof of this acceptance of the term *taphos*; whether we accompany him among the tumuli of the Steppes, or those in the plain of Troy—to the tomb of Ajax—to the tomb of Æsayetes (which are conical mounds of earth, like our English *barrows*), all are *taphoi*. Mark repeats nearly the words of Matthew, in reference to the *monument*; but Luke, by using the term *λαξεύω*, affords a more precise idea. The word signifies to cut and *polish* stones; it is composed of *λας, a stone*, and *ξίω, to polish, to carve*; but this carving and polishing implies a pattern, an ornamental figure, of some kind. No man would say of the sepulchres simply excavated in the rock of the Holy Sion, that they were carved, cut, or polished. To say the least, this sepulchre of the “rich man of Arimathea,” may be compared to the sepulchres discovered at Telmessus; of which Dr. Clarke says, “In such situations are seen excavated chambers, worked with such marvellous art, as to exhibit open façades, porticoes with Ionic columns, gates, and doors, beautifully sculptured, on which are carved the representation as of embossed iron-work, bolts, and hinges.” Those ornaments were hewn in the rock; but Luke’s words are not restricted to this sense, for it should seem that the very term rendered *monument*, leads us to *building* of some kind, *prefixed* to the rock, or even standing above it. This evangelist’s phrase (chap. xi. 47) is express to the point; *οικοδομοῦναι τὰ μνημεία*, “*ye build the monuments of the prophets*,” where the term *build* is explicit; and it is further elucidated—if it admit of further elucidation—by the “small temple” built over the excavated tomb of Joseph, and others already quoted. Perhaps,

even this term, *μνημειον*, includes or implies some kind of *construction*, not merely excavation; so in the tomb, of which Dr. Clarke gives a delineation, p. 244. Helen “*constructed this monument for herself*”—*το μνημειον κατασκευασεν*—but, this *monument* is “composed of five immense masses of stone, wrought into conjunction; and forming an upper chamber, “which seemed to communicate with an inferior vault. And this—*construction*—is the regular import of the term *kateskeuasen*, which as regularly accompanies the term *monument*. (See Clarke, p. 250, 256. Montfaucon, vol. v., p. 38, 39, several instances; and in the latest travellers, as Walpole, vol. ii., p. 538, & *al.*) This distinction seems to be observed in Mark v., where we read of the man with an unclean spirit (ver. 2), who, coming out of the *monuments* (*τῶν τρημύσεων*), met Jesus; and we are told that he had taken up his residence in the *monuments*, and that he was night and day in the *monuments*, and in (*τοις ὄρεσι*) the caverns of the mountains (Schleusener); that is to say, in the sepulchres excavated from the mountain rocks. It is worth while to understand this, inasmuch as we may otherwise look for what we ought not to expect to find. The sepulchre of David (Acts ii. 29) was a *monument*, not an excavation in the rock of Sion. The rocks were rent (Matt. xxviii. 32), but the *monuments* in which the dead were deposited were opened.

6. It is concluded, then, on the authority of Matthew, that the intended burial-place of Joseph of Arimathea presented two distinctions, a *taphos*—sepulchre, and a *mnemon*—monument. Not unlike is the tomb now shown for that of the Saviour. It is affirmed to be a rock encased with building. Heartily do we wish the building were not there; heartily do we agree with honest Sandys: “Those naturall formes are vtterly deformed, which would haue better satisfied the beholder; and too much regard hath made them lesse regardable. For, as the Satyre speaketh of the fountaine of Ægeria,

How much more venerable had it bene,
If grasse had clothed the circling banks in greene
NOR MARBLE HAD THE NATIVE TOPHIS MARR'D.”

Yet Sandys speaks expressly of “a compast rooffe of the SOLID ROCKE, but lined for the most part with white marble.” This distinction is not noticed by Dr. Clarke; neither has he noticed that the frontispiece to this tomb is confessedly modern; that in this exterior building the arch of the roof is *pointed*, whereas in the interior chamber the arch is *circular*: proof enough of reparation, without consulting the monks. But if Mr. Hawkins’s History of this Church be cor-

rect, in which he says, "Hequen, caliph of Egypt, sent Hyaroc to Jerusalem, who took effectual care that the church should be *pulled down to the ground*, conformably to the royal command,"—if this be true, no doubt the sepulchre, which was the principal object of veneration in the church, was demolished *most unrelentingly*. It would, therefore, be no wonder to find that the present building is little other than a shell over the spot assigned to the tomb; and this without any reflection on the character of "old lady" Helena, who could not foresee what the Saracens would do nearly nine hundred years after her death.

7. So much for the similarities between the evangelists' description of the sacred places, and those appearances which they now present: it remains to inquire, what proof we have that their localities were accurately preserved. It is certain that many thousands of strangers resorted every year to Jerusalem, for purposes of devotion, who would find themselves interested, in a more than ordinary degree, in the transactions which that city had lately witnessed, and with the multitudinous reports concerning them, which were of a nature too stupendous to be concealed. The language of Luke xxiv. 28 plainly imports wonder that so much as a single pilgrim to the holy city could be ignorant of late events; and Paul appeals to Agrippa's knowledge, that "these things were not done in a corner." It is, in short, impossible that the natural curiosity of the human mind—to adduce no superior principle—should be content to undergo the fatigues of a long journey to visit Jerusalem, and yet, when there, should refrain from visiting the scenes of the late astonishing wonders. So long as access to the temple was free, so long would Jews and proselytes from all nations pay their devotions there; and so long would the inquisitive, whether converts to Christianity or not, direct their attention to Mount Calvary, with the garden and sepulchre of Joseph. The apostles were at hand to direct all inquirers; neither James nor John could be mistaken; and during more than thirty years the localities would be ascertained beyond a doubt, by the participators and the eye-witnesses themselves. Though the fact is credible, yet we do not read of any attempt of the rulers of the Jews to obstruct access to them, or to destroy them: but it is likely that they might be in danger on the breaking out of the Jewish war (A. D. 66), and especially on the circumvallation of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. The soldiers of Titus, who destroyed every tree in the country around to employ its timber in the construction of their works, would effectually dismantle the garden of Joseph; and we cannot from this time reckon,

with any certainty, on more of its evidence than what was afforded by the chambers cut into the rock; and possibly the portal, or monument, annexed to them.

8. At the time of the commotions in Judæa, and the siege of Jerusalem, the Christians of that city retired to Pella, beyond the Jordan. These must have known well the situation of Mount Calvary; nor were they so long absent as might justify the notion that they could forget it when they returned; or that they were a new generation, and therefore had no previous acquaintance with it. They were the same persons; the same church-officers, with the same bishop at their head, Simeon, son of Cleophas; and whether we allow for the time of their absence two years, or five years, or seven years, it is morally impossible that they could make any mistake in this matter. Simeon lived out the century; and from the time of his death to the rebellion of the Jews under Barchochebas was but thirty years—too short a period, certainly, for the successors of Simeon, at Jerusalem, to lose the knowledge of places adjacent to that city. That Barchochebas and his adherents would willingly have destroyed every evidence of Christianity, with Christianity itself, we know; but whether his power included Jerusalem, in which was a Roman garrison, may be doubted. The war ended some time before A. D. 140; and from the end of the war we are to consider the emperor and his successors as intent on establishing his new city *Ælia*, and on mortifying to the utmost both Jews and Christians, who were generally considered as a sect of the Jews. It is worth our while to examine the evidence in proof of the continued veneration of the Christians for the holy places, which should properly be divided into two periods: the first to the time of Adrian's *Ælia*; the second, from that time to the days of Constantine. Jerome, writing to Marcella concerning this custom, has this remarkable passage: *Longum est nunc ab ascensu Domini usque ad presentem diem per singulas ætates currere, qui Episcoporum, qui Martyrum, qui eloquentiam in doctrina Ecclesiastica virorum venerint. Hierosolymam, putantes se minus religionis, minus habere scientiæ, nisi in illis Christum adorent: locis, de quibus primum, Evangelium de patibulorum scaverat (Ep. 17, ad Marcell.).*—"During the whole time from the ascension of our Lord to the present day, through every age as it rolled on, as well bishops, martyrs, and men eminently eloquent in ecclesiastical learning, came to Jerusalem; thinking themselves deficient in religious knowledge, unless they adored Christ in those places from which the gospel dawn burst from the cross." It is a pleasing reflection that the

leading men in the early Christian communities were thus diligent in acquiring the most exact information. They spared no pains to obtain the sacred books in their complete and perfect state, and to satisfy themselves by ocular inspection, so far as possible, of the truth of those facts on which they built the doctrine they delivered to their hearers. So Melito, bishop of Sardis [A. D. 170], writes to Onesimus: "When I went into the East, and was come to the place where those things were preached *and done*." So we read that Alexander, bishop of Cappadocia (A. D. 211), *going to Jerusalem for the sake of prayer, and to visit the sacred places*, was chosen assistant-bishop of that city. This seems to have been the regular phraseology on such occasions; for to this cause Sozomen ascribes the visit of Helena to Jerusalem, "for the sake of prayer, and to visit the sacred places."

9. This may properly introduce the second period in this history, on which Mr. Taylor lays great stress, as it is no longer the testimony of friends, but of enemies, whose determination was to destroy to their utmost every vestige of the gospel of Christ. They could not be mistaken; and their endeavours guide our judgment. Jerome says, *Ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in hoc resurrectionis simulacrum Jovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur, existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et crucis, si loca Sancta per idola polluerent. Bethlehem nunc nostrum et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo Psalmista canit, Veritas de Terra orta est, lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, i. e., Adonidis; et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris Amasius plangebatur (Ess. 13 ad Paulin.)* "From the time of Hadrian to that of the government of Constantine, about the space of one hundred and eighty years, in the place of the resurrection was set up an image of Jupiter; in the rock of the cross a marble statue of Venus was stationed, to be worshipped by the people; the authors of these persecutions supposing that they should deprive us of our faith in the resurrection and the cross, if they could but pollute the holy places by idols. Bethlehem, now our most venerable place, and that of the whole world, of which the Psalmist sings, 'Truth is sprung out of the earth,' was overshadowed by the grove of Thamuz, i. e., of Adonis; and in the cave where once the Messiah appeared as an infant, the lover of Venus was loudly lamented." This is a general account of facts; a few additional hints may be gleaned from other writers. Socrates (Hist. Ecc.

lib. i., cap. 17) says, "Those who followed the faith of Christ, after his death, held in great reverence [or worshipped] the monument of that wonderful work; but those who hated the religion of Christ, filled up the place with a dyke of stones, and built in it a temple of Venus, with a figure standing upon it; by which they intended to dissipate all recollection of the holy place. 'Αφροδιτης, κατ' αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατασκευασάντες, ἐπίστησαν ἀγαλμα, μὴ ποιοῦντες μνημειοὶ τοῦ τόπου. Sozomen is more particular. We learn from him that "the Gentiles by whom the church was persecuted, in the very infancy of Christianity, laboured by every art, and in every manner, to abolish it: the holy place they blocked up with a vast heap of stones; and they raised that to a great height, which before had been of considerable depth; as it may now be seen. And moreover, the entire place, as well of the resurrection as of Calvary, they surrounded by a wall, stripping it of all ornament. And first they overlaid the ground with stones, then they built a temple of Venus on it, and set up an image of the goddess, Περιλαβόντες δὲ περίξ πάντα τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως χώρον καὶ τοῦ Κρανίου, διεπέσμησαν, καὶ λίθω τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν κατίστρωσαν:—καὶ Ἀφροδιτὴς ναὸν κατασκεύασαν, καὶ ζώδιον ἱδρύσαντο,—their intention being, that whoever there adored Christ, should seem to be worshipping Venus; so that, in process of time, the true cause of this worship in this place should be forgotten; and that the Christians practising this should become also less attentive to other religious observances; while the Gentile temple and image worship should be; on the contrary, established."

10. If any credit be due to these historians, the heathen levellers had left but little to be done by "old lady Helena," in the way of deforming these sacred objects. They had, with the most violent zeal, changed the features of every part: what was originally a hollow they raised into a hill; what was high they cut down and levelled;—to use a homely phrase, they turned every thing *topsy-turvy*. Helena could only cause these places to be cleared and cleansed: to reinstate them in their first forms, was out of her power. And that the evidence of this desecration should not rest on "monkish historians," Providence has preserved incontestable witnesses in the medals of Adrian, which mark him as the *founder* of the new city, Ælia, and exhibit a temple of Jupiter, another of Venus, and various other deities, all worshipped in it.

11. It is evident that if the rock of Calvary and the holy sepulchre were surrounded by the same wall, as Sozomen asserts, they could not be

far distant from each other; and this wall, with the temples and other *sacra* it inclosed, would not only mark these places, but, in a certain sense, would preserve them; as the mosque of Omar preserves the site of the temple of Solomon, at this day. While, therefore, we abandon to Dr. Clarke and Captain Light the commemorative altars and stations, which we think it not worth while to defend; and while we heartily wish that all these places had been left in their original state, to tell their own story; we must be allowed to relieve the memory of the Christian empress from the guilt of deforming by intentional honours these sacred localities; and the monks, however ignorant or credulous, from the imputation of imposing on their pilgrims and visitors, in respect to the site of the places they now show as peculiarly holy.

12. On the whole, we are called to admire the proofs yet preserved to us by Providence, of transactions in these localities nearly two thousand years ago; facts which for centuries employed the artifices and the power of the supreme government in church and state, of the Jewish hierarchy, and of the Roman emperors, to subvert, to destroy the evidences of, yet the evidences defied their malignity; of the barbarians—Saracens and Turks, to demolish, but they still survive; of heathen philosophy, and *soi-disant* modern philosophy, to annul, but in vain. The labours of Julian to re-edify the temple continue almost *living* witnesses of his discomfiture. The sepulchres of the soldiers who fell in assailing Jerusalem, remain *speaking* evidences of the destruction of the city, according to prediction, by the Romans. The holy sepulchre stands a traditional memorial of occurrences too incredible to obtain credit, unless supported by superhuman testimony. Or, if that be thought dubious, Mount Calvary certainly exists, with features so distinct, so peculiar to itself, and unlike every thing else around it, that in spite of the ill-judged labours of honest enthusiasm, of the ridiculous tales of superstition, and the mummery of ignorance and arrogance, we have only to compare the original records of our faith with circumstances actually existing, to demonstrate that the works on which our belief

relies were actually written in the country, at the times, and by the persons—eye-witnesses—which they purport to be.

CANAAN. See page 409, *ante*.

CAPERNAUM, a city on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, on the borders of Zebulun and Naphtali, and in which our Saviour principally dwelt during the three years of his public ministry, Matt. iv. 13; Mark ii. 1; John vi. 17. Buckingham, Burckhardt, and some other travellers, believe it to have been the place now called *Talkhenn* or *Tel Hoom*, which is upon the edge of the sea, from 9 to 12 miles N. N. E. of Tiberias, and where there are ruins indicative of a considerable place at some former period. Dr. Richardson, however, in passing through the plain of Gennesareth, inquired of the natives whether they knew such a place as Capernaum? to which they replied, "Cavernahum wa Chonasi; they are quite near, but in ruins." This should, perhaps, induce us to fix the site of Capernaum further south; but our Saviour's denunciation against it seems to have been literally accomplished, and it has been cast down into the grave; for hitherto no satisfactory evidence has been found of the place on which it stood, Matt. xi. 23.

CAPPADOCIA, a region of Asia, adjoining Pontus, Armenia, Phrygia, and Galatia (Acts ii. 9; 1 Pet. i. 1); between the Halys, the Euphrates, and the Euxine. Ptolemy mentions the Cappadocians, and derives their name from a river, *Cappadox*. They were formerly called *Leuco Syri*, or "White Syrians;" not that they had been inhabitants of Palestine Syria; they were probably the same as the "White Indians," or emigrants from the banks of the Indus: and this appellation adds a presumptive proof that there was a Syria not less easterly than that river.

CARCHEMISH, a city on the Euphrates, belonging to Assyria, which was taken by Necho, king of Egypt, and retaken by Nebuchadnezzar, in the fourth year of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; 2 Kings xxiii. 29. Isaiah speaks of Carchemish, and seems to say that Tiglath-pileser conquered it; perhaps from the Egyptians. It is thought to be the same as Circusium, Circesium, or Kirkisia, which is situated in the angle formed by the junction of the Chaboras and the Euphrates.

CARMEL, MOUNT. See page 419, *ante*.

CHALDEA. See page 433, *ante*.

CHITTIM. There is some difficulty in determining the country or countries implied under this name; and Mr. Taylor properly suggests the necessity of examining critically the various passages of Scripture in which the word occurs, for

* This meets the remaining objection, urged by Dr. Richardson and Capt. Light; namely, the contiguity of the holy sepulchre to Mount Calvary. The language of John, too, is decisive upon this point: "Now there was *IN* the place (*ἐν τῷ τόπῳ*) where he was crucified a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre. There they laid Jesus." (chap. xix. 41) And he repeats, that the sepulchre was *nigh at hand*—*ἐγγυς*—close by, adjoining.

the purpose of ascertaining whether more than one region or country may not be intended. We have, then, the following references: (1) Chittim mentioned by Moses, Numb. xxiv. 24. (2) Chittim mentioned by Daniel, chap. xi. 30. Bochart is of opinion that the ships of Chittim here refer to the Roman fleet, presuming that Chittim signifies Italy; but, as Mr. Taylor remarks, he calls the Roman fleet that of the Chittim, because it lay in the harbours of the Macedonians; thus the fleet of Chittim and of Macedonia was, in fact, the Roman fleet also. (3) Chethim in the isle of Cyprus; from whence, as Josephus says, the Hebrews called all islands Chethim, though he restrains that title principally to a city called (Citius) Kitios; now Larnica. (4) In Ezek. xxvii. 6, some of the Arabs translate the word *cheteim* "the isles of India;" the Chaldee, "the province of Apulia," meaning the region of elephants, and probably intending Pal in Egypt. The Syriac Version reads Chethhoje, which has some resemblance to Cataya, and by which we are directed towards India. (5) Isaiah, speaking of the destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, says, "Howl ye ships of Tarshish, for it is laid waste; from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them," chap. xxiii. 1. Calmet understands this of Macedonia; but then, how is it said that the destruction of Tyre, occasioned by Nebuchadnezzar, should come from Chittim? Might not the passage be more properly interpreted as relating to the destruction of this city by Alexander the Great? Upon the whole, there is reason to think that the word Chittim implies, as Lowth and Hales suppose, all the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean Sea.

CHORAZIN, a town in Galilee, near to Capernaum and Bethsaida, and consequently on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. It is upbraided by Christ for its impenitence, Matt. xi. 21; Luke x. 13. Pococke speaks of a village called *Gerasi*, among the hills west of the place called *Telhoue*, 10 or 12 miles N. N. E. of Tiberias, and close to Capernaum. The natives, according to Dr. Richardson, call it *Chorasi*.

CILICIA, a country of Asia Minor, on the sea-coast north of Cyprus, south of Mount Taurus, and west of the Euphrates; and the capital of which was Tarsus. A synagogue of this province is mentioned in Acts vi. 9; and as Paul was of this country, and of a city so considerable as Tarsus, it may be thought that he was also of this synagogue; so that it is probable he was one of those who had been disputing with Stephen, and were overcome by the arguments of that proto-martyr.

CINNERETH, or CINNEROTH, a city of Naphtali, south of which lay a great plain, which reached

to the Dead Sea, and ran all along the River Jordan, Josh. xix. 35. It is thought that Cinnereth was the same as Tiberias; as the lake of Gennesareth (in Hebrew, the lake of Cinnereth) is, without doubt, that of Tiberias.

CLAUDA, a small island towards the south-west of Crete, Acts xxvii. 16.

CNIDUS, a city standing on a promontory of the same name, in that part of the province of Caria which was called Doris, remarkable for the worship of Venus, and for possessing the celebrated statue of this goddess, made by the famous artist Praxiteles.

COA. There is some doubt about this place. In 1 Kings x. 28, and 2 Chron. i. 16, it is said that horses were brought to Solomon from Coa, at a certain price. The Septuagint read *ix* *Θεσίου*. Some understand the city of Coa in Arabia Felix; others, Co, a city of Egypt, and capital of the province called Cypopolitana. The Hebrew may be translated, "They brought horses to Solomon from Egypt and from Michoë;" and Pliny (lib. vi., cap. 29) assures us that the country of the Troglodytes, near Egypt, was formerly called Michoë. Others reject the idea of a place, and translate, "They brought horses, and spun thread [*linen yarn*, Eng. Trans.];" supposing that the Hebrew *mikoa* signifies thread. Jarchi took it to mean a string of horses, fastened from the tail of one to another; "they brought horses in strings"—at a settled duty or price; and this interpretation is followed by several expositors.

COLOSSE, a city of Phrygia, which stood on the river Lycus, at an equal distance between Laodicea and Hierapolis. These three cities were destroyed by an earthquake, according to Eusebius, in the tenth of Nero, that is, about two years after the date of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians.*

COOS, an island of the Grecian Archipelago, at a short distance from the south-west point of Lesser Asia (1 Macc. xv. 23; Acts xxi. 1), now called *Blancora* or *Lango*.

CORINTH. There is scarcely any one of the seats of ancient magnificence and luxury, says Mr. Conder, that calls up more vivid and powerful associations, than are awakened by the name of this once opulent and powerful city. Corinth, "the prow and stern of Greece," the emporium of its commerce, the key and bulwark of the Peloponnesus, was proverbial for its wealth as early as the time of Homer. Its situation was so advantageous for the inexperienced navigation of early times, that it became of necessity the centre of trade. The circumnavigation of the peninsula

* See page 220, *ante*.

was tedious and uncertain, to a proverb; while at the Isthmus, not only their cargoes, but, if requisite, the smaller vessels, might be transported from sea to sea. By its port of Cenchrea it received the rich merchandise of Asia, and by that of Lechæum it maintained intercourse with Italy and Sicily. The Isthmian games, by the concourse of people which they attracted at their celebration, contributed not a little to its immense opulence; and the prodigality of its merchants rendered the place so expensive, that it became a saying, "It is not for every one to go to Corinth." Need we say that its wealth produced pride, ostentation, effeminacy, and all the vices generally consequent upon it. Lasciviousness was not only tolerated, but consecrated by the worship of Venus, and the notorious prostitution of numerous attendants devoted to her. The city was destroyed by the Romans, B. C. 146; and during the conflagration, several metals in a fused state accidentally running together, produced the composition named *Æs Corinthium*, or Corinthian brass. The city lay waste, until Julius Cæsar settled there a Roman colony; and when the republics of Thebes and Argos, of Sparta and Athens, were lost in a single province of the Roman empire, which, from the superior influence of the Achæan league, was usually denominated the province of Achaia, Corinth became the capital and the residence of the pro-consul, Acts xviii. 12. Paul came here from Athens, A. D. 52, and lodged with Aquila and his wife Priscilla, who, as well as himself, were tent-makers. He preached in the Jewish synagogue, and converted some to the faith of Christ; and from hence he wrote two epistles to the Thessalonians. Finding that the Jews of Corinth, instead of being benefited, opposed him with blasphemy, he shook his raiment, and turned to the Gentiles, lodging with Justus, surnamed Titus, a Gentile, but one who feared God. Many of these embraced the faith. Paul suffered much here, but continued in the neighbourhood eighteen months; from whence he proceeded to Jerusalem, and hence wrote his epistles to the Corinthians. There is great probability that he visited Corinth a second time, towards the end of A. D. 57 (Acts xx. 2; 2 Cor. xii. 14, xiii. 1), and a third time on his second return to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 20. The present town is of considerable extent, and the Acrothorinthos is regarded as the strongest fortification of Greece, next to that of Nauplia in Argolis. The port of Cenchræa retains its ancient name, under the corrupted forms of Chenere and Kekreh.

CRETE, a large island in the Mediterranean (1 Macc. x. 67), almost opposite to Egypt, and now called Candia. Homer celebrates it as famous

for its hundred gates, which Virgil (*Æneid* iii.) seems to refer to cities; but, in the *Odyssey*, Homer calls it "ninety-citied." Being surrounded by the sea, its inhabitants were excellent sailors, and its vessels visited all coasts. They were also famous for archery, which they practised from their infancy. They affected the utmost antiquity as a nation, and distinguished themselves as *Eleocretenses*, "true Cretans." But the glory of Crete was Minos the legislator; the first, it is said, who reduced a wild people to regularity of life. Mr. Taylor supposes, in opposition to Calmet, that the Philistines, who conformed in many respects to the Cretans, did not from Crete people Philistia, but that they peopled Crete from the shores of Egypt or of Judæa. He thinks the Philistines were a Hindoo nation, first settled on the coast of the Red Sea, afterwards extending themselves from thence to Canaan, and so to this island. It appears that the character of this people for lying was thoroughly established in ancient times; for in common speech the expression "to cretanize" signified to tell lies; which contributes to account for that detestable character the apostle (Tit. i. 12) has given of the Cretans, that they are "*always liars*." This was not only the opinion of Epimenides, from whom Paul quotes this verse, but of Callimachus, who has the same words. When Epimenides adds, that "the Cretans are savage beasts," or fierce beasts, "and gor-bellies,"—bellies which take a long time in being filled, he completes a most disgusting description. Polybius represents them as disgraced by piracy, robbery, and almost every crime; and Paul charges Titus to rebuke them sharply, and in strong terms, to prevent their adherence to Jewish fables, human ordinances, and legal observances. Crete was taken by the Romans under Metellus, hence called Creticus, after a vigorous resistance of above two years (A. D. 66); and, with the small kingdom of Cyrene, on the coast of Libya, it formed a Roman province. In the reign of Michael II. the Saracens seized it, and held it, until after 127 years they were expelled by the emperor Phocas. It remained under the dominion of the emperor, till Baldwin, earl of Flanders, being raised to the throne, rewarded Bonifacio, Marquis of Montserrat, with it, who sold it to the Venetians, A. D. 1194, under whose government it flourished greatly. It was unexpectedly attacked by the Turks, A. D. 1645, in the midst of peace; and after a siege of 24 years, and the loss of 200,000 men, they took possession of it. It is now much impoverished.

CYRENE, a province of Libya Pentapolitana, between the great Syrtes and the Mareotis; at present called Cairoan. It was sometimes called Pentapolis, from the five principal cities which it

contained—Cyrene, its capital, Apollonia, Arsinoë, Berenicé, and Ptolemais. Simon the Cyrenian, father of Alexander and Rufus, on whom the Roman soldiers laid a part of our Saviour's cross (Matt. xxvii. 32; Luke xxiii. 26), was a native of Cyrene; and there were many Jews in the province who embraced the Christian religion, though others opposed it with much obstinacy. See Acts xi. 20.

DAMASCUS, a city of Coelo-Syria, beautifully situated in a fertile plain, at the foot of Mount Libanus, and near the source of the river Barady or Chrysorrohas. It was a city as early as the time of Abraham, and was long the capital of a kingdom called Damascus, or Aram of Damascus, or Syria of Damascus. We know little of it, however, until a much later period, when Hadad, its king, sending troops to assist Hadadezer, king of Zobah, was defeated with the latter, and subdued by David. Toward the end of Solomon's reign, God stirred up Rezin, son of Eliadah, who restored the kingdom of Damascus, and shook off the yoke of the Jewish kings; and subsequently, Asa, king of Judah, implored the help of Benhadad, son of Tabrimmon, king of Damascus, against Baasha, king of Israel, and engaged him by subsidies to invade his enemy's territories. After this time the kings of Damascus were generally called Benhadad. Jeroboam II. re-established the superiority of Israel over the kings of Syria, having conquered Damascus and Hamath, the two principal cities of Syria (2 Kings xiv. 25). After the death of Jeroboam II. the Syrians re-established their monarchy; and Rezin, assuming the title of king of Damascus, entered into a confederacy with Pekah, usurper of the kingdom of Israel, and in conjunction with him made great havoc in the territories of Jotham and Ahaz, kings of Judah, 2 Kings xvi. 5. Tiglath-pileser, however, coming to the assistance of Ahaz, invaded the dominions of Rezin, took Damascus, destroyed it, killed Rezin, and sent the Syrians into captivity beyond the Euphrates, according to the predictions of the prophets Isaiah and Amos; 2 Kings xv. 29; Isa. vii. 4, 8; viii. 4; xxii. 1—3; Amos i. 3. Damascus, however, recovered from these misfortunes; and it appears that Sennacherib took it, when he marched against Hezekiah, Isa. ix. 11. Holofernes also took it (Judith ii. 27); though Ezekiel speaks of it as flourishing (chap. xxvii. 11), Zechariah (ix. 1) foretold several calamities which should befall it; and the Romans, who took it about A. M. 3939, retained it till it fell into the hands of the Arabians, whom Paul mentions as its masters (2 Cor. xi. 32). In the reign of Augustus, A. D. 713, it was conquered by the Saracens, and miserably devastated; in 1147, it was besieged by the crusaders, but not taken;

and it yielded to the Christian forces 125 years afterwards. In 1396, Tamerlane besieged it with a large army, and after a desperate and prolonged resistance, it yielded to his forces, and he put its inhabitants to the sword without mercy. Selim took it, A. D. 1517, under whose successors it still continues. All writers concur in representing Damascus as a delightful place. "Damascus," says Ibn Haukal, or, as he writes it, "Demeshek, is a chief city, the right hand of the cities of Syria. It has ample territories among the mountains; and is well watered by streams which flow around. The land about it produces trees, and is well cultivated by husbandmen. This tract is called Ghouthah. It extends about one merhileh by two. There is not in all Syria a more delightful place. Here is one of the largest mosques in all the land of the Mussulmans, part of which was built in ancient times, by the Sabians." The *Via Recta*, or street called *Straight* (Acts ix. 11), extends from the eastern to the western gate, about a league, crossing the whole city and suburbs in a direct line. On both sides of it are shops, in which are sold the rich merchandise brought by the caravans. Near the eastern gate is a house, said to be that of Judah, where Paul lodged after his conversion; and about forty paces from it, stands a little mosque, where Ananias is said to have been buried. There is also, near the eastern gate, a kind of window, or port-hole, in the parapet of the great wall; by which tradition says Paul escaped from the Jews! Near the city, on the way leading to the Turkish burying-ground, is a building said to be that of Naaman the Syrian, which is now a hospital for lepers; and near to it a tomb, reported to be that of Gehazi, servant to Elisha, who after his disgrace retired to Damascus, and there died. Damascus is one of the most commercial cities in the Ottoman empire, and has many rich manufactures. The inhabitants, estimated at from 100,000 to 150,000, are witty and cunning; they are, however, polite, and less oppressed by the pacha than many others. The Christians are mostly of the Greek church.

DECAPOLIS (from the Greek *δεκά*, *ten*, and *πόλις*, *a city*), a district of Canaan which contained ten principal cities, extending on both sides of the river Jordan, Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20; vii. 31. According to Pliny they were (1) Scythopolis, (2) Philadelphia, (3) Raphanæ, (4) Gadara, (5) Hippos, (6) Dios, (7) Pella, (8) Gerasa, (9) Canatha, (10) Damascus. Josephus inserts Otopos instead of Canatha. Though within the limits of Israel, the Decapolis was inhabited by many foreigners; and hence it retained a foreign appellation. This may also contribute to account for the numerous herds of swine kept in the district (Matt. viii. 30);

a practice which was forbidden by the Mosaic law.

DEDAN, a country or a city, several times mentioned in the Old Testament, but which there is some difficulty in identifying. D'Anville places a city called Dadan, or, according to Bochart, Dadena, in the eastern part of Arabia, near the Persian Gulf; and Mr. Taylor takes this to be the Dedan of Ezek. xxvii. 15, the men of which are mentioned in conjunction with the merchants of many isles, as furnishing the men of Tyre with ivory and ebony.

DERBE, a city of Lycaonia, to which Paul and Barnabas fled when expelled from Iconium, Acts xiv.

DIBON. There are at least three cities bearing this name mentioned in the Old Testament; but there is nothing pertaining to them that calls for description or remark.

DOR, the capital of a district in Canaan, which Joshua conquered and gave to the half-tribe of Manasseh, Josh. xii. 23; xvii. 11. It was situated on a peninsula, which, from projecting into the Mediterranean Sea, rendered the city extremely strong, and very difficult of attack, especially on the land side. It pretended to be founded by Dor, or Dorus, son of Neptune; assumed the title of *Sacred* and *Navarchida*; and enjoyed the right of *Asylum*, and of being "*governed by its own laws*." "The modern name of Dor is Tortoura, and is about midway between Cæsarea Palestina and the Bay of Acre." Captain Mangles mentions extensive ruins at Tortoura, but says they possess nothing of interest.

DUMAH, a district of Arabia Petræa, belonging to the Ishmaelites, Isa. xxi. 11.

DURA, a great plain near Babylon, where Nebuchadnezzar erected a colossal image of gold to be worshipped, Dan. iii. 1.

EBAL, MOUNT. See page 422, *ante*.

ECBATANA, the ancient capital of Media, built, or enlarged and fortified, by Dejoces, or Arphaxad. It was encompassed by seven walls; and after the union of Media with Persia, it became the summer residence of the kings of Persia. It still exists under the name of Hamadan; and its inhabitants are stated by Mr. Kinneir to be about 40,000, including about 600 Jewish families.

EDEN, a province of the East, called the land and the garden of Eden. Many conjectures have been formed about the situation of Eden, but not one of them is satisfactory. That of Mr. Worthington, in his *Scripture Theory of the Earth*, seems to be the best; according to which, Eden was planted in a peninsula, formed by the main river of Eden on the east side of it, below the confluence of the four less rivers, which emptied

themselves into it, about 27° N. lat., now swallowed up by the Persian Gulf. Thence, says Moses, it (the river that went out of Eden) was parted (or branched out), and became into four heads. These four heads, or rivers, were well known in Moses's time, all keeping their distinct courses, till they met together, lower down than they do at present. From various causes two of these rivers, the Tigris and Euphrates, have since changed their course, and run into each other, though they separate again, and fall by several mouths into the Persian Gulf. The first river, Pison, is, perhaps, that river which, according to our most approved modern maps, branches out from the Euphrates at Bassa, above 30° N. lat., and falls into the Persian Gulf below lat. 27°; forming, with the Euphrates and the sea, the Isle of Chader. This may be Havilah, which this river thus encompasseth, answering the description with great exactness. "There is gold; and the gold of that land is good." And indeed this part of Arabia is famous for the finest gold. "There is bdellium, and the onyx-stone." The bdellium is supposed by Bochart to be pearl, which is fish for, and found in great abundance in the Persian Gulf; and the western coasts are no less famous for precious stones. The second river, Gihon, is probably one of those rivers that fall into the Persian Gulf on the eastern side of it; but which it is difficult to determine, from the imperfect representation which we have of them in our maps. The only guide to direct us in our search for the Gihon, is that of the country which it is said to encompass: this is the land of Ethiopia, in the Hebrew Cush. There is a province on the east side of the Persian Gulf, in which this name is remarkably preserved, called Cushestan (that is, the land of Cush, of Ethiopians, or of Blacks), which we may safely pronounce to have been the land of Cush. Cushestan is bounded on the east by the river Tab, which is supposed by some to be the Pasitigris of the ancients: nor do we find any other river that so well answers the description of Gihon. Most commentators suppose that the third river, Hiddekel, so called on account of its rapidity, is the Tigris, which name has the same signification; but we apprehend, the Hiddekel (now called Gorgus) had its rise in the east of Assyria, in about lat. 39° N., and long. 50° E. about London, and that it ran a S. W. course, about 400 miles, and then fell into the Tigris at Seleucia, in lat. 35° N., long. 44° E. As the word Tigris means the same as Hiddekel, it is not an improbable conjecture, that they were frequently called by the latter name among the Jews. From Seleucia the Tigris runs a S. E. course, and falls into the Persian Gulf, as do the

other rivers mentioned in this description. As a farther confirmation of this hypothesis, we may observe that Rauwolf says, when he was at Caruch, on the confines of Media, Tigris was still called in their language Hiddekel; so that we think there can be little doubt but that this is the Hiddekel of Moses. The fourth river, Euphrates, was and is so well known, that the sacred writer, not thinking it necessary to add any description of it, contented himself with the bare mention of its name. This appears to be conformable to the Mosical description of these rivers, as having distinct and separate channels each; which they preserved till they discharged themselves altogether in the great "river, which went out of Eden to water the garden." This river, in which all the others were collected, one would think, could not fail of being well known; and, above all the rest, might be thought to merit description: but we do not find any; nor is it said what became of it after it went to water the garden, nor whither it bent its course. This we cannot account for, unless we suppose it to have been lost, together with the garden which it watered; and where could they have been lost but in the Persian Gulf? This was perhaps one of the effects of the universal deluge. Here we may just add, with Sir William Jones, that it is observable that *Aden*, in the eastern dialects, is precisely the same word with *Eden*, which we apply to the garden of Paradise: it has two senses, according to a slight difference in its pronunciation; its first meaning is a *settled abode*; its second, *delight, softness, or tranquillity*.

EGYPT. See page 447, *ante*.

EGYPT, RIVER OF. This is frequently mentioned as the southern limit of the Land of Promise, Gen. xv. 18; 2 Chron. vii. 8; Numb. xxiv. 5; Josh. xv. 4. Calmet thinks it was the Nile; remarking, that Joshua (xiii. 3) describes it by the name of Sihor; which is the true name of the Nile, "the muddy river;" and that Amos (vi. 14) calls it the river of the wilderness, because the eastern arm of the Nile adjoined Arabia, or the wilderness, in Hebrew *Araba*, and watered the district by the Egyptians called Arabian. To this it is objected that the stream was the limit of Judea toward Egypt; and that the LXX. render Isai. xxvii. 1, 2, "unto the river of Egypt," "to Rhinocorura;" a town not at all adjacent to the Nile. Besides, it is doubtful if the power of the Hebrew nation extended, at any time, to the Nile; and if it did, it was over a mere sandy desert. The river of Egypt is therefore, with more probability, thought to be the brook Besor, between Gaza and Rhinocorura.

EKRON, the most northern city of the Philistines,

between Asdod and Jamnia, on the Mediterranean coast. It was first given to Judah, and then to Dan; but they do not appear to have retained it. See 2 Kings i. 2.

ELATH, ELOTH, or AILAH, a city of Edom, on the eastern gulf of the Red Sea, which, after the death of Alexander, and the wars consequent on his death, was subject to the Kings of Egypt; afterwards to those of Syria; and then to the Romans. "It is now," says Ibn Haukal, "nothing but a tower, the residence of a governor, who depends upon him of Grand Cairo. There are now no longer any sown fields there. There was formerly a fort built in the sea, but it is all gone to ruin, and the commander lives in the tower we were just speaking of, which stands by the water-side."

ELEUTHEROPOLIS, a city of Judea, from which Eusebius and Jerome estimate the distances and positions of other cities. Josephus says, it was twenty miles from Jerusalem, and Antoninus places it twenty-four miles from Askalon, and eighteen from Lydda. Eusebius says five miles from Gath, six from Lachish, twenty-five from Geror, twenty from Jattir, and eight from Keilah.

ELYMAIS, the capital of Elam, or ancient Persia.

EMMAUS, a village seven miles and a half north-west of Jerusalem, celebrated for our Lord's conversation with two disciples who went thither on the day of his resurrection. Josephus* says, that Vespasian left 800 soldiers in Judea, to whom he gave the village of Emmaus, which was sixty furlongs from Jerusalem. D'Arvieux states,† that going from Jerusalem to Rama, he took the right from the high road to Rama, at some little distance from Jerusalem, and "travelled a good league over rocks and flint stones, to the end of the valley of terebinthine trees," till he reached Emmaus. "It seems, by the ruins which surrounded it, that it was formerly larger than it was in our Saviour's time. The Christians, while masters of the Holy Land, re-established it a little, and built several churches. Emmaus was not worth the trouble of having come out of the way to see it. Ruins, indeed, we saw on all sides; and fables we heard from every quarter, though under the guise of traditions. Such is the notion of the house of Cleopas; on the site of which a great church was erected, of which a few masses of the thick walls remain, but nothing else."—There were two other towns of the same name; one in Judea, and one in Galilee.

ENDOR, or ÆNDOR, a city of Manasseh (Josh.

* De Bello, lib. viii., cap. 27.

† Vol. vii., p. 260.

xvii. 11), placed by Eusebius four miles south of Mount Tabor, near Nain, in the way to Scythopolis. Here the witch lived whom Saul consulted, 1 Sam. xxviii. 12.

EN-GEDI, or HAZAZON-TAMAR (that is, the city of palm-trees), was a city near the lake of Sodom, about thirty miles N. E. of Jerusalem, not far from Jericho and the mouth of the river Jordan.

EPHESUS, a celebrated city of Ionia, in Asia Minor, about 45 miles south of Smyrna, and rendered famous by its temple of Diana; the length of which was 425 feet, and the breadth 220. It had a hundred and twenty-seven pillars, 60 feet high, presented by as many kings; and all the provinces of Asia contributed to the expenses of its building, which occupied two hundred years. Stephens styles Ephesus, "most illustrious;" and Pliny calls it the "ornament of Asia." In Roman times it was the metropolis of Asia; but it has since met with a variety of fortunes. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, it was taken by Mahomet the First, and has ever since been subject to the Turks. Dr. Chandler says, "the inhabitants are a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependance, and insensibility; the representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness: some in the substructions of the glorious edifices which they raised; some beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions; and some by the abrupt precipice, in the sepulchres which received their ashes. Its streets are obscured and overgrown. A herd of goats was driven to it for shelter from the sun at noon; and a noisy flight of crows from the quarries seemed to insult its silence. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and of the stadium. The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was here nursed by apostles, and fostered by general councils, until it increased to fulness of stature, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible.*" The Jews, according to Josephus, were very numerous in Ephesus, and had obtained the privilege of citizenship. Of course the Christians, being considered as a sect of Jews, would be pretty secure here from persecution by the political powers; as Ephesus was *autonomos*—governed by its own laws. The worship of Diana was established at Ephesus in a remote age; and it is related, that the Amazons sacrificed to her here, on their way to Attica; Pindar says, in the time of Theseus. Some writers affirm that they first set up her image under an elm-tree; or in a niche, which

they formed in the trunk of an elm; and that this statue was never changed, though the temple had been restored seven times. The populace believed that it descended from Jupiter. The extreme sanctity of the temple inspired universal awe and reverence; and it was, for many ages, a repository of treasures, foreign and domestic. It was probably destroyed at the same time as other heathen temples were, by an edict of Constantine. But there is a possibility that the total ruin of it was effected by an earthquake; although, by way of prevention, it was situated in a marsh: however that might be, "we now," says Dr. Chandler, "seek in vain for the temple; the city is prostrate and the goddess is gone." See Rev. ii. 5. The Ephesians, as is well known, were addicted to the study of curious arts, to magic, sorcery, and judicial astrology; so much so, indeed, that 'Ephesian letters' (*Ephesia grammata*) became a proverbial expression for magical characters. Paul first visited Ephesus A. D. 54 (Acts xviii. 19, 21); but after a few days he went to Jerusalem, promising the Jews of Ephesus to return; which he did some months afterwards, and continued there three years, when he was obliged to leave the city on occasion of a sedition raised by Demetrius the silversmith. In his last journey to Rome, he took Ephesus in his way (A. D. 65); and while he was prisoner at the former place, he wrote to the Ephesians a very pathetic, elevated, and sublime letter. Aquila and Priscilla, with whom the apostle had lodged at Corinth, came from thence with him to Ephesus, and made some stay there (Acts xviii. 2, 3, 18); and Apollos, a Jew of Alexandria, preached there. Timothy was made first bishop of Ephesus by the apostle; which, however, did not prevent John from residing in the city, and performing apostolic functions. If it be true that Timothy did not die till A. D. 97, it can scarcely be denied that he was the angel of the church at Ephesus, to whom a reprimand is addressed, Rev. ii. 1—5.

ERECH, a city of Chaldea, built by Nimrod (Gen. x. 10), and probably the Aracca, placed by Ptolemy in the Susiana, on the river Tigris, below where it joins the Euphrates. From this city the Arectæan fields which abound with naphtha, and sometimes take fire, derive their name. The capital of the province, under the Chaldeans and Assyrians, was Babylon; under the princes named Coerhoës, it was Madaïr; and under the Arabians, Bagdat. It is called Chaldea, or Babylonia, by the Greeks and Latins.

ETHIOPIA. See page 456, *ante*.

EUPHRATES, a river whose source is in the mountains of Armenia; and which runs through the frontiers of Cappadocia, Syria, Arabia Deserta,

* Trav., p. 131. Oxford, 1775

Chaldæa, and Mesopotamia, and falls into the Persian Gulf, Gen. ii. 14. It was the fourth river of Paradise; and is in Scripture called the Great River. It is assigned as the eastern boundary of the promised land (Deut. i. 7; Josh. i. 4), although it was but occasionally that the dominion of the Hebrews extended so far.

EZION-GABER, a city of Arabia Deserta, on a gulf of the Red Sea, called the gulf of Elam, and close by the city of Eloth. The Israelites came from Elbrona to Ezion-gaber, and thence to the wilderness of Zin. At this port Solomon equipped his fleets for the voyage to Ophir.

GADARA, a city in the Decapolis. Josephus calls it the capital of Peræa; and Pliny places it on the river Hieromax (Jarmuch), about five miles from its junction with the Jordan. It gave name to a district which extended, as is thought, from the region of Scythopolis to the borders of Tiberias. Pompey repaired the city in consideration of Demetrius his freed-man, who was a native of it; and Gabinius settled here one of the five courts of justice for Judæa. Polybius says, that Antiochus the Great besieged it, and that it surrendered to him on composition. The evangelists Mark (v. 1) and Luke (viii. 26, Gr.) say, that our Saviour, having passed the sea of Tiberias, came into the district of the Gadarenes, while Matthew (viii. 28) calls it Gergasenes; but as the lands belonging to one of these cities were included within the limits of the other, one evangelist might say, the country of the Gergasenes, and another the country of the Gadarenes; either being equally correct. Mr. Bankes thinks that the place called Oom-kais, where are shown numerous caverns and extensive ruins, marks the site of Gadara; but Mr. Buckingham speaks of Oom-kais as Gamala.

GALATIA, a province of Asia Minor, having the river Halys east, Bithynia and Paphlagonia north, Cappadocia and Phrygia south, and Mysia and Lydia west. The possessors of Galatia were of three different nations, or tribes of Gauls; the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and the Tectosagi; and it is reasonably enough thought by Mr. Taylor, that while Peter was preaching in one part of Galatia, the apostle Paul was making converts in another part; and that some, claiming authority from Peter, propagated tenets not conformable to the opinion of Paul; to correct and expose which was the occasion of Paul's epistle. It is probable, that the different nations of Gauls furnished partisans whose overweening zeal far exceeded the doctrines of their instructors; for such has ever been the character of this people. Hence, while they were at one time ready to pluck out their eyes, if it might benefit their evangelical teacher, they

quickly relinquished his principles, and were as readily brought to adopt another gospel, which indeed was not a gospel, but a continuation of unnecessary observances, to which they had already paid too much attention. The Galatians worshipped the mother of the gods. Callimachus, in his hymns, calls them "a foolish people;" and Hilary, himself a Gaul, as well as Jerome, describes them as *Gallos indociles*; expressions which may well excuse Paul addressing them as "foolish," chap. iii.

GALILEE. See page 413, *ante*.

GALILEE, SEA OF. See page 416, *ante*.

GAMALA, a considerable town in the Gaulanitis, placed by Josephus over against Tarichea, but on the opposite side of the lake. Gamala was part of Agrippa's kingdom; but the inhabitants refusing to submit to him, it was besieged, first by Agrippa's forces, and then by the Romans, who, after a long siege, took and sacked it.

GATH, one of the five principalities of the Philistines (1 Sam. v. 8, vi. 17), and rendered famous for having given birth to Goliath. It was 18 miles south of Joppa, and 32 west of Jerusalem. David conquered it at the commencement of his reign over all Israel (1 Sam. xvii. 52), and it continued subject to his successors till the declension of the kingdom of Judah, 2 Sam. viii. 1. Rehoboam rebuilt or fortified it, 2 Chron. xi. 8, but it was afterwards recovered by the Philistines, though Uzziah reconquered it. Josephus makes it part of the tribe of Dan. Calmet, who is followed by many subsequent writers, makes Gath to be the most southern city of the Philistines, and Ekron the most northern; and supposes that Ekron and Gath are placed as the boundaries of their land, 1 Sam. v. 8, 10, xvii. 52. But, as Mr. Conder remarks, this phrase may be more probably interpreted as intimating that Gath was the south-eastern border, as Ekron was the north-eastern; and this much better accords with the sense of the passages.

GAZA, or AZZAH (Gen. x. 19) one of the five principalities of the Philistines towards the southern extremity of Canaan, being situated between Raphia and Askelon, about 60 miles south-west of Jerusalem. It belonged first to the Philistines; then to the Hebrews; recovered its liberty in the reigns of Jotham and Ahaz; and was reconquered by Hezekiah, 2 Kings xviii. 8. It was subject to the Chaldeans, with Syria and Phœnicia; and afterwards to the Persians, and the Egyptians, who held it when Alexander Jannæus besieged, took, and destroyed it, *ante* A. D. 98. (See Zeph. ii. 4.) A new town was afterwards built, nearer to the sea, which is now existing. Dr. Wittman gives the following description of the modern town:—

"Gaza is situated on an eminence, and is rendered picturesque by the number of fine minarets which rise majestically above the buildings, and by the beautiful date-trees interspersed. A very fine plain commences about three miles from the town, on the other side, in which are several groves of olive-trees. Advancing towards Gaza, the view becomes still more interesting; the groves of olive-trees extending to the town, in front of which is a fine avenue of these trees. About a mile distant from the town is a commanding height. The soil in the neighbourhood is of a superior quality. Much pasture. On the east side of the town is a small gateway, near to which, it is said, Samson performed his exploit of carrying away the gate of the city; and where he threw down the building which killed him and his adversaries. The suburbs of Gaza are composed of wretched mud huts; but the interior of the town contains buildings superior in appearance to those generally met with in Syria. The streets are of a moderate breadth: many fragments of statues, columns, &c., of marble, are seen in the town walls and other buildings. Ophthalmia and blindness are very prevalent. The suburbs and environs of Gaza are rendered extremely agreeable by a number of large gardens, cultivated with great care, on the north, south, and west of the town. Plantations of date-trees, also, are numerous. The landing-place of Gaza is an open beach, highly dangerous to boats, especially if laden, a heavy surf constantly beating on the shore. Quails are very abundant in the neighbourhood." Luke speaks (Acts viii. 26) of Gaza as a desert place, meaning, most probably, the greater Gaza, situated on a mountain twenty miles from the sea; not Little Gaza, or Majuma, which was very populous. Diodorus Siculus mentions old Gaza, and Strabo notices "Gaza, the desert," which agrees with Acts viii. 26.

GEBA, or GIBEON (compare 2 Sam. v. 25, with 1 Chron. xiv. 16), a city near Ramah (Judg. xix. 13; comp. Hos. v. 8), and the northern limit of the kingdom of Judah (2 Kings xxiii. 8). "From Geba to Beersheba" seems to be, with respect to Judah, of the same import as "from Dan to Beersheba" had been, with respect to all Israel.

GEHENNA, or GEHENNOM, or the VALLEY OF HINOM (see Josh. xv. 8, 2 Kings xxiii. 10, Heb.); a valley lying east and south of Jerusalem, and through which the southern limits of the tribe of Benjamin passed. It is thought to have been the common sewer belonging to Jerusalem, and that a fire was always burning there to consume the filth of the city. In allusion to this circumstance, or to the fire kept up in the valley in honour of Moloch, the false god, to whom the Hebrews frequently offered human sacrifices, even their own children

(Jer. vii. 31), Hell is called Gehenna in some parts of the New Testament. Josiah, to pollute the place, and render it odious, commanded all manner of ordure, and dead men's bones, to be thrown into it, 2 Kings xxiii. 10. After having been the scene of much cruelty, then, says Mr. Taylor, Gehenna became the receptacle of much pollution; so far it coincided in character with hell; and the perpetual fires that were kept burning there to consume the filth of the city, added another similarity to those evils attributed to the place of torment. The combined ideas of wickedness, pollution, and punishment, compose that character which might well justify the Syriac language in deriving its name of hell from this valley of the sons of Hinnom. Comp. Matt. v. 22.

GENNESARETH, LAKE of. See page 416, *ante*.

GERAN, a city of the Philistines, in the south of Judah, between Kadeah and Shur, which existed as early as the time of Abraham, Gen. xx. 1, xxvi. 17.

GERASA, or GERGESA, a city east of the Jordan, and in the Decapolis, Matt. viii. 28. Burckhardt, Buckingham, and other writers consider the ruins of Djerash to be those of the ancient Gerasa, of which they give a very full account. Approached from the south, the city is entered by a triumphal gateway, nearly entire. The workmanship is remarkably fine, and bears a striking resemblance to the remains of Antioch, in Upper Egypt. It appears to have been a detached triumphal arch, erected for the entrance of some victorious hero. Within this gateway is an extensive theatre for the exhibition of sea-fights, and, a little onward, there is seen a second gateway, similar in design to the other. To the left is a large and beautiful colonnade, arranged in a circular form, all of the Ionic order, and surmounted by an architrave. Next succeed a long avenue of columns, in a straight line, supposed to mark the direction of some principal street that apparently extended the whole length of the town. These columns are all of the Corinthian order, and the range on each side is ascended by a flight of steps. The attention of the traveller is now attracted by four magnificent pillars, of considerable dimensions, which probably adorned the front of some principal edifice now destroyed. After passing a square, and various masses of buildings, the tourist comes to the ruins of a temple of a semicircular form, with four columns in front, and facing the principal street in a right line. The spring of its half dome is still remaining, as well as several columns of yellow marble and of red granite. The whole seems to have been executed with peculiar care, especially the sculpture of the friezes, cornices, pediments, and capitals, which are all of the Co-

Corinthian order, and considered not less rich and chaste than the works of the best ages. On a broken altar near this ruin is observed an inscription having the name of Marcus Aurelius. Beyond this are temples, colonnades, theatres, arched buildings with domes, detached groups of Ionic and Corinthian columns, bridges, aqueducts, and portions of large buildings scattered here and there. The ground occupied by this city, which was nearly in the form of a square, might have been four miles in circumference. But so complete is now the desolation of this once magnificent place, that Bedouin Arabs encamp among its ruins, for the sake of the rivulet by which they are washed. With respect to the ancient history of this city, so much diversity of opinion prevails, that it were idle to enter into any investigation of the subject. They are nearly 50 miles from the sea of Tiberias, and nearly opposite to Mount Ebal.

GERIZIM, a mountain in Ephraim, a province of Samaria, between which and Ebal lay the city of Shechem; see Judg. ix. 7, and Deut. xi. 29, xvii. 15. After the captivity, Manasseh, by permission of Alexander the Great, built a temple on Gerizim, and the Samaritans joined the worship of the true God to that of their idols: "They feared the Lord, and served their own gods, after the manner of the nations, whom they carried away from thence," 2 Kings xvii. 33. The Samaritans maintain, that Abraham and Jacob erected altars at Gerizim, and that here Abraham prepared to sacrifice his son Isaac, Gen. xii. 6, 7, xiii. 4, xxxiii. 20. They also affirm, that God required the blessings to be given from Mount Gerizim, to those who observed his laws, and the curses from Ebal (Deut. xxvii. 12, 13); and cite from their Pentateuch the passage, Deut. xxvii. 4, "When ye be gone over Jordan, ye shall set up these stones, which I command you this day, in Mount Gerizim [in the Hebrew copies, Ebal]; thou shalt plaster them," &c., verses 12, 13. Herod the Great, having rebuilt Samaria, and called it Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, would have compelled the Samaritans to worship in the temple which he had erected, but they constantly refused; and have continued to worship on Gerizim.

GETHESEMANE, a village on the Mount of Olives, to which our Saviour sometimes retired, and in a garden belonging to which he endured his agony, and was taken by Judas, Matt. xxvi. 36, *et seq.*

GIBEAH, a city of Benjamin, and the birth-place of Saul, king of Israel; whence it is frequently called "Gibeah of Saul" (1 Sam. xi. 4, xv. 34; 2 Sam. xxi. 6; Isai. x. 29), about seven miles north of Jerusalem, not far from Gibeon and

Kirjath-jearim. There were two other places of the same name.

GIBEON, the capital of the Gibeonites, who, having taken advantage of the oaths of Joshua, and the elders of Israel, which they procured by an artful representation of belonging to a very remote country (Josh. ix.), were condemned to labour in carrying wood and water for the tabernacle, as a mark of their pusillanimity and duplicity. Three days after the Gibeonites had thus surrendered to the Hebrews, five of the kings of Canaan besieged the city of Gibeon; but Joshua attacked and put them to flight, and pursued them to Bethoron, Josh. x. 3, &c. Gibeon was given to Benjamin, and the Gibeonites continued subject to the burdens which Joshua imposed on them. They were very faithful to the Israelites; but Saul, through what enmity is not known, destroyed a great number of them (2 Sam. xxi. 1), in consequence of which the Lord sent a great famine, which continued for three years; and which the prophets informed David would continue while Saul's cruelty remained unavenged. David, therefore, permitted the Gibeonites to put to death seven of Saul's sons to avenge the blood of their brethren; after which the famine ceased. Gibeon stood on an eminence, as its name imports, and was forty furlongs north from Jerusalem, according to Josephus. It is called Gabaa (2 Sam. v. 5), compared with 1 Chron. xiv. 16.

GILBOA, a ridge of mountains, running north of Bethahan or Scythopolis, and forming the western boundary of that part of the plain of the Jordan memorable by the defeat and death of Saul and Jonathan, 1 Sam. xxxi. They are still called by the Arabs, Djebel Gilbo.

GILEAD, a mountainous district east of the Jordan, and separating the lands of Ammon, Moab, Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh, from Arabia Deserta. Eusebius says that Mount Gilead reached from Libanus to the land of Sihon, king of the Amorites, which was given to the tribe of Reuben. It must, therefore, have been above seventy leagues from south to north, and have included the mountains of Seir and Bashan, and perhaps, also, those of the Trachonitis, Auran, and Hermon. See also Jer. xxii. 6. According to Burckhardt, that part of this mountainous tract properly called Gilead is a small range of hills, now called Djelæad, about seven miles south of the river Jabbok, and in length about 8 miles. Gilead, however, is sometimes put for the whole of the country east of the Jordan, between the river and Arabia. The scenery of the mountains of Gilead is described by Mr. Buckingham as being extremely beautiful. The plains are covered with a fertile soil; the hills

are clothed with forests; and at every new turn the most beautiful landscapes that can be imagined are presented. The Scripture references to the stately oaks and herds of cattle in this region are well known. Jacob, returning from Mesopotamia, came to the mountains of Gilead, where Laban overtook him, Gen. xxxi. 21. Here they made a covenant, and raised a heap of stones as a monument of it. Laban called it *Jegar-Sahadutha*; but Jacob called it *Gal-had*, the heap of witness; whence came the name *Gilead*.

GILGAL, a celebrated place, about six miles west of Jericho, and where the Israelites first encamped, after the passage of the Jordan, Josh. v. 9. It was named upon the occasion of Joshua circumcising the Israelites, who had been wandering during forty years in the wilderness: "The Lord said unto Joshua, this day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you: wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day;" the literal meaning of "Gilgal" being *rolling*, Josh. v. 2—9. Here Joshua placed the twelve stones that were taken out of the Jordan, when the waters of that river were miraculously divided, to form a passage for Israel into the promised land. A considerable city was afterwards built here (chap. xv. 7), which became famous for many events. (1) It was a religious station; for we read (Judg. ii. 1) that "a messenger of the Lord came up from Gilgal." Comp. 2 Kings ii. 1. (2) It was a station of justice; for Samuel, in his circuit, went yearly to Gilgal, 1 Sam. vii. 16. (3) It was where the coronation of Saul was performed (1 Sam. x. 8. Comp. 2 Sam. xix. 15, 40), and therefore a fit place for national business. Sacrifices were offered at Gilgal, 1 Sam. x. 8; Hos. xii. 11. There were two or three more places of this name.

GOLGOTHA. See Calvary, page 487, *ante*.

GOMORRHA, one of the principal cities of the Pentapolis; consumed by fire from heaven. The Hebrew reads *Amora* or *Homora*; but the LXX. frequently express the letter *y ain* by *G*.

GOZAN, a river of Media (2 Kings xvii. 6), and also a province (chap. xix. 12; Isai. xxxvii. 12), probably that through which the river ran. Salmaneser, after he had subdued the ten tribes, carried them, beyond the Euphrates, to a country bordering on the river Gozan; and Sennacherib boasts, that the kings of Assyria had conquered the people of Gozan, Haran, and others. Ptolemy places the Gauzanites in Mesopotamia; and there is a district in Media called Gauzan, between the rivers Cyrus and Cambysea.

GREECE. See page 442, *ante*.

HABOR, a city "by the river of Gozan," in the

country anciently named Media, in the remote northern quarter towards the Caspian Sea. There is a city named Abhar or Habor on a branch of the Ozan, which has the reputation of being exceedingly ancient.* This is probably the place mentioned in Scripture.

HACHILAH, a mountain about ten miles south of Jericho, where David concealed himself from Saul, 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. Jonathan Maccabæus here built the castle of Massada.

HALAH, a city or country of Media, to which the kings of Assyria transplanted the ten tribes. It is mentioned with Habor (2 Kings xvii. 6), which shows it to have been on the river Gozan. Hyde supposes it to be Holwan; Bochart thinks it to be the metropolis of the Calachene, admitting a permutation of the first letter.

HAMATH, a city of Syria, which Josephus and Jerome believe to be Epiphania, but which Theodoret and many other geographers maintain to be Emesa. Theodoret says that Aquila translated Hamath Epiphania; but he believes that there were two cities of this name, one surnamed the Great (Amos vi. 2), which is Emesa; the other called simply Hamath, which he takes to be Epiphania. Jerome and Cyril of Alexandria believe, on the contrary, that "Hamath the Great" is Antioch, and that Hamath simply is Epiphania. It certainly does appear from Scripture that there were two Hamaths, for Joshua (chap. xix. 35) assigns one to Naphtali.

HARAN, or **CHARRÆ**, a city in Mesopotamia, to which Abraham went when he left Ur; and where Terah his father died, Gen. xi. 31, 32. Hither, likewise, Jacob retired to Laban, when he fled from his brother Esau, Gen. xxvii. 43. Haran, as it is now called, is situated in 36° 52' N. lat. and 39° 5' E. long., in a flat and sandy plain, and is only peopled by a few wandering Arabs, who select it for the delicious water which it contains.

HAVILAH, the LAND OF. Calmet supposed this to be the country where the Tigris and the Euphrates unite, and discharge their waters into the Persian Gulf. Mr. Taylor, however, with more probability, takes it to be that part of Arabia which lies between the southern extremity of the Dead Sea and Egypt.

HEBRON, one of the most ancient cities of Canaan, being built seven years before Tanis, the capital of Lower Egypt, Numb. xiii. 22. It is thought to have been founded by Arba, an ancient giant of Palestine, and hence to have been called Kirjath-arba, Arba's city (Josh. xiv. 15), which name was afterwards changed into Hebron. The

* Herod., pp. 335, 336.

Anakim dwelt at Hebron when Joshua conquered Canaan, Josh. xv. 13. Hebron, which was given to Judah, and became a city of refuge, was situated on an eminence, twenty miles south of Jerusalem, and about the same distance north of Beersheba. Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac were buried near the city, in the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii. 7, 8, 9); and after the death of Saul, David fixed his residence there, and made it the metropolis of his kingdom, 2 Sam. ii. 2—5. Hebron contains a monument, dedicated to the memory of Abraham, and his immediate descendants. Mr. Burckhardt, who saw it in 1807, bears testimony to the fact, that the sepulchre, once a Greek church, is now appropriated to the worship of Mohammed. The ascent to it is by a large staircase that leads to a long gallery, the entrance to which is by a small court. Towards the left is a portico resting upon pillars. The vestibule of the temple contains two rooms; the one being the tomb of Abraham, the other that of Sarah. In the body of the church is the sepulchre of Isaac, and in a similar one upon the left is that of his wife. On the opposite side of the court is another vestibule, which has also two rooms, being respectively the dormitory of Jacob and of his spouse. At the extremity of the portico, upon the right hand, is a door which leads to a sort of long gallery, that still serves for a mosque; and passing from thence, is observed another room, containing the ashes of Joseph, which are said to have been carried thither by the people of Israel. All the sepulchres of the patriarchs are covered with rich carpets of green silk, magnificently embroidered with gold; those of their wives are red, embroidered in the same way. Hebron is said to contain about four hundred families, of which about a fourth part are Jews. It is situated on the slope of a mountain; has a strong castle; can boast abundance of provisions, a considerable number of shops, and some neat houses.

HERMON, or BAAL-HERMON (Deut. iii. 9, 10), a mountain forming part of Antilibanus, in the northern part of the holy land, and at the foot of which Baal-gad was situated. The Psalmist says (cxxxiii. 3) that the union of brethren is as agreeable as "the dew of Hermon which fell upon the hill of Zion," referring to one of the little hills belonging to Hermon, or to the mountain of the same name west of the Jordan. There was another mountain of this name west of the Jordan, and south of Mount Tabor, in reference to which the Psalmist says (xlii. 6), "I will remember thee from the land of Jordan, and the little hill of Hermon;" as if Mount Hermon on the west were called "little" to distinguish it from great Hermon on the east.

HESHBON, a city of the Ammonites, twenty miles east of Jordan, given to Reuben, but afterwards transferred to Gad, and then to the Levites, Josh. xiii. 17. It was subsequently recovered by the Moabites, and still subsists under its ancient name.

HIERAPOLIS, a city of the greater Phrygia, which lies under a high hill, having to the southward a large plain, about five miles over, almost directly opposite to Laodicea, the river Lycus running between, but nearer the latter. It is now utterly forsaken and desolate, but its ruins are so glorious and magnificent, that they strike one with horror at the first view of them, and with admiration too; such walls, and arches, and pillars of so vast a height, and so curiously wrought, being still to be found there, that one may well judge, that when it stood, it was one of the most glorious cities, not only of the East, but of the world. The numerosness of the temples there erected in the times of idolatry, with so much art and cost, might sufficiently confirm the title of the *holy city*, which it at first derived from the hot waters, flowing from several springs, to which they ascribe a divine healing virtue, and which made the city so famous; and for this cause Apollo, whom both Greeks and Romans adored as the god of medicine, had his votaries and altars here, and was very probably their chief deity. In the theatre, which is of a large compass and height from the top, there being above forty stone seats, we found, upon a curious piece of wrought marble belonging to a portal, these words, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΑΡΧΗΞ, 'To Apollo the chief president;' a title peculiar to him. Where these springs rise is a very large bath, curiously paved with white marble, about which formerly stood several pillars now thrown into it. Hence the waters make their way through several channels which they have formed for themselves; oftentimes overflowing them, and crusting the ground thereabouts, which is a whitish sort of earth, they turn the superficial parts into a tophus. Several tombs still remain; some of them almost entire, very stately and glorious; as if it had been accounted a kind of sacrilege to injure the dead, and upon that account they had abstained from defacing their monuments; entire stones of a great length and height, some covered with stone shaped into the form of a cube, others ridge-wise. On the 14th, in the morning, we set forward for Colosse, where within an hour and a half we arrived.*

HOR, a mountain in Arabia Petrea, on the confines of Idumæa, and probably the same with

* Travels, by T. Smith, B. D., 1678.

Mount Seir, on one part of which Aaron died and was buried, in the fortieth year after the departure from Egypt, Deut. xxxiii. 50; Numb. xx. 26, xxvii. 13. A small building is shown in Mount Hor, which is said to be the tomb of Aaron. It is a white building, surmounted by a cupola, and has a descent of several steps into a chamber excavated in the rock.

JABBOK, a brook east of the Jordan, which takes its rise into the mountains of Gilead, falls into Jordan near the sea of Tiberias, south, and separated the land of the Ammonites from the Gaulanitis, and that of Og, king of Bashan, Gen. xxiii. 22, 23. It is now called El Zerka.

JABESH, a city in the half-tribe of Manasseh, east of the Jordan, and generally called Jabesh-Gilead, because situated at the foot of the mountains so named. Eusebius places it six miles from Pella towards Gerasa. It was sacked by the Israelites, because it refused to join in the war against Benjamin (Judg. xx. 8); and at a subsequent period, Nabash, king of the Ammonites, besieged it, but Saul dislodged him. In remembrance of this service the men of Jabesh-Gilead carried off the bodies of Saul and his son Jonathan, which the Philistines had hung upon the walls of Bethshan, and buried them honourably at their city, 1 Sam. xxxi. 11—13.

ICONIUM, now called Cogni, formerly the capital of Lycaonia, as it is now of Caramania, in Asia Minor.

IDUMEA, the name which the Greeks gave to the land of Edom, extended, originally, from the Dead Sea to the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea; it afterwards was restricted to the south of Judah, towards Hebron. The capital of East Idumæa was Bozra, the capital of South Petra, or Jectael. The Idumæans, who were, as their name implies, descendants of Edom or Esau, were governed by dukes or princes, and afterwards by their own kings (Gen. xxxvi. 31), and continued independent till the time of David, who subdued them, in completion of Isaac's prophecy, that Jacob should rule Esau, xxvii. 29, 30. They bore their subjection with impatience, and at the end of Solomon's reign, Hadad, who had been carried into Egypt, returned into his own country, and was acknowledged king, 1 Kings xi. 22. It is probable, however, that he reigned only in East Edom; for that south of Judea continued subject to the kings of Judah till the reign of Jehoram, against whom it rebelled, 2 Chron. xxi. 8. Amaziah, king of Judah, took Petra, killed 1000 men, and compelled 10,000 more to leap from the rock, on which the city of Petra stood, xxv. 11. When Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, the Idumæans joined him, and incited him to raze the

very foundations of the city; but five years after the taking of Jerusalem, he humbled all the states around Judea, particularly Idumæa; and John Hircanus entirely conquered them, and obliged them to receive circumcision and the law. They continued subject to the later kings of Judea, till the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and ultimately became mingled with the Ishmaelites. They were jointly called Nabatheans, from Nabath, a son of Ishmael.

JEHOSHAPHAT, *the valley of*, a narrow glen which runs from north to south, between the mounts Olives and Moriah. The prophet Joel (iii. 2, 12), says, "The Lord will gather all nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there. *Jehoshaphat*, in Hebrew, signifies *the judgment of God*; and there can be no doubt that *the valley of Jehoshaphat*, that is, *of God's judgment*, is symbolical, as well as the valley of slaughter, in the same chapter. From this passage, however, the Jews, and many Christians also, have been of opinion, that the last judgment will be held in the valley of Jehoshaphat!

JERICHO, a city of Benjamin, at one period denominated Tamar, or the city of palm-trees, was anciently considered only inferior in point of consequence, wealth, and magnificence, to Jerusalem, and was inclosed by walls three miles in circumference. Of its splendid buildings, there remains only the part of one tower, which is supposed to have been the dwelling of Zaccheus the publican. A heap of rubbish marks the line of its ancient walls. It appears, indeed, either as if some cause fatal to population were still emanating from the pestiferous vicinity of the Dead Sea, and destined to extirpate the very energies of life, or that the judgments anciently denounced against it by the Almighty were still in full force. It was the first city which the Israelites reduced upon entering the Holy Land. Five hundred and thirty years afterwards, it was rebuilt by Heliel of Bethel, who restored its population and splendour; in which flourishing condition it appears to have continued for several centuries. Mark Antony presented to Cleopatra the whole territory of Jericho. Its walls were sacked by Vespasian during the war which he carried on in the country. It was afterwards more than once restored; but in the twelfth century it was overthrown by the infidels, and has not since emerged from its ruins. It is the opinion of Mr. Buckingham, that the true site of Jericho, as described by Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian, was at a greater distance from the river than the village of Rahab, commonly supposed to represent the city. In descending the mountains which bound the valley on the western side, he saw the ruins of a large settle-

ment, covering at least a square mile, whence, as well as from other remains, he concluded that it must have been a place of some consequence. The distance of Jericho from Jerusalem, as fixed by Josephus at one hundred and fifty furlongs, and, from the river Jordan, at sixty, together with his description of the country, answers exactly to the situation of the ruins just mentioned. The spot lies at the very foot of the sterile mountains of Judæa; and these are still as barren, rugged, and destitute of inhabitants, as formerly, throughout their whole extent, from the Lake of Tiberias to the Dead Sea. The distance, by the computation in time, amounted to six hours, or nearly twenty miles, from Jerusalem; the space between the supposed city and the river being little more than one-third of that amount, precisely the proportion indicated by the Jewish historian. Formerly, the soil around Jericho was celebrated for a precious balsam; but in the present day not a tree is found to vegetate on this desolate spot of Judæa. Rahab stands about four miles nearer the river. It consists of about fifty very mean dwellings, every one having in front a fence of thorns, as a protection from the attacks of the Bedouins, whose horses will not approach these formidable thickets. The inhabitants are all Mohammedans: they are shepherds rather than cultivators of the soil; this last duty, indeed, when performed at all, being done principally by the women and children, as the men roam the plain on horseback, and derive their principal means of subsistence from robbery and plunder. They are governed by a sheik, whose influence among them is more of a parental than a magisterial description. It may be observed, as a remarkable coincidence, that the name of this village corresponds to Rahab, the name of the hostess who received into her house the Hebrew spies, and signifies odour or perfume; the slight change on the form of the Arabic term implying no difference in the import of the root whence they are both originally derived. Maundrell calls Jericho "a poor, nasty village of the Arabs." The PLAIN of JERICHO, in which the city lay, extends from Scythopolis to the bay of the Dead Sea, and is overhung on all sides by ridges of barren and rugged mountains. The road from the city to Jerusalem is through a series of rocky defiles, and the surrounding scenery is of the most gloomy and forbidding aspect. "The whole of this road is held to be the most dangerous in Palestine; and indeed the very aspect of the scenery is sufficient, on the one hand, to tempt to robbery and murder, and, on the other, to occasion a dread of it in those who pass that way. The bold projecting mass of rocks, the dark shadows in which every thing lies buried below, the tower-

ing height of the cliffs above, and the forbidding desolation which every where reigns around, present a picture that is quite in harmony throughout all its parts. With what propriety did our Saviour choose this spot, as the scene of that delightful tale of compassion recorded by St. Luke (x. 30—34). One must be amid these wild and gloomy solitudes, surrounded by an armed band, and feel the impatience of the traveller who rushes on to catch a new view at every pass and turn; one must be alarmed at the very stamp of the horses' hoofs, resounding through the caverned rocks, and at the savage shouts of the footmen, scarcely less loud than the echoing thunder produced by the discharge of their pieces in the valleys; one must witness all this upon the spot, before the full force and beauty of the admirable story of the good Samaritan can be perceived. Here pillage, wounds, and death would be accompanied with double terror, from the frightful aspect of every thing around. Here the unfeeling act of passing by a fellow-creature in distress, as the priest and Levite are said to have done, strikes one with horror, as an act almost more than inhuman. And here, too, the compassion of the good Samaritan is doubly virtuous, from the purity of the motive which must have led to it, in a spot where no eyes were fixed on him to draw forth the performance of any duty, and from the bravery which was necessary to admit of a man's exposing himself, by such delay, to the risk of a similar fate to that from which he was endeavouring to rescue his fellow-creature."

JERUSALEM. This celebrated city, which was the capital, first of the entire Hebrew commonwealth, and afterwards of the kingdom of Judah, is situated in 31° 50' north latitude, and 35° 20' east longitude; about twenty-five miles west of Jordan, and forty-two east of the Mediterranean; 102 miles south of Damascus, and 150 north of the Elanitic gulf of the Red Sea. The original city was of great antiquity, for Melchisedek, a contemporary of Abraham, is called king of Salem, which Salem is supposed to be the city subsequently called Jerusalem. After this it came into the possession of the Jebusites; and when the Israelites conquered the Land of Promise, 1500 years before Christ, it was assigned in the division of the country to the tribe of Benjamin. The Jebusites, however, appear afterwards to have recovered possession of the place; for David conquered the city, called it after his name, and built the castle of Zion. His son Solomon greatly em-

bellished it, and caused the temple to be built by the skilful artists of Tyre. Under his successors, Jerusalem was the capital of the kingdom of Judah. Five times it was taken and plundered: first by the Egyptians; then by the Arabians; by the Israelites; and again by the Egyptians, 611 years before Christ. Herodotus also mentions the last conquest of it, calling the city Kadytus, which resembles Kedushah, the Holy; and the Mohammedans still call the city El Kods. At last, Nebuchadnezzar, during the reign of Zedekiah, conquered the kingdom, rased the city to the ground (B. C. 586) and carried the Jews captive to Babylon. Seventy years afterwards, Cyrus gave them permission to return and rebuild the city and temple; which was done under the direction of their high-priests, Ezra and Nehemiah, whose successors governed them for a long time. Alexander's successor, Ptolemy, captured Jerusalem, and carried a great number of the better sort of Jews to Alexandria. For a long time after it was taken by Antiochus the Great, it remained under the jurisdiction of the Syrian kings. Under the Maccabees, the Jews were again free for a considerable time, and chose their own rulers. One of the last of these, Aristobulus, invited Pompey the Great into the country; and thus Jerusalem came under the Roman dominion sixty-four years before Christ. But as it continued to have its own kings, at least in name, and also high-priests, together with the Roman governors, this occasioned constant troubles, which were finally ended by the destruction of the city, and the extermination of its inhabitants, by Vespasian and Titus, after a bloody siege, A. D. 70. Some buildings, however, were left among the ruins. The Jews again collected together, built on the place, and once more rebelled against the Romans, which so provoked the emperor Adrian, that, in the year 118, he ordered all that Titus had spared to be destroyed, and commanded a new city to be built on its place, called *Ælia Capitolina*, in which no Jew was permitted to dwell. Constantine the Great, and his mother Helena, from pious motives, ordered all the heathen monuments to be destroyed, and erected many new Christian edifices. Julian conceived the idea of rebuilding the old temple of the Jews, but is said to have been hindered from executing his plan by the eruption of subterranean fire. The city remained under the government of the eastern emperors till Chosroes, king of Persia, conquered it in the year 614. It was recovered by the emperor Heraclius (628), who prohibited the Jews from dwelling there, and so alienated the patriarch of Jerusalem, Sophronius, by sectarian differences, that the Saracen Caliph, Omar, found little difficulty in making

himself master of the city, A. D. 637. The Saracens, unwilling to forego the profits of pilgrimage, allowed the Christians to resort thither as formerly, upon the payment of a considerable tax; so that Jerusalem was nearly as much frequented as ever, till the inroads of the Turks in 1076, when that barbarous people committed such outrages on the pilgrims, that they could no longer visit the holy sepulchre in safety. This formed one of the moving causes of the crusades, in one of which Jerusalem was taken, and ruled along with the surrounding territory, during upwards of sixty years, by five Latin kings, when it yielded to the arms of Saladin. After changing successively its Moslem masters, it was annexed, in 1517, to the Turkish empire, of which it has ever since formed a part.

2. The ichnography of Jerusalem should be well understood; otherwise there are various passages in the Scriptures which may occasion perplexity. The city, then, was built upon four hills, called Sion, Acra, Moriah, and Bezetha. Indeed, the whole foundation was a high rock, formerly called Moriah, or Vision, because it could be seen afar off, especially on the south, Gen. xxii. 2-4. The mountain is a rocky lime-stone hill, with steep ascents on every side, except on the north, surrounded with a deep valley, again encompassed with hills, in the form of an amphitheatre, *Psalm cxxv.* 2. The accurate and minute account of Josephus, is the highest authority to which we can resort for ascertaining the form and limits of the Jewish capital. It is as follows: "The city was built on two hills, which are opposite to each other, having a valley to divide them asunder; at which valley the corresponding rows of houses on both hills terminate. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher, and in length more direct. Accordingly, it was called 'the citadel' by king David: he was father of that Solomon who built this temple at the first; but it is by us called 'the upper market-place.' But the other hill, which is called 'Acra,' and sustains the lower city, is of the shape of the moon, when she is horned; over against this there was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and parted, formerly, from the other by a broad valley. In the time when the Asmoneans reigned, they filled up that valley with earth, and had a mind to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, and reduced it to a less elevation than it was before, that the temple might be superior to it. Now the valley of the cheesemongers, as it was called, was that which distinguished the hill of the upper city from that of the lower, and extended as far as Siloam; for that is the name of a fountain which hath sweet

water in it, and this in great plenty also. But on the outside, these hills are surrounded by deep valleys, and by reason of the precipices belonging to them on both sides, are every where impassable." He afterwards adds, "As the city grew more populous, it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined that hill to the city, made it considerably larger, and occasioned that hill which is in number the fourth, and is called 'Bezetha,' to be inhabited also. It lies over against the tower Antonia, but is divided from it by a deep valley, which was dug on purpose. This new-built part of the city was called 'Bezetha' in our language, which, if interpreted in the Grecian language, may be called 'the new city.'"^{*} This account describes the gradual extension of the city, from the time when the Jebusites were dispossessed, till the foundation of the northern walls was laid by Herod Agrippa. It is evident that the old city was built upon "Acra," and the "stronghold of Sion" (2 Sam. v. 7) upon the hill bearing that name; both of which were taken from the Jebusites by David. After having possessed himself of these important places, this munificent prince appropriated the latter for the royal residence, and named it "the city of David." The extent of this "upper city," as it is called by Josephus, seems to be pointed out by an expression in 2 Sam. v. 9: "David built round about from Millo inward." Now, whether by "Millo" we understand, with some critics, the "house of Millo," which stood on the north-east of Mount Sion, or, with others, the valley which divided the upper and the lower city, and which was filled up by Solomon, and called Millo, the meaning still appears to be, that David built from one side of Mount Sion quite round to the opposite part. Moriah, properly so called, which is the third hill of Josephus, lay on the eastern side of Jerusalem, over against Mount Acra. This hill, on which Solomon erected the temple, was originally divided from Acra by a broad valley, subsequently filled up by the Asmoneans, and thus joined to the lower city. The valley which divided Sion from Acra and Moriah, is called by Josephus "the valley of cheesemongers," and extended as far as Siloam. Across this valley Solomon appears to have raised a causeway, leading from the royal palace on Mount Sion to the temple on Mount Moriah. The way was not level, but was an easy ascent and descent from one mountain to the other. Hence we read of "the ascent by which Solomon went up to the house of the Lord," and

of "the causeway," or "going up." On the east of the city, and stretching from north to south, stands the Mount of Olives, facing the spot formerly occupied by the temple, of which it commanded a noble prospect. It is separated from the city by the valley of Jehoshaphat. On the west of the city, and formerly without the walls, stood the little hill of Calvary, or Golgotha. But so much has the city moved in that direction, that it now stands in its very centre.

3. When Jerusalem became the capital of the kingdom, and the chosen place of Jehovah's worship, every means was used to render it impregnable, by high walls, massy gates, and towers of observation and annoyance. But of its fortifications we have no particulars extant till after the captivity, when Nehemiah recorded the portions which the several individuals engaged in the work repaired. This document being of great importance in settling the circuit of the city, and its principal gates, we shall attempt to follow the patriotic governor in his description. Beginning with the *sheep-gate* (chap. iii. 1), which was on the city, in the neighbourhood of Bethesda, and through which the sheep destined for sacrifice were driven to the temple, we travel along the east wall, with our faces to the north, and come to the tower of Meah, ver. 1. Turning the north-east corner, we reach the tower of Hananeel (ver. 1); beyond which, further west, was the *fish-gate* (ver. 3); and beyond this, again, the *old gate*, ver. 6. The broad wall (ver. 8) appears to have been near the north-west corner; and so named from the lowness of the ground in that place, which required the wall to have a wide foundation, in order to raise it to an equal height with the rest. But although these are all the gates which were built by Nehemiah on the north side of the city, they did not constitute the whole number; for we have three others mentioned, viz., the *gate of Benjamin*, which is generally placed near the north-east corner, between the *sheep-gate* and the *fish-gate*; the *gate of Ephraim*, which is placed between the *fish-gate* and the north-west corner; and the *corner-gate*, which is placed at the north-west corner. On turning the north-west corner, and proceeding along the west side of the city wall, our faces southward, we come to the *tower of the furnaces* (Neh. iii. 11); then to the *valley-gate* (ver. 13); a thousand cubits beyond which stood the *dung-gate* (ver. 13); and still further south, the *gate of the fountain* (ver. 15), so called from its proximity to the lower fountain of Gihon. There are no gates mentioned in the south outer wall; probably from the steepness of the mount there, no public road could be made. But modern geographers men-

^{*} Jewish Wars, book v., chap. 4.

tion three, as being within the city, in the wall which separates it from Mount Sion, viz., one without any distinctive name on the east; the *middle-gate*; and *Zion-gate*, on the west. On turning the south-east corner, to travel along the east side of the city, we pass "the pool of Siloam, by the king's gardens, and the king's pool," which lay at some distance from the city, on the right-hand; and the wall opposite the stairs that led to the city of David or Zion, "the wall opposite the sepulchres, and the house of the mighty," within the city on the left, Neh. iii. 15, 16. Hence these are said to have been "at the turning of the wall" (ver. 19), or near the south-east corner. A little further on, and at the place where the inner wall, which divides between the city of Zion, touches this outer wall, geographers place the *dung-gate*; but although this be its present position, it is evident from Nehemiah that it lay anciently on the other side, where we have placed it. Further to the north was another "turning," or corner, where was "the tower which lay out from the king's high house, and near the court of the prison," ver. 24, 25. There, probably, the *prison-gate*, mentioned afterwards by Nehemiah (chap. xii. 39), was situated. And beyond that was the *water-gate* (chap. iii. 26), near which the waters of Etam, that were employed in the temple-service, escaped to the brook Kedron; the *house-gate* (ver. 28), where Athaliah the queen was slain (2 Chron. xxiii. 15) on this side the water-gate, and joined to it by the wall that inclosed Ophel (Neh. iii. 27, 28) and the gate *Miphkat* (ver. 31) on the other side of the water-gate, not far from the *sheep-gate*, where we set out. Geographers place other two gates between Miphkat and the sheep-gate, namely, the *golden-gate* and the *sheep-gate*; but they are of later date than the days of Nehemiah. During the time that elapsed between the days of Nehemiah and the destruction of the city by Titus, several important alterations were made in its fortifications. Latterly it was enclosed by three walls, on those sides that were not encompassed with impassable valleys. A particular description of them is given by Josephus.*

4. Few places have been more frequently or variously described than the modern Jerusalem. Sometimes the mantle of him who sung, "How Salem's shrine was won, and how adored," seems to have fallen upon the shoulders of the traveller, and tintured his imagination with the hues of poetry, so that the holy city appeared to his eyes as rivalling, in the magnificence of its buildings, the most gorgeous edifices of modern times. An-

other, in traversing the desolate labyrinth called the valley of Jeremiah (a route usually followed in approaching the city), appears to have been inspired with the gloomy genius of the place; and, according to him Jerusalem is a heap of filth and ruins, whose respectability is only here and there redeemed by a gaudy mosque or a glittering minaret. Dr. Clarke, who approached it from the direction of the Napolose, on which side it is seen to the greatest advantage, has described its first appearance in the most glowing terms. But his description is decidedly overcharged. Mr. Jolliffe says, "Were a person carried blindfold from England, and placed in the centre of Jerusalem, or on any of the hills which overlook the city, nothing, perhaps, would exceed his astonishment on the sudden removal of the bandage. From the centre of the neighbouring elevations he would see a wild, rugged, mountainous desert—no herds depasturing on the summit, no forests clothing the acclivities, no water flowing through the valleys; but one rude scene of melancholy waste, in the midst of which the ancient glory of Judea bows her head in widowed desolation. On entering the town, the magic of the name and all his earlier associations would suffer a still greater violence, and expose him to still stronger disappointment. No 'streets of palaces and walks of state,' no high-raised arches of triumph, no fountains to cool the air, or porticos to exclude the sun, no single vestige to announce its former military greatness or commercial opulence; but in the place of these, he would find himself encompassed on every side by walls of rude masonry, the dull uniformity of which is only broken by the occasional protrusion of a small grated window." The following sketch is from the pen of Mr. Buckingham, and is very accurate: "Reposing beneath the shade of an olive-tree upon the brow of this hill (the Mount of Olives), we enjoyed from hence a fine prospect of Jerusalem on the opposite one. This city occupies an irregular square, of about two miles and a half in circumference. Its shortest apparent side is that which faces the east, and in this is the supposed gate of the ancient temple, now closed up, and the small projecting stone on which Mohammed is to sit when the world is to be assembled to judgment in the vale below. The southern side is exceedingly irregular, taking quite a zigzag direction; the south-west extreme being terminated by the mosque built over the supposed sepulchre of David, on the summit of Mount Zion. The form and exact direction of the western and southern walls are not distinctly seen from hence; but every part of this appears to be a modern work, and executed at the same time. The walls are

* Wars, book v., chap. 4

flanked at irregular distances by square towers, and have battlements running all around on their summits, with loop-holes for arrows or musquetry close to the top. The walls appear to be about fifty feet in height, but are not surrounded by a ditch. The northern wall runs over slightly declining ground; the eastern brow runs straight along the brow of Mount Moriah, with the deep valley of Jehoshaphat below; the southern wall runs over the summit of the hill assumed as Mount Sion, with the vale of Hinnom at its feet; and the western wall runs along on more level ground, near the summit of the high and stony mountains over which we had first approached the town. As the city is thus seated on the brow of one large hill, divided by name into several smaller hills, and the whole of these slope gently down towards the east; this view, from the Mount of Olives, a position of greater height than that on which the highest part of the city stands, commands nearly the whole of it at once. On the north it is bounded by a level and apparently fertile space, now covered with olive-trees, particularly near the north-east angle. On the south, the steep side of Mount Sion, and the valley of Hinnom, both show patches of cultivation, and little garden inclosures. On the west, the sterile summits of the hills there barely lift their outlines above the dwellings. And on the east the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, now at our feet, has some partial spots relieved by trees, though as forbidding in its general aspect as the vale of death could ever be desired to be, by those who have chosen it for the place of their interment. Within the walls of the city are seen crowded dwellings, remarkable in no respect, except being terraced by flat roofs, and generally built of stone. On the south are some gardens and vineyards, with the long red mosque of Al Sakhara, having two tiers of windows, a sloping roof, and a dark dome at one end, and the mosque of Sion and the sepulchre of David in the same quarter. On the west is seen the high square, castle, and palace of the same monarch, near the Bethlehem gate. In the centre rise the two cupolas, of unequal form and size; the one blue, and the other white, covering the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Around, in different directions, are seen the minarets of eight or ten mosques, amid an assemblage of about two thousand dwellings. And on the east is seated the great mosque of Al Harrem, or, as called by Christians, the mosque of Solomon, from being supposed, with that of Al Sakhara near it, to occupy the site of the ancient temple of that splendid and luxurious king.*

5. Of the more important places incidentally mentioned by Mr. Buckingham, the most splendid is the mosque of Omar, which no Christian is allowed to enter. Dr. Richardson, however, succeeded in obtaining admission, and was conducted through the interior by the sacristan, who pointed, "in the pride of his heart, to the elegant marble walls, the beautifully gilded ceiling, the well where the true worshippers drink and wash (with which we also blessed our palates and moistened our beards), the paltry reading-desk with the ancient Koran, the handsome columns, and the green stone with the wonderful nails. As soon as we had completed this circuit, pulling a key from his girdle, he unlocked the door of the railing that separates the outer from the inner part of the mosque, which, with an elevation of two or three steps, led us into the sacred recess. Here he pointed out the patches of Mosaic in the floor, the round flat stone which the prophet carried on his arm in battle; directed us to introduce our hand through the hole in the wooden box, to feel the print of the prophet's foot, and through the posts of the wooden rail, to feel as well as to see the mark of the angel Gabriel's fingers, into which I carefully put my own, in the sacred stone that occupies the centre of the mosque, and from which it derives the name of Sakhara or Locked-up, and over which is suspended a fine cloth of green and red satin. It was so covered with dust, that, but for the information of my guide, I should not have been able to tell the composing colours. Finally, he pointed to the door that leads into the small cavern below, of which he had not the key. I looked up to the interior of the dome; but, there being few lamps burning, the light was not sufficient to show me any of its beauty farther than a general glance. The columns and curiosities were repeatedly counted over, and the arches specially examined and enumerated, to be sure that I had not missed or forgotten any of them." Dr. Richardson having been permitted to visit this splendid edifice during the day, he found that the dimensions of the inclosure in which it stands are about fifteen hundred feet in length, and a thousand in breadth. In this place the followers of the prophet delight to saunter or repose, as in the elysium of their devotions; and, arrayed in the gorgeous costume of the East, add much to the interest, the beauty, and solemn stillness of the scene. The Sakhara itself is a regular octagon of about sixty feet a side, and is entered by four spacious doors, each of which is adorned with a porch projecting from the line of the building, and rising considerably on the wall. All sides of it are panelled. The centre stone of one panel is square; of another it is octagonal; and thus they alternate all

* Travels in Palestine, &c. pp. 203—205, 4to.

round, the sides of each running down the angles like a plain pilaster, and giving an appearance as if the whole were set in a frame. The marble is white, with a considerable tinge of blue; square pieces of the latter colour being introduced in different places, so as to confer upon the exterior a very pleasing effect. The upper story is faced with small tiles painted of different colours, and some of them are written over with sentences from the Koran. At this height there are seven elegant windows on each side, except where the porches interfere, when they diminish the general appearance of the edifice. The interior fully corresponds to the magnificence and beauty just described. There are twenty-four marble columns, placed parallel to the eight sides of the building; three opposite to each side, so as still to preserve the octagonal form. Eight of them are large plain pillars belonging to no particular order of architecture, and all standing opposite to the eight entering angles of the edifice, and deeply indented on the inner side: so that they furnish an acute termination to the octagonal lines within. Between every two of the square columns there are two of a round figure, well proportioned, and resting on a base. They are from eighteen to twenty feet high, with a Corinthian capital. A large square plinth of marble extends from the top of the one column to the other, and above it there is constructed a number of arches all round, which support the inner end of the roof or ceiling, the outer end resting upon the walls of the building. This is composed of wood or plaster, highly ornamented with a species of carving, and richly gilt. This magnificent temple owes its origin to a large oblong shaped stone, which occupies the centre of the building. Like the Palladium of Troy, it is reported to have descended from heaven on the identical spot where it now stands; it happened when prophecy began at Jerusalem, and was used by those who were endowed with the gift of vaticination. Like the stone in the fairy tale which changed its hues with the fortunes of the possessor, this stone manifested sympathy in the fate of the prophets when they were compelled to evacuate Jerusalem, even so far as to give indications of a desire to accompany them in their flight. But, by the interposition of the angel Gabriel and Mahomet, it was found immediately in the place where it now stands, and around it the Caliph Omar reared his gorgeous temple. In the interior of the rock whereon the Sakhara stands, there is a cave into which Dr. Richardson could not obtain admittance. It is a room forming an irregular square of about eighteen feet surface, and eight feet high in the middle. The roof is that of a natural vault, quite irregular. In de-

scending the staircase, there is upon the right hand, near the bottom, a little tablet of marble, bearing the name of El Makam Souleman, the Place of Solomon. A similar one upon the left is named El Makam Daoud, the Place of David. A cavity or niche on the south-west side of the rock is called El Makam Djibrila, the Place of Gabriel; and a sort of stone table at the north-east angle is denominated El Makam El Hoder, the Place of Elias. In the roof of the apartment, exactly in the middle, there is an aperture almost cylindrical through the whole thickness of the rock, about three feet in diameter. This is the Place of the Prophet.

6. Leaving the Mohammedan temple, we now proceed to describe one of far more interest to the Christian reader, namely, THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, on Mount Calvary. This church is about one hundred paces in length, and sixty in width. It is in the form of a circle, having a heavy dome or cupola, the frame of which is made of the cedars of Lebanon, and covered with a kind of stucco. It has a spacious and magnificent appearance. Mr. Carne, in his "Letters from the East," describes it as follows:—"There was a guard of Turks in a recess just within the door, to whom every pilgrim is obliged to pay a certain sum for admission; but we were exempted from this tax. In the middle of the first apartment is a large marble slab, raised above the floor, over which lamps are suspended: this is said to be the space where the body of the Redeemer was anointed and prepared for the sepulchre. You then turn to the left, and enter the large rotunda, which terminates in a dome at the top. In the centre of the floor stands the holy sepulchre: it is of an oblong form, and composed of a very fine reddish stone brought from the Red Sea, that has quite the appearance of marble. Ascending two or three low steps, and taking off your shoes, you enter the first small apartment, which is floored with marble, and the walls lined with the same. In the centre is a low shaft of white marble, being the spot to which the angel rolled the stone from the tomb, and sat on it. You now stoop low to enter the narrow door that conducts you to the side of the sepulchre. The tomb is of a light brown and white marble, about six feet long, and three feet high, and the same number in breadth, being joined to the wall. Between the sepulchre and the opposite wall the space is very confined, and not more than four or five persons can remain in it at a time. The floor and the walls are of a beautiful marble; the apartment is a square of about seven feet, and a small dome rises over it, from which are suspended twenty-seven large silver lamps, richly chased and of elegant work-

manahip—presents from Rome, of the courts and religious orders of Europe : these are kept always burning, and cast a flood of light on the sacred tomb, and the paintings hung over it, one Romish and the other Greek, representing our Lord's ascension, and his appearance to Mary in the garden. A Greek or Romish priest always stands here with the silver vase of holy incense in his hand, which he sprinkles over the pilgrims. Wishing to see the behaviour of these people, who come from all parts of the world, and undergo the severest difficulties to arrive at this holy spot, we remained for some time within it ; and the scene was very interesting. They entered : Armenians, Greeks, and Catholics, of both sexes, with the deepest awe and veneration, and instantly fell on their knees ; some, lifting their eyes to the paintings, burst into a flood of tears ; others pressed their heads with fervour on the tomb, and sought to embrace it ; while the sacred incense fell in showers, and was received with delight. In an apartment a little on the left of the rotunda, and paved with marble, is shown the spot where Christ appeared to Mary in the garden. Near this begins the ascent to Calvary, which consists of eighteen very lofty steps ; you then find yourself on a floor of beautiful variegated marble, in the midst of which are three or four slender white pillars of the same material, which support the roof, and separate the Greek division of the spot from that appropriated to the Catholics ; these pillars are partly shrouded by rich silk hangings. At the end stand two small and elegant altars ; over that of the Catholics is a painting of the crucifixion, and over the Greek is one of the taking down the body from the cross. A number of silver lamps are constantly burning, and throw a rich and softened light over the whole of this striking scene. The street leading to Calvary has a long and gradual ascent ; the elevation of the stone steps is above twenty feet ; and if it is considered that the summit has been removed to make room for the sacred church, the ancient hill, though low, was sufficiently conspicuous. The very spot where the cross was fixed is shown ; it is a hole in the rock, surrounded by a silver rim, and each pilgrim prostrates himself, and kisses it with the greatest devotion. Its identity is probably as strong as that of the cross and crown of thorns found a few feet below the surface. But where is the scene around or within the city that is not defaced by the sad inventions of the Fathers ?

6. The population of Jerusalem has been variously estimated at from 20,000 to 25,000. "It can hardly," says Mr. Carne, in his letters from the East, "exceed twenty thousand ; ten thousand of these are Jews, five thousand Christians, and

the same number of Turks. The lower division of the city," he continues, "towards the east, is chiefly occupied by the Jews : it is the dirtiest and most offensive of all. Several of this people, however, are rather affluent, and live in a very comfortable style ; both men and women are more attractive in their persons than those of their nation who reside in Europe, and their features are not so strongly marked with the indelible Hebrew characters, but much more mild and interesting. But few passengers in general are met with in the streets, which have the aspect, where the convents are situated, of fortresses, from the height and strength of the walls the monks have thought necessary for their defence. Handsomely dressed persons are seldom seen, as the Jews and Christians rather study to preserve an appearance of poverty, that they may not excite the jealousy of the Turks. The women, in their close veils and white dresses, look like walking corpses. The streets are unpaved, and filled either with heaps of dust, or with mire. Nothing is to be seen but veiled figures in white, insolent Turks, and stupid or melancholy Christians." That Jerusalem is no place for the cultivation of the arts or sciences, one may easily conjecture from the malignant genius of Turkish despotism, and the forbidding aspect of Christian superstition. Weavers and slipper-makers are the only artizans. A multitude of relics, which are probably not all manufactured in the city, but are sent in also from the neighbourhood, are sold to the credulous pilgrims. Nevertheless, this city forms a central point of trade to the Arabians in Syria, Arabia, and Egypt. The people export oil, and import rice by the way of Acre. The necessaries of life are in profusion, and quite cheap, the game excellent, and the wine very good. The pilgrims are always a chief source of support to the inhabitants at Easter ; they often amount to 5000. But few of them are Europeans. Jerusalem has a governor, a *cadi* or supreme judge, a commander of the citadel, and a mufti, to preside over religious matters. The citadel, which is pretended to have been the castle of David, is a Gothic building throughout. It is called the Pisan Tower, probably because it was built by the Pisans during the crusades. All the pilgrims go to the Franciscan monastery of the Holy Saviour, where they are maintained a month gratuitously ; besides which there are sixty-one Christian convents, of which the Armenian is the largest. They are all supported by benevolent contributions, principally from Europe.

JEZREEL, a celebrated city of Issachar (Josh. xix. 18), in the great plain, east of Scythopolis. Ahab had here a palace ; and the city became famous on account of his seizure of Naboth's vine-

yard, and the vengeance executed on Ahab, 2 Kings ix. 10, &c. Josephus calls Jezreel Azarius, or Azares; and in the time of William of Tyre, it was called Little Gerin. There was a fine fountain in it, whose waters fell into the Jordan, near Scythopolis. There was another city of the same name, which belonged to the tribe of Judah.

ILLYRICUM, a province lying north-west of Macedonia, which Paul speaks of as limiting his labours in the gospel, north-west of Jerusalem, Rom. xv. 9. It appears from this that the apostle preached in Syria, Phœnicia, Arabia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Troas, Asia, Caria, Lycia, Iona, Lydia, the isles of Cyprus and Crete, Thracia, Macedonia, Thessalia, and Achaia.

JOPPA. This is one of the most ancient seaports in the world. Pliny assigns it a date which stretches far back into the twilight of time, anterior to the deluge itself; and tradition has even assigned it as the place where Noah built his ark! It was here, however, as the most authentic of all records informs us, that Solomon ordered the materials of his temple to be brought by sea from Lebanon; here the prophet Jonah embarked for Tarshish; and here, in apostolic times, Peter restored Tabitha to life. During the warlike era of the crusades, Joppa, or Jaffa, as it is now called, made a conspicuous appearance; and latterly it has been dragged into a sort of disgraceful notoriety, from the well-known circumstance of Napoleon having massacred some prisoners there. The town occupies an eminence in the form of a sugar-loaf, with a citadel on the summit. The bottom of the hill is surrounded with a wall twelve or fourteen feet high, and two or three feet thick. The environs are occupied by extensive gardens, the soil being very favourable for the production of fruit. According to Dr. Clarke, the harbour is one of the worst upon the Mediterranean, and unfit for shipping. The road is protected by a castle, and there are some store-houses and magazines on the sea-side. The coast is low, and but little elevated above the level of the sea. The inhabitants amount to between four and five thousand, who are mostly Turks and Arabs.

JORDAN, THE RIVER. See page 415, *ante*.

ISLANDS, ISLES. Considerable errors in sacred geography have arisen from taking the word rendered *islands* for a spot surrounded by water. It rather imports a *settlement* or *PLANTATION*; that is to say, a colony or establishment, as distinct from an open, unappropriated region. Thus we should understand Gen. x. 5: "By these were the settlements of the Gentiles divided in their lands." The sacred writer evidently had enumerated countries, which were not isles in any sense whatever.

So Job xxii. 30: "He (God) shall deliver the island of the innocent," i. e., settlement or establishment. Isai. xlii. 15: "I will make the rivers islands;" rather, *settlements* of human population. In these places, and many others, the true idea of the Hebrew word is establishments or colonies, understood to be at some distance from others of a similar nature. The Oases of Africa, which are small districts, comprising wells, verdure, and population, surrounded by immense deserts of sand, are called islands, in Arabic, to this day; and no doubt but such were so called by the Hebrews, notwithstanding that they had no stream of water within many days' journey around them.*

ITUREA. See page 413, *ante*.

JUDEA. See page 419, *ante*.

KADESH, KADESH-BARNEA, OR EN-MISHPAT, the *fountain of judgment* (Numb. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3); the place where Miriam died (Numb. xx. 1), and where Moses and Aaron, distrusting God's power, when they smote the rock at the waters of strife, were appointed to die, without the satisfaction of entering the promised land, Numb. xxvii. 14. The critics have been somewhat perplexed in fixing the precise locality of Kadesh; and with good reason, since there is little doubt that it was an appellation given to more places than one. An instance of its being added to a place is furnished in Meribah-Kadesh; which is written "Meribah" simply, in Numb. xx. 13, but "Meribah in Kadesh," chap. xxvii. 14, or, as in Deut. xxxii. 51, "Meribah-Kadesh." It is written in the plural, Meriboth-Kadesh, in Ezek. xlvii. 19, xlviii. 28. Why was this place called by the additional name of Kadesh? Probably, says Mr. Taylor, because there had been a divine appearance; for wherever the Divinity appeared, the place was considered as holy: and if El Paran were adjacent to Kadesh, then we see how this place might obtain the name of Kadesh (*hol*), because here the Divine Presence appeared to improve Israel, and gave them directions to turn by the way of the Red Sea, and to quit the confines of the promised land, to which they were now approaching; as appears by their attack on the Canaanite, and their being repulsed to Hormah. Numb. xiv. 45; Deut. i. 46. Mr. Taylor thinks this remark may be applied to explain Numb. xi. 1: "The congregation came to Kadesh;" that is to Meribah-Kadesh; not Kadesh, simply, nor Kadesh-Barnea, nor near it; for thither the Israelites did not come, most certainly, in the first month, from any assignable period with which we are acquainted. This, indeed, is what the sacred writer observes (ver. 13): "This is the water of

* Calmet's Dictionary, 8vo. edition.

Meribah, because Israel strove with the Lord," &c. But the Kadesh in the next verse, as he observes, seems to be a Kadesh much nearer to Edom than Meribah was; for from Mount Sinai, or Rephidim (that is, Meribah-Kadesh), Moses could have little inducement or opportunity to send any message to Edom. Moreover, from Meribah-Kadesh Israel could not journey to Mount Hor (ver. 22), and again, from Mount Hor, by the way of the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom (chap. xxi. 4); but from Kadesh, that is, El Paran, to Mount Hor, was a short distance; and from Mount Hor, by the way of Egypt, was much the same as from Kadesh, by the way of Egypt; a course which we know was actually taken by the Israelites. Kadesh is described as "a city in the utmost of the borders of Edom," west (chap. xx. 16), and from hence was this message of Moses sent. This remark has great influence on the question, whether certain miracles were twice performed during the journey of the Israelites in the desert; the title Kadesh having been taken as the name of a place, when, in fact, it was only an honorary addition. It is probable that Kadesh-Barnea was not the Kadesh west of Edom, but was distinguished from it by the name of Barnea, and was separated from it by some considerable portion of Mount Seir, or of Hor, which of course lay between them; Kadesh-Barnea being east (and probably, also, south) of Kadesh. Whether there were a Kadesh in the land of Moab, properly speaking, may be doubted; and a confusion seems to have crept into the history, by an incorrect appropriation of this name or title.*

KEDRON, a brook in the valley east of Jerusalem, between the city and the Mount of Olives, and which discharges itself into the Dead Sea. It has generally but little water, and often none; but after storms or heavy rains, it swells, and runs with much impetuosity. A branch of the valley of Kedron was the sink of Jerusalem; and here Asa, Hezekiah, and Josiah burnt the idols and abominations of the apostate Jews, 2 Kings xxiii. 4. The blood poured out at the foot of the altar in the temple, as well as other filth, ran by a drain into the brook Kedron.

LAODICEA, a city in Asia Minor, on the confines of Phrygia and Lydia. Its ancient name was Diopolis: it was long an inconsiderable place, but towards the time of Augustus Cæsar, the fertility of the soil, and the good fortune of some of its citizens, raised it to greatness. Hiero, who adorned it with many offerings, bequeathed to the people more than two thousand talents; and though an inland town, it grew more potent

than the cities on the coast, and became one of the largest towns in Phrygia; as its present ruins prove. Among the ruins seen by Dr. Chandler, was an oblong amphitheatre, the area of which was about one thousand feet in extent, with a number of other splendid ruins. At the time when Paul addressed his Epistle to the Colossians, it was a place of consequence.† Whether the church were numerous, we know not; but, from the epistle in the Revelation addressed to its minister, it should seem to have fallen into a lukewarm state (about A. D. 96), and it is threatened accordingly. It seems also, that the Laodiceans boasted of their wealth, and knowledge, and garments, which agrees with their history, that they were enriched by the fleeces of their sheep, and eminent in polite studies, as evinced by the Odæum, the Theatre, the Amphitheatre, and the magnificent sculptures, the remains of which are still discernible.

LEBANON, Mount. See page 419, *ante*.

LIBYA, a province of Egypt, supposed to have been peopled by the descendants of Lehabim, son of Mizraim, Gen. x. 13. It reached from Alexandria to Cyrene, and perhaps further. In Nah. iii. 9, Lubim is rendered Libya, because of its connexion with Phut, which implies Africa; and probably that part of Africa near and around Carthage, rather than Nubia. Josephus says, "Phut was the conductor of Libya, whose settlements were from him called Phutæi. It is beyond the river in the region of Mauritania. By this name it is well known in the Grecian histories; adjacent to the region which they call Phut." We read of the Lubim, in 2 Chron. xii. 3, xvi. 8; Nah. iii. 9; Dan. xi. 43. Sometimes all Africa is called Libya; but, as Calmet remarks, it does not occur in this sense in Scripture.

LYCAONIA, a province of Asia Minor, forming part of Cappadocia, having Galatia north; Pisidia, south; Cappadocia, east; and Phrygia, west. Paul preached in the cities of Iconium and Lystra, in Lycaonia (Acts xiv. 6, &c.), and having cured a man who had been lame from his mother's womb, the inhabitants of Lystra said, in the speech of Lycaonia, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercurius, because he was the chief speaker."

LYCIA, a province of Asia Minor, having Phrygia on the north, the Mediterranean on the south; Pamphylia on the east; and Caria on the west, 1 Macc. xv. 23; Acts xxvii. 5. Paul landed at the port of Myra in this province, when going to Rome, A. D. 60.

* Calmet's Dictionary, 8vo. edition.

† See page 220, *ante*.

LYDDA, or LOD, by the Greeks and Latins called DIOSPOLIS, is a city in the way from Jerusalem to Cæsarea Philippi, lying east of Joppa four or five leagues. It belonged to Ephraim, but seems to have been inhabited by the Benjamites, after the Babylonian captivity (Neh. xi. 35), and was one of the three toparchies dismembered from Samaria, and given to the Jews, 1 Macc. xi. 34. The Jews inform us, that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, they founded academies in different parts of Palestine, of which Lydda was one; where the famous Akiba was a professor, for some time, and was succeeded by Gamaliel. D'Arvieux thus describes the modern town: "It is situated on a plain, about a league from Rama. It is so entirely ruined, as to be at present but a miserable village, noticeable only on account of the market which is held here once a week. The dealers resort to it to sell the cotton and other commodities which they have collected during the week. Here was formerly a handsome church, dedicated to St. George, a saint who is equally in favour with Turks and Christians." Dr. Wittman says, "I rode across the plains of Jaffa and Lydda. We approached the town of Lydda, or Louda, and saw the Arab inhabitants busily employed in sowing barley. The soil of these fine and extensive plains is a rich black mould, which with proper care and industry might be rendered extremely fertile. Lydda is denominated by the Greeks Diospolis [the city] or temple of Jupiter, probably because a temple had been dedicated in its vicinity to that deity. Since the crusades it has received from the Christians the name of St. George, on account of its having been the scene of the martyrdom and burial of that saint. In this city tradition reports that the emperor Justinian erected a church."*

MAACHAH, or BETH-MAACHA, a small province of Syria, lying east and north of the sources of the Jordan, toward Damascus. It was called Abellath-maacha, because Abel was situated in it. The Israelites did not destroy the Maachathites, but permitted them to dwell in the land (Josh. xiii. 13), and subsequently their king assisted the Ammonites against David, 2 Sam. x. 8, 9. The lot of the half-tribe of Manasseh beyond Jordan extended to this province, Deut. iii. 14; Josh. xii. 5.

MACEDONIA, a country of Greece, bounded by Thrace, north; Thessaly, south; Epirus, west; and the Ægean sea, east. Calmet is of opinion that Macedonia was peopled by Kittim, son of Javan (Gen. x. 4); and that by Kittim, in the Hebrew text, Macedonia is often to be understood.

Alexander the Great having conquered Asia, and subverted the Persian empire, the name of the Macedonians became famous throughout the East; and is often given to the Greeks, the successors of Alexander in the monarchy, Esth. (Apoc.) xvi. 10, 14, and 2 Macc. viii. 20. So also the Greeks are often put for the Macedonians, 2 Macc. iv. 36. The prophet Daniel describes Macedonia under the emblem of a goat with one horn; and this symbol has been proved to be the one proper to that country, by the discovery of some curious antiquities, upon which Mr. Charles Taylor has written some ingenious disquisitions, in his *Fragments to Calmet*. By the aid of similar materials, Mr. Taylor has also shown that Macedonia was divided into several provinces, four at least, when under the Roman government. Many medals of the first province are extant, mostly in silver; and they enable us to assert, that the evangelist Luke (Acts xvi. 12) means not to describe Philippi as the first or chief city of Macedonia, which was not true in any sense; but as a city of the first Macedonia, which is the correct import of his words.

MALTA, or MELITA [Eng. Tr.], an island in the Mediterranean Sea, thought to have been named Melita, from the great quantity of honey formerly found there. Its length is from east to west, and its breadth from north to south. A native of the island informed Calmet that Malta was an ancient colony of the Carthaginians, and had always spoken the language of Africa, as it continues to do. Paul suffered shipwreck on this island, and, with his companions, was kindly treated by the inhabitants, Acts xxviii. Paul taking up a fagot of twigs to throw into the fire, a viper that lurked in it, feeling the heat, seized him by the hand; but he, without any emotion, shook it into the fire. The people expected every moment to see him fall down dead; and as this did not happen, they changed their sentiments, and began to look upon him as some deity. Publius, the governor of the island, received the apostle courteously; and his father being sick of a fever and bloody flux, Paul healed him, and also restored many of the islanders to health. When he and his company sailed thence, the people abundantly supplied them with necessaries for their voyage. Several of them were converted by the preaching of Paul; and the house of Publius was changed into a church.

MEDIA, a country east of Assyria, for an account of which see p. 436, *ante*.

MEROM, the waters of Merom (Josh. xi. 5), or lake of Semechon, is the most northern of the three lakes supplied by the river Jordan. It is situate in a valley, called the Ard Houle, formed by the two branches of Mount Hebron. The

* Travels, pp. 203, 205, January 12.

lake is now called, after the valley, the lake of Houle. In summer this lake is for the most part dry, and covered with shrubs and grass, in which lions, bears, and other wild beasts conceal themselves.

MEROZ (Judg. iv. 23), a place in the neighbourhood of the brook Kishon, whose inhabitants, refusing to assist their brethren when they fought against Sisera, were put under anathema.

MESOPOTAMIA (the Greek name of ARAM-NAHARAIN, a country between the *two rivers*), a famous province celebrated in Scripture as the first dwelling of men after the deluge. It gave birth to Phaleg, Heber, Terah, Abraham, Nahor, Sarah, Rebekah, Rachel, Leah, and the sons of Jacob. The plains of Shinar were in this country; and it was often called Mesopotamia Syriæ, because it was inhabited by the Arameans, or Syrians; and sometimes Padan-aram (Gen. xxviii. 2, &c.), the plains of Aram; or Sede-aram, the fields of Aram; to distinguish the fertile plains from the uncultivated mountains of the country. Balaam, son of Beor, was of Mesopotamia (Deut. xxiii. 4), whose king, Chushanrishathaim, subdued the Hebrews after the death of Joshua, Judg. iii. 8. Mesopotamia was afterwards seized by the Assyrians, and continued united to the empire till its dissolution. It frequently formed part of the Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Parthian empires; and is now comprised in modern Persia, lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates.

MILETUS, or MILETUM, a city and sea-port of Ionia, originally a colony of Cretans; but at length so powerful, that it sent out settlers to a great number of cities on the Euxine Sea, and many others on the continent. Paul, going from Corinth to Jerusalem, in A. D. 58, passed by Miletus; and as he went by sea, and so could not take Ephesus in his way, he desired the bishops of the church in that city to meet him here, Acts xx. 18, 35.

MORIAH, MOUNT. See page 506, *ante*.

MOSEOTH, or MOSERAH (Numb. xxxii. 30), a station of the Israelites, probably the same as Hazeroth, or Hazerah, near Kadesh, and Mount Hor. Burckhardt mentions a valley east of Mount Hor, called Wady Mousa, which is probably a corruption of Moserah.

MYRIA, a province of Asia Minor, now called Eolia; having Bythinia north, the Troad south, Phrygia east, and the Hellespont west. Paul preached in this country, Acts xvi. 7, 8.

NAIN, a city of Palestine, where Jesus restored a widow's son to life, as they were carrying him out to be buried. Eusebius says, it was in the neighbourhood of Endor and Scythopolis; and elsewhere, that it was two miles from Tabor,

south. [At the foot of the lesser Mount Hermon, near the town of Endor.] The brook Kishon ran between Tabor and Nain.

NAZARETH, an insignificant town of Zebulun, in lower Galilee, west of Tabor, and east of Ptolemais, celebrated for having been the residence of Christ, for the first thirty-three years of his life (Luke ii. 51), and from which he received the name of Nazarene. After he had opened his mission, he sometimes preached here in the synagogue (Luke iv. 16); but because his countrymen had no faith in him, and were offended at the meanness of his origin, he did not many miracles among them, Matt. xiii. 54, 58. Nazareth is upon the side of a barren rocky elevation (see Luke iv. 29), facing the east, and commanding a long valley, of a round concave form, and encompassed with mountains. The place is shown where the house of the Holy Virgin stood! but the house itself, say the Catholics, was transported by angels to Loretto! Dr. E. D. Clarke, who describes Nazareth, mentions the village of Sephory, in which is shown the house of St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, five miles from the town;—the fountain near Nazareth, called the "Virgin Mary's fountain;"—the great church or convent, at that time the refuge of wretches afflicted with the plague, hoping for recovery from the sanctity of the place;—Joseph's workshop, converted into a chapel;—the synagogue wherein Jesus is said to have preached, now a church;—the precipice, whence the inhabitants would have thrown our Lord, concerning which "the words of the evangelist are remarkably explicit; and it is, probably, the precise spot alluded to in the text of Luke's Gospel."

NEAPOLIS, now called Napoli (Acts xvi. 11), a city of Macedonia, near the borders of Thrace, whither Paul came from the isle of Samothracia, and whence he started for Philippi.

NILE, the river of Egypt, which issues from the mountains of Abyssinia, towards the north, whence it proceeds, and afterwards winds about to the east, passing into a great lake, and thence running towards the south. It waters the country of Alata, where it has several falls, continues its course far into the kingdom of Goiam, then winds about again from the east to the north; and at length, running northward, enters Egypt at the cataracts, which are waterfalls made by meeting with rocks, of the length of two hundred feet. After passing these rocks, the Nile flows directly through the valley of Egypt, its channel, according to Villamont, being about a league broad. Eight miles below Cairo, it is divided into two arms, which form a triangle, whose base is at the Mediterranean sea, and which the Greeks call the Delta, because

of its figure, Δ . These two arms are divided into others, which discharge themselves into the Mediterranean, whose distance from the Delta is about twenty leagues. These branches the ancients commonly reckoned to be seven mouths; *Septemplex ostia Nili*. The Nile overflows yearly in the month of August, in the higher and middle Egypt, where it hardly ever rains. But in lower Egypt the flood is less sensible and less necessary, because it frequently rains there, and the country is sufficiently watered. The Egyptians have often contentions, village against village, which shall have the first distribution of the waters; and when the overflowing comes as they desire, they celebrate a great festival throughout the country. When the waters are subsided, the culture of the land is easy. The seed is cast on the mud, and with little tillage produces great plenty. The mud which the Nile brings is earth washed away from the banks in its course; which same mud, covering the land-marks and furrows of the fields, obliges the proprietors to have recourse to the line and the measuring rod, to measure out their lands and inheritances every year anew. "Some descriptions of Egypt would lead us to think that the Nile, when it swells, lays the whole province under water. The lands adjoining immediately to the banks of the river are indeed laid under water, but the natural inequality of the ground hinders it from overflowing the interior country. A great part of the lands would therefore remain barren, were not canals and reservoirs formed to receive water from the river, when at its greatest height, which is thus conveyed every where through the fields, and reserved for watering them, when occasion requires."* The prophet Nahum calls this river by the name of a sea when describing the rampart of populous No, which he says, "was the sea, and her wall was from the sea." This may appear very extraordinary to British readers; but, the account of Ibn Haukal, who uses the same phraseology, will justify it. He thus writes: "In this sea there are islands, to which one may pass in boats or vessels. Of these islands are Teneis, and Damiat. In each of these, agriculture is practised, and cattle are kept; and the kind of clothes called rekia come from these places. The waters of this sea are not very considerable, and vessels move on it by the help of men . . . From the borders of this sea, to those of the sea of Syria, it is all sand."† In these passages the mouths of the Nile, the lakes adjacent to them, the marshes, &c.,

appear to be called seas, in the Arabic; as such collections of water also are in the Hebrew.

NINEVEH, the capital of Assyria, and one of the most ancient, potent, and extensive cities of the world. It is difficult to assign the era of its foundation; but it cannot have been long after the building of Babel. It stood on the banks of the Tigris; and in the time of the prophet Jonah its circuit was three days' journey; and it contained more than 120,000 persons, "who could not distinguish their right hand from their left," that is, young children. By this computation, there ought to have been then in Nineveh more than 600,000 persons. Diodorus Siculus says, it was 150 stadia in length, 90 stadia in breadth, and 480 stadia in circuit; that is, about seven leagues long, three leagues broad, and eighteen leagues round. Its walls were a hundred feet high, and so broad that three chariots could drive abreast upon them. Its towers, of which there were fifteen hundred, were each two hundred feet high. Nineveh, which had long been the mistress of the east, was first taken by Arbaces and Belesis, under the reign of Sardanapalus, in the time of Ahaz, king of Judah, about the time of the foundation of Rome, A. M. 3257. It was taken a second time by Astyages and Nabopolassar, from Chinaladin, king of Assyria, A. M. 3378, after which it no more recovered its former splendour. It was entirely ruined in the time of Lucian of Samosata, who lived under the emperor Adrian. It was rebuilt under the Persians, but was destroyed by the Saracens about the seventh century. Several writers are of opinion that the ruins on the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite to the town of Mosul, point out the site of the ancient Nineveh. Mr. Rich, who was resident at Bagdad, describes on this spot an inclosure of a rectangular form, corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass, but the area of which is too small to have contained a larger town than Mosul. The boundary of this inclosure, which he supposes to answer to the palace of Nineveh, may be perfectly traced all around, and looks like an embankment of earth or rubbish, of small elevation; and has attached to it, and in its line, at several places, mounds of greater size and solidity. The first of these forms the south-west angle; and on it is built the village of Nebbi Yunus, where they show the tomb of the prophet Jonas. The next, and largest of all, is the one which Mr. Rich supposes to be the monument of Ninus, and is situated near the centre of the western face of the inclosure, being joined like the others by the boundary wall; the natives call it Koyunjuk Tepe. Its form is that of a truncated pyramid, with regular steep sides and a flat top;

* Niebuhr's Travels, vol. i., p. 87.

† Sir W. Ouseley's Trans., p. 34.

and is composed of stones and earth, the latter predominating sufficiently to admit of the summit being cultivated by the inhabitants of the village of Koyunjuk, which is built on it at the north-east extremity. The measurements of this mound were 178 feet for the greatest height, 1850 feet the length of the summit east and west, and 1147 for its breadth, north and south. These ruins certainly attest the former existence of some extensive buildings here; but whether of Nineveh must remain in doubt.

NOPH, a city of Egypt (Isai. xix. 13; Jer. ii. 16, xlv. 1, xlv. 14; Ezek. xxx. 13, 16), generally believed to have been the same with Moph, the Menouf of the Copts and Arabs; that is, Memphis, formerly the capital of Egypt. The precise situation of this place has been a subject of considerable dispute. Sicard and Shaw fix its site at Djezeh, or Gizeh, directly opposite to Old Cairo; while Pococke, D'Anville, Niebuhr, and other writers and travellers, place it more in the direction of Metrahery, about 15 miles further south, on the bank of the Nile, at the entrance of the plain of mummies, at the north of which the pyramids are placed. As the question, however, is still involved in much obscurity, and would require considerable space to discuss it, the reader must be referred to those works in which this has been done.*

ON, a city of Egypt, called HELIOPOLIS (*the city of the sun*) by the Greeks, was situated on the Nile, half a day's journey from Babylon in Egypt. Strabo (lib. xvi.) speaks of ancient temples and obelisks, shown here in his time, and large houses belonging to the priests, though the city was then deserted. There was in Egypt another Heliopolis, situated between the town of Cairo, Copte, and the Red Sea; and D'Herbelot assures us, that the Arabian writers call the city of Coos, Ain-al-Schams, that is, fountain of the sun; or Heliopolis, city of the sun. He believes it to be the ancient Thebes in Upper Egypt, and says, the Arabian geographers place it in long. 61° 30'; lat. 23° 30'. Dapper places Heliopolis 7,000 paces east of Cairo, and near the village of Matarea, very far from the famous Thebes. The name of Heliopolis is said to have been given to it by reason of a temple dedicated to the sun, in which was a looking-glass so disposed, that it reflected the rays of that luminary all day long, and enlightened the whole temple with great splendour. Onias, son of Onias III., having retired from Judæa into Egypt, and obtained the favour of Ptolemy Philometer, and

his wife Cleopatra, obtained permission to build a temple at Heliopolis, like that of Jerusalem, for the use of the Jews settled in Egypt. Heliopolis was not far from the present Cairo. Mr. Taylor thinks it still retains the name of Heliub; though others think Matarea, its neighbour, may be the true On. It is famous for a fine obelisk, of considerable size, and nearly seventy feet in height, covered with hieroglyphics, though not equal in execution to some remaining in the south of Egypt. Several others which formerly stood here have been carried to Rome, or to Constantinople.

OPHIR, a country with which Solomon traded; but as to the situation of it, there is some diversity of opinion. It appears from 1 Kings xxii. 48, compared with 2 Chron. xx. 36, also 1 Kings ix. 28, x. 22, that the same ships that went to Tarshish, went also to Ophir; that these ships sailed from Ezion-geber, a port of the Red Sea (1 Kings xxii. 48, ix. 26, x. 22); that three years were required for the voyage; that the fleet returned freighted with gold, peacocks, apes, spices, ivory, and ebony (1 Kings ix. 28, x. 11, 12, compare 2 Chron. viii. 18, ix. 10, &c.); that the gold of Ophir was in the highest esteem; and that the country of Ophir abounded with gold more than any other then known. Still the locality of the country remains in doubt. Josephus places it in the Indies, and says it is called the gold country, by which he is thought to mean Chersonesus Aurea, now known as Malacca. Others place it in the kingdom of Malabar, or in Ceylon; that is, the island of Taprobana, so famous among the ancients; while Taylor goes much farther north, selecting Cabul at the head of the Indus; and Calmet fixes upon Armenia, at the head of the Euphrates. The fact is, that the question must ever remain in doubt, from the want of data upon which to proceed in its decision.

PALESTINE. See page 411, *ante*.

PAMPHYLIA, a province of Asia Minor, having Cilicia east, Lycia west, Pisidia north, and the Mediterranean south. It is opposite to Cyprus, and the sea between the coast and the island is called the sea of Pamphylia. The chief city of Pamphylia was Perga, where Paul and Barnabas preached, Acts xiii. 13, xiv. 24.

PAPHOS, a famous city of the isle of Cyprus, where Paul converted the proconsul Sergius Paulus, and struck with blindness a Jewish sorcerer, called Barjesus, who would have hindered his conversion. Paphos was at the western extremity of the island. Acts xiii. 6, A. D. 44.

PARAN, or PHARAN, a desert of Arabia Petræa, south of the Land of Promise, and north-east of the Elanitic gulf. Hagar, being sent from Abraham, retired into this wilderness, where she lived

* Bruce's Travels; Fragments to Calmet, No. 546; and the Modern Traveller (Egypt, vol. i., p. 339–352), will supply the necessary information.

with her son Ishmael, Gen. xxi. 21. It was here that the Israelites were encamped when Moses sent out spies to inspect the Land of Promise, chap. xiii. 3. When David was persecuted by Saul, he withdrew into the wilderness of Paran, near Maon and Carmel (1 Sam. xxv. 1, 2), but this must have been another place of the same name. There was also a city named Paran, in Arabia Petrea, Deut. i. 1, &c.

PARTHIA, is thought to have been originally a province of Media, on its eastern side, which was raised into a distinct kingdom by Arsaces, *ante* A.D. 250. It soon extended itself over a great part of the ancient Persian empire, and is frequently put for that empire in Scripture, and other ancient writings.

PATMOS, an island of the *Ægean* sea, to which the apostle John was banished, A. D. 94 (Rev. i. 9), and where he had the revelation, recorded in the Apocalypse. It lies between the island of Icaria, and the promontory of Miletus, and is now called Patino, or Pactino, or Patmol, and has a city called Patmos, with a harbour, and some monasteries of Greek monks, who show a cave, now a chapel, where they pretend that John wrote his Revelations.

PELLA, a city in the Decapolis, or in the country of Basan, which profane authors sometimes call Coele-Syria, was situated between Jabesh and Gerasa, six miles from the former, Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20. Josephus relates that, under the reign of Alexander Jannæus, the Jews were masters of Pella, and destroyed it, because the inhabitants would not embrace Judaism. The first Christians, having been forewarned by our Saviour that Jerusalem should be demolished, took refuge at Pella, as related by Eusebius, when the war against the Romans broke out.

PEOR, a mountain which Eusebius places between Heshbon and Livias; and of the same chain as Nebo and Pisgah.

PEREA, the country *beyond* or east of Jordan, which had its limits, at Philadelphia east, the Jordan west, Macheron south, and Pella north. Sometimes the word Perea is taken in a more extensive signification, for the whole country beyond Jordan, which was inclosed on the east by mountains, which divided it from Arabia Deserta.

PERGA, one of the most considerable cities in Pamphylia; and which, when that province was divided into two parts, became the metropolis of one of them, as Side did of the other. There was, on a neighbouring mountain, a very famous temple of Diana, surnamed Pergæa, from the city.

PERGAMUS (now Bergamo), a city of Mysia, in Asia Minor, and the residence of the Attalian princes (Rev. ii. 13).

PERSIA. See page 437, *ante*.

PHARPAR, an arm of the Barrady or Chrysorrhœas, which waters the city of Damascus, and the country about it, 2 Kings v. 12.

PHILADELPHIA, a city of Lydia, in Asia Minor, where was one of the seven Asiatic churches, Rev. iii. 7. It stood on a branch of Mount Tmolus, by the river Cogamus, about twenty-eight miles east of Sardis. Philadelphia was so called from Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, by whom it was founded. It is now a mean but considerable town, of large extent, with a population of about 1000 Greek Christians.

PHILIPPI, a city of the first part of Macedonia, and a colony, Acts xvi. 12. (See Macedonia, p. 514, *ante*.) Paul preached here A. D. 52, and converted several inhabitants; among others, Lydia a seller of purple. He also cast out a Pythonic spirit from a servant maid, in consequence of which her masters stirred up the whole city against him, and the magistrates caused him and Silas to be seized, whipped, and put into the prison. This ill treatment seems to have been recollected by Paul, with a resentment not common to him. He says to the Thessalonians, "we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated at Philippi." It should seem that the military officers of the colony had assumed a power that did not belong to them; and Paul resented their proceedings with the feelings of a soldier, as well as of a Roman citizen:—he therefore humbled them in a public manner; but he did not forget their shameful usage of him and his companion, Silas. The converted Philippians were always full of gratitude for the faith they had received from God, by the ministry of Paul. They assisted him on several occasions (Phil. iv. 16); sent him money while in Achaia; and, being informed that he was a prisoner at Rome, they sent a deputation to him by Epaphroditus, their bishop (Phil. iv. 12—18. A. D. 61). who went a second time, and carried with him the epistle which is still remaining; and in which the apostle commends their liberality, and shows great acknowledgment for their readiness. This church was left by Paul and Silas under the ministrations and direction of Luke, whose age and experience qualified him for that difficult office. He continued there a long while, probably several years, though he modestly omits all mention of his services. Comp. Acts xvi. 11, *et seq.* with chap. xx. 6.

PHœNICIA. See page 439, *ante*.

PHRYGIA was the largest kingdom of Asia Minor; having Bithynia north, Pisidia and Lycia south, Galatia and Cappadocia east, and Lydia and Mysia west. Christianity was planted here by Paul, Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23.

PIZGAH, one of the mountains east of the river Jordan, in the land of Moab, and forming part of the chain of Nebo, Pisgah, and Abarim. In the Hebrew text (Deut. xxxiv. 1—3), the prospect enjoyed by Moses from Pisgah reaches from Dan, north, to Zoar, south; but in the Samaritan Pentateuch it is much more extensive: "all the land from the river of Egypt, to the river, the great river Euphrates, to the utmost sea." This was the extent of Solomon's dominions; and the utmost bounds of the royal power of the kings of Israel.

PISIDIA, a province of Asia Minor, having Lycania north, Pamphilia south, Cilicia and Cappadocia east, and the province of Asia west. Paul preached at Antioch, its capital (Acts xiii. 14), and throughout Pisidia, xiv. 24.

PISON, or **PHISON**, one of the four great rivers that watered Paradise (Gen. ii. 11, 12), and which ran through all the land of Havilah, where excellent gold is found. It has, of course, been placed as variously as the garden of Eden.

PITHOM, one of the cities built by the children of Israel for Pharaoh in Egypt, during their servitude (Exod. i. 11), and, probably, the Pathumos mentioned by Herodotus (lib. ii.), which he places on the canal made by the kings Necho and Darius, to join the Red Sea with the Nile. Bochart says, that Pithom and Ramesses are about five leagues above the division of the Nile, and beyond this river; but this assertion has no proof from antiquity. Marsham insists that Pitham is the same as Pelusium, or Damietta.

PONTUS, a province in Asia Minor, having the Euxine Sea north, Cappadocia south, Paphlagonia and Galatia east, and the Lesser Armenia west. It is thought that Peter preached here, because he addresses his First Epistle to the faithful of this and of the neighbouring provinces.

RABBATH, or **RABBAT-AMMON**, or **RABBATH OF THE CHILDREN OF AMMON**, afterwards called Philadelphia, by Ptolemy Philadelphus, the capital of the Ammonites, was situate in the mountains of Gilead, near the source of the Arnon, beyond Jordan. It was famous even in the time of Moses (Deut. iii. 11); and when David declared war against the Ammonites, his general, Joab, laid siege to this city, where the brave Uriah lost his life, by a secret order of his prince. When the city was reduced to the last extremity, David himself went thither, that he might have the honour of taking it. From this time it became subject to the kings of Judah; but the kings of Israel subsequently became masters of it, with the tribes beyond Jordan. Towards the conclusion of the kingdom of Israel, Tiglath-pileser having taken away a great part of the Israelites, the Ammonites were guilty of many cruelties against those

who remained; for which the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel pronounced very severe prophecies against Rabbath, their capital, and against the rest of the country, which probably had their completion five years after the destruction of Jerusalem. Antiochus the Great took the city about A. M. 3786. It is now called Amman, and is about 15 miles S. E. of Szaet.

RABBATH-MOAB, **RABBAT-MOBA**, **AR**, **AREOPOLIS**, **ARIEL OF MOAB**, **KIRHERES**, or the city with brick walls, situate about 25 miles south of the Arnon, was the capital of the Moabites.

RAMAH, a city of Benjamin, between Gaba and Bethel, toward the mountains of Ephraim, six miles from Jerusalem north, and on the road from Samaria to Jerusalem. Baasha, king of Israel, had it fortified, to obstruct the passage from the land of Judah into that of Israel. Calmet takes it to be the Ramatha, or Ramathaim-zophim, of the prophet Samuel, 1 Sam. i. 1, 19, ii. 11, &c. It was on the frontiers of Ephraim and Benjamin, and was often inhabited by both tribes. It is also very probable, that Jeremiah speaks of this Ramah (chap. xl.) when he says, Nebuzaradan, who commanded the Chaldean army, having found him among the captives at Ramah, whither they had been all brought, set him at liberty. Of the same place he explains the prophecy (chap. xxxi. 15—17), in which the Lord comforts Rachel, on account of the taking her children of Ephraim and Manasseh into captivity.

There was another city of the same name, about thirty miles north-west of Jerusalem, on the road to Joppa. M. le Bruyn describes the fine reservoirs of water to be seen here, and many other marks of antiquity. He says it is but four leagues from Jaffa, or Joppa, and stands in a plain and even country: he also says, that Lydda is on one side, and about three miles from Rama.

RAMOTH, a city in the mountains of Gilead, often called Ramoth-Gilead, and sometimes Ramath-mizpeh, or the Watch-tower, Josh. xiii. 26. It belonged to the tribe of Gad, was assigned to the Levites, and became one of the cities of refuge beyond Jordan, Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8; xxi. 38. It was famous during the reigns of the later kings of Israel, and was the occasion of several wars between these princes and the kings of Damascus, who had conquered it, and from whom the kings of Israel endeavoured to regain it, 1 Kings xxii.; 2 Kings viii. 28, 29; 2 Chron. xxii. 5. Jehoram, king of Judah, was dangerously wounded at the siege of this place; Jehu, son of Nimshi, was here anointed king of Israel, by a prophet sent by Elisha (2 Kings ix.); and Ahab was killed in battle with the Syrians before it, 2 Chron. xviii. 3. Eusebius says, Ramoth was fifteen miles from

Philadelphia, east; but Jerome places it in the neighbourhood of Jabbok, and, consequently, north of Philadelphia.

REPHIDIM, a station or encampment of Israel in the desert (Exod. xvii. 1), where the people, wanting water, began to murmur against Moses, saying, "Why have you brought us out of Egypt, to kill us with thirst in this desert?" Moses then cried to the Lord, who said, "Take the people to the rock of Horeb, with the elders: I shall be there on the rock before you; you shall strike it with your rod, and water shall gush out, that the people may drink." This Moses did; and the place was called Temptation, because of the complaints of Israel, who there tempted the Lord, saying, Is the Lord among us, or not? Rephidim could not be far from Horeb, because God ordered Moses to go from thence to the rock of Horeb, to give the people water. And this same water served the Israelites, not only in the encampment of Rephidim, and in that of Mount Sinai, but also in other encampments, perhaps as far as Kadesh-barnea. Paul says (1 Cor. x. 4), that this rock followed them in their journey; and that it was a figure, or type, of Christ. "For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ." This miracle at Rephidim happened A. M. 2513, in the second month after the departure from Egypt. And here Joshua obtained a famous victory over the Amalekites, while Moses lifted up his hands toward heaven, Exod. xvii. 8—10.

RHODES, an island and city of the Levant, the ancient name of which was Asteria, Ophiussa, and Etheria, and which Paul visited when he went to Jerusalem, A. D. 58, Acts xxi. 1.

RIBLAH, a city of Syria, in the country of Emath, which Jerome takes for Antioch of Syria, or for the country of Emath, or Emmas, which was in his time the first stage of those who travelled from Syria into Mesopotamia. This hypothesis, however, lies under great difficulties. Antioch was at a distance from Emesa; nor was it on the road from Judæa to Mesopotamia. When Moses describes the eastern limits of the land of promise (Numb. xxxiv. 10), he says, "Ye shall point out your east border from Hazar-enan to Shepham. And the coast shall go down from Shepham to Riblah, on the east side of (the fountain) Ain; and the border shall descend, and shall reach unto the side of the Sea of Cinnereth (of Tiberias) eastward. And the border shall go down to Jordan; and the goings out of it shall be at the Salt Sea (or the Dead Sea)." The name of Daphne is not in the Hebrew; but the Chaldee paraphrasts and Jerome explain the fountain of Riblah by that of Daphne, near Antioch. Ezekiel draws the

northern bounds of the land of promise from the Mediterranean Sea to Hazar-enan, or Atrium Enan. He says, the city of Emath limits the Holy Land toward the north; and its southern limits go through the middle of Auran, Damascus, and the mountains of Gilead. He does not mention Riblah, but Emath, in the territory of which Riblah was situate. Riblah, as a residence, was one of the most agreeable of Syria; whence it was selected by the kings of Babylon. Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, staid here on his return from his expedition against Carchemish (2 Kings xxiii. 33); and having sent for Jehoahaz, king of Judah, he here deprived him of the royal dignity, and promoted Jehoikim. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, continued at Riblah, while his general Nebuzaradan besieged Jerusalem; and after the reduction of that city, Zedekiah, with the other prisoners, was brought to Riblah, where his eyes were put out, 2 Kings xxv. 6, 20, &c.

ROME. See page 445, *ante*.

SAMARIA, THE COUNTRY OF. See page 412, *ante*.

SAMARIA, THE CITY OF, is now called Sebaste, or the Venerable, an appellation conferred on it by Herod. It is computed by modern tourists to be more than forty miles distant from Jerusalem. The situation is extremely beautiful, and naturally strong, occupying the summit of a hill, encompassed all around by a deep valley. But the city which Herod adorned with princely buildings is now a mere village, small and poor, exhibiting only the miserable wreck of former greatness. Here John the Baptist was decapitated, and the empress Helena erected a church over the place where he pined and suffered; but it has shared the fate of the rest of the city, being now a mere ruin. The prison where the holy blood of the desert-bred was spilled, is, however, pointed out by the Turks, who hold it in high veneration.

SARDIS, a city of Asia Minor, formerly the capital of Croesus, king of the Lydians, is situated at the foot of the famous Mount Tmolus, on the north, having a spacious and delightful plain before it, watered with several streams that flow from the neighbouring hill to the south-east, and with the Pactolus, rising from the same, on the east, and increasing with its waters the stream of Hermus, into which it runs. It is now a very pitiful village, called *Sart*; but, for the accommodation of travellers, it being the road for the caravans that come out of Persia to Smyrna with silk, there is a large chane built in it, as is usual in most of these towns. The inhabitants are for the most part shepherds, who look to those numerous flocks and herds which feed in the plains. To the southward of the town very considerable ruins are still remaining, which remind us of what Sardis

was, before earthquake and the sword had caused those desolations which have visited it. The Turks have a mosque here, which was formerly a Christian church, at the entrance of which are several curious pillars of polished marble. Some few Christians live among them, working in gardens, or otherwise employed in such-like drudgery. The church in Sardis was reproached by our Saviour for its declension in vital religion. It had a name to live, but was really dead, Rev. iii.

SELA, the name of a place mentioned in 2 Kings xiv. 7, where it is said that Amaziah, king of Judah, slew ten thousand men of Edom, in the valley of Salt, and took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel. *Sela*, in Hebrew, signifies a *rock*, and answers to the Greek word *Petra*; whence it has been reasonably inferred that the city bearing this name, and which was the celebrated capital of Arabia Petrea, is the place mentioned by the sacred historian. There are two places, however, which contend for the honour of having been the capital of the Nabatheans, or Agareniens—Kerek, and Wady Mousa; but the extensive ruins which have been discovered in the latter place, have induced most writers to consider this as the site of the ancient Petra, though in opposition to the traditions of the people who inhabit the country. Mr. Mansford has followed those writers who think that both Kerek and Wady Mousa appear to have been called Petra by the Greeks, and each to have been the capital of the country, though in different ages. In proof that the former was so called, he remarks, that when the expedition of the Macedonian Greeks, which Antigonus sent against the Nabathæi, under the command of his son Demetrius, first penetrated into this country; we are informed by Diodorus, that this people placed their old men, women, and children upon a steep rock, having only one access to the summit, and situated three hundred stadia beyond the lake Asphaltites. Now, both the description and position of this place agree with Kerek, as described by Burckhardt; while the city of Wady Mousa is twice the above-mentioned distance from the lake, and stood in a *deep glen*, instead of on a *precipitous rock*. He conceives, however, that in process of time, and probably from increase of commerce, or for better security, or as lying in a more direct route from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, the new city was built in Wady Mousa, the probable site of a former city of the Edomites, to which the name of the old capital was transferred, and with equal propriety, for here, too, all was rock; while the old city was distinguished by its indigenous name of Kerek, moulded by the Greeks into Charax. The remains in the valley of Wady Mousa, which

are described by Burckhardt and Legh, and by Captains Irby and Mangles, attest the splendour of the former city. At the western end of the valley, the road ascends to the high platform on which Mount Hor and the tomb of Aaron stand; in the vicinity of which Josephus and Eusebius agree in placing the ancient Petra. *

SELEUCIA, a city of Syria, on the Mediterranean, near where the river Orontes falls into it, and at which Paul and Barnabas embarked for Cyprus, Acts xiii. 4.

SEPHER, or SHAPHER, a mountain of the east, which Calmet places in the supposed country of Sepharvaim, between Colchis and Media: but its situation is left entirely to conjecture. The sons of Joktan had their dwelling "from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the East," Gen. x. 30. There was another mountain of this name between Syria and Egypt.

SHARON, the name of three districts of Palestine; the appellation being almost proverbial to express a place of extraordinary beauty and fruitfulness, Isai. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2. There was, first, a district between Mount Tabor and the sea of Tiberias, extending to Cæsarea and Joppa, and extremely fertile, Josh. xii. 18; Cant. ii. 1; 1 Chron. xxvii. 29; Isai. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, lxx. 10; Acts ix. 35. Then there was a district between Cæsarea and Joppa, along the coast. And, lastly, a district east of the Jordan, in the country of Bashan, and in the tribe of Gad, 1 Chron. v. 16. Modern travellers give the name of Sharon to the plain between Eodippe and Ptolemais.

SHAVAH, THE VALLEY OF, or "valley of the king" (Gen. xiv. 17), was near to Jerusalem; for here Melchizedec, with the king of Gomorrah, came to meet Abraham at his return from the defeat of the five kings.

SHECHEM, SICHAR, or SYCHAM, a city of Benjamin (Josh. xvii. 7), in the vicinity of which stood Jacob's well or fountain, John iv. 5. After the ruin of Samaria by Shalmaneser, Shechem became the capital of the Samaritans; and Josephus says it was so in the time of Alexander the Great. It was 10 miles from Shiloh, 40 from Jerusalem, and 52 from Jericho. Shechem is the metropolis of a rich and extensive country, abounding in agricultural wealth, and is one of the most flourishing towns in the holy land. It has a very imposing appearance when viewed from the surrounding heights, and looks as if it were embosomed in a delicious paradise. The population, who are principally Mohammedans, have been estimated at 10,000; but this Mr. Buckingham thinks an ex-

* Calmet's Dict., *sub voce*.

aggregation. The Samaritans do not exceed forty in number. They have a synagogue, where divine service is performed every Saturday. Four times a year they go in solemn procession to the old temple on Mount Gerizim, on which occasion they assemble before sunrise, and read the law till noon. They have but one school in Nablous where their language is taught, though they take much pride in preserving ancient MSS. of their Pentateuch in the original character. Mr. Connor saw a copy, which is reported to be three thousand five hundred years old; but he was not allowed to examine nor even to touch it. The events transacted in the field of Shechem render the localities contiguous to the city peculiarly interesting. Here stands the well of Jacob, and here the sons of the patriarch "drove their flocks a-field," and here they sold to the Ishmaelites their brother Joseph, the future all-but potentate of the greatest kingdom then upon the face of the earth. Here, as of old, the shepherds graze their flocks upon the hills of Samaria, and the Ishmaelites come from Gilead "bearing spices, and balm, and myrrh;" so imperishable are the customs and manners of the east.

SHILOH, or **SILÓ**, a city of Ephraim (Josh. xviii., xix., xxi.), 12 miles from Shechem, according to Eusebius, or 10, according to Jerome. Here Joshua assembled the people to make the second distribution of the Land of Promise (Josh. xviii.); here the tabernacle of the Lord was set up (chap. xix. 51), and continued till A. M. 2888, when it was taken by the Philistines, under the administration of the high-priest Eli.

SHUSHAN, the capital city of Elam, or Persia (Dan. viii. 2), on the river Ulai, and the winter residence of the Persian kings, after Cyrus. Here Daniel had the vision of the ram and he-goat, in the third year of Belshazzar (Dan. viii.), and here Nehemiah obtained from Artaxerxes permission to return into Judea, and repair the walls of Jerusalem, Neh. i. 1. Mr. Kenneir thinks that the ruins about thirty-five miles west of Shouster, the present capital of Chuzistan, are those of that ancient residence of royalty, "stretching not less, perhaps, than twelve miles from one extremity to the other. They occupy an immense space between the rivers Kerah and Abzal; and, like the ruins of Ctesiphon, Babylon, and Kufa, consist of hillocks of earth and rubbish covered with broken pieces of brick and coloured tile. The largest is a mile in circumference, and nearly one hundred feet in height; another, not quite so high, is double the circuit. They are formed of clay and pieces of tile, with irregular layers of brick and mortar, five or six feet in thickness, to serve, as it should seem, as a kind of prop to the mass. Large blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, are not

unfrequently here discovered by the Arabs, when digging in search of hidden treasure; and at the foot of the most elevated of the pyramids (ruins) stands the tomb of Daniel, a small and apparently modern building, erected on the spot where the relics of that prophet are believed to rest." This gloomy wilderness is infested by lions, hyenas, and other beasts of prey; and the dread of them compelled Mr. Monteith and Mr. Kenneir to take shelter for the night within the walls that encompass Daniel's tomb, a small modern building, which is supposed to mark the site of the prophet's place of sepulture.

SIDON or **ZIDON** owes its name to the eldest of the sons of Canaan, and was comprehended under the "lot" or possessions formally assigned to the tribe of Asher. It appears to have been higher in point of antiquity than Tyre, although both have been classed in the character of sisters, arising, most likely, from their contiguity; and publicly considered as a city of large extent and importance, since it has been distinguished in Scripture by the title of "Zidon the Great." But although Sidon fell to the lot of Asher (Josh. xix. 28), that tribe never succeeded in obtaining possession, Judg. i. 31. The Sidonians continued long under their own government and kings, though sometimes tributary to the kings of Tyre. They were subdued successively by the Babylonians, Egyptians, Seleucidae, and Romans, the latter of whom deprived them of their freedom. Many of the inhabitants of Sidon became followers of our Saviour (Mark iii. 8), and there was a Christian church there, when Paul visited it on his voyage to Rome, Acts xxvii. 3. Among various arts and sciences, the invention of the alphabet and arithmetic, making of glass, and skill in casting and sculpture, have been celebrated; and an unrivalled dexterity in hewing of wood will hand down the Sidonian name in the page of history to the latest period of time. The commercial pursuits of this people were also as lucrative as they were extensive; and it was likewise celebrated for its maritime enterprise. Sidon is now a small town, rising gradually from the seashore, very pleasantly situated, and surrounded with rich gardens. The climate is peculiarly mild; the streets are excessively narrow, many of them under archways, as at Jerusalem: the inhabitants are estimated at about seven thousand, of whom two thousand are Christians, who have places of worship; the Jews, also, who may be calculated at two hundred, have a synagogue. Considering its small extent, the trade of this place is pretty considerable, particularly in silk. Among the medals of Sidon collected by Mr. Taylor are some with a Greek inscription: "To the Sidonian god-

dess," which agrees exactly with the appellation in 1 Kings xi. 5, 33: "Ashtoreth, goddess of the Sidonians." They have also Phœnician inscriptions on them; and the date is supposed to be 155—183, from the era of the Seleucidæ.

SILOAM, SILOE, or SILOA, a fountain under the walls of Jerusalem, on the east, between the city and the brook Kidron, and the same, no doubt, as Enrogel, or the fuller's fountain, Josh. xv. 7, xviii. 16; 2 Sam. xvii. 17; 1 Kings i. 9. Isaiah (viii. 6) intimates, that the waters of Siloam flowed gently and without noise: "Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah, that go softly." Reland says (Antiq. Heb. pt. iv. cap. 6), that there was a custom of drawing water out of the fountain of Siloam, and pouring it out before the Lord, in the temple, at the time of evening sacrifice; and to this there appears to be an allusion in John vii. 37.

SIN, or ZIN, a city and wilderness south of the Holy Land, in Arabia Petræa, near Egypt and the Red Sea, Exod. xvi. 1, xvii. 1. There was another desert of the same name, also south of Palestine, but toward the Dead Sea, Deut. xxxii. 51; Numb. xiii. 21, xxvii. 14, xxxiv. 3; Josh. xv. 3.

SINAI, a mountain of Arabia Petræa, in the peninsula formed by the two northern arms of the Red Sea, and where the law was given to Israel, Exod. xix., &c. There is, however, considerable difficulty in determining the particular spot rendered memorable by this miraculous occurrence. According to Burckhardt, Sinai is a prodigious pile of mountains, comprehending many separate peaks, and extending thirty or forty miles in diameter; and one of the group, called *djebel Mousa*, the Mount of Moses, is pointed out by tradition. A higher elevation, separated from it by a deep cleft, and called Mount St. Catherine, is considered to be the mountain called Horeb, in Deut. v.; Exod. xx., &c. Burckhardt, however, who particularly examined the localities of this region, is dissatisfied with the alleged proofs in support of the claims of *djebel Mousa*, and is persuaded that Mount Serbal, a peak in a lower range of mountains, to the north-west of that already described, is the true Mount Sinai; and that either the Mount of Moses, or Mount St. Catherine, is the real Horeb. Mr. Conder* has carefully examined and compared the accounts of Burckhardt, and other writers, with the Scripture references to Sinai and Horeb; but without arriving at any satisfactory result. "After all," he remarks, "Mount St. Catherine may be the real

Sinai: there is every reason to believe that *djebel Mousa* is not."

SMYRNA, a city of Asia Minor, situated in Ionia, on the Archipelago, and having a fine harbour. Our Lord, by the mouth of John, addresses the angel or bishop of Smyrna (Rev. ii. 8—10), who is thought to have been Polycarp the martyr, who was put to death A. D. 166. It is still a place of consideration, having a great foreign trade, and a population of about 140,000.

SODOM, the chief city of the Pentapolis; and for some time the dwelling-place of Lot, Gen. xiii. 12, 13. Its crimes, however, were so enormous, that God destroyed it by fire from heaven, with three neighbouring cities, Gomorrhah, Zeboim, and Admah, which were as wicked as itself, Gen. xix.; A. M. 2107. The plain in which they stood was pleasant and fruitful, like an earthly paradise; but it was first burned, and afterwards overflowed by the waters of the Jordan, which formed the present Dead Sea, or lake of Sodom. The prophets allude to the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrhah, and intimate that these places shall be desert, and dried up, and uninhabited (Jer. xlix. 18, l. 38); that they shall be covered with briars and brambles, a land of salt and sulphur, where can be neither planting nor sowing, Deut. xxix. 22; Wisd. ii. 9; Amos iv. 11.

SYRIA. See page 440, *ante*.

SYRO-PHœNICIA is Phœnicia properly so called, which having been united to the kingdom of Syria, it added its old name Phœnicia to that of Syria. Matthew calls her a Canaanitish woman (Matt. xv. 22, 24), whom Mark calls a Syro-Phœnician (Mark vii. 26), because that country was really peopled by Canaanites; Sidon being the eldest son of Canaan, Gen. x. 15.

TADMOR, subsequently called *Palmyra* by the Greeks, was a city founded by Solomon in the desert of Syria, on the borders of Arabia Deserta, near the Euphrates. Its situation was remote from human habitations, in the midst of a dreary wilderness; and it is probable that the Hebrew king built it to facilitate his commerce with the East, as it afforded a supply of water, a thing of the utmost importance in an Arabian desert. It is one day's journey from the Euphrates, two from Upper Syria, and six from Babylon. The original name was preserved till the time of Alexander, who extended his conquests to this city, which then exchanged *Tadmor* for the title of *Palmyra*. It submitted to the Romans about the year 130, and continued in alliance with them during a period of 150 years. When the Saracens triumphed in the East, they acquired possession of this city, and restored its ancient name of *Tadmor*. Of the time of its ruin there is no

* Mod. Trav. Arabia, p. 177—195.

authentic record; but it is thought, with some probability, that its destruction occurred during the period in which it was occupied by the Saracens. Of its present appearance, Messrs. Wood and Dawkins, who visited it in 1751, thus speak: "It is scarcely possible to imagine any thing more striking than this view. So great a number of Corinthian pillars, mixed with so little wall or solid building, afforded a most romantic variety of prospect." Captain Mangles, who travelled more recently, observes, "On opening upon the ruins of Palmyra, as seen from the valley of the Tombs, we were much struck with the picturesque effect of the whole, presenting the most imposing sight of the kind we had ever seen." But on a minuter inspection, the ruins of this once mighty city do not appear so interesting as at a distance. Volney observes, "In the space covered by these ruins, we sometimes find a palace of which nothing remains but the court and walls; sometimes a temple, whose peristile is half thrown down; and now a portico, a gallery, a triumphal arch. If from this striking scene we cast our eyes upon the ground, another almost as varied presents itself. On which side soever we look, the earth is strewed with vast stones, half buried, with broken entablatures, mutilated friezes, disfigured reliefs, effaced sculptures, violated tombs, and altars defiled by the dust." It is situated under a ridge of barren hills to the west, and its other sides are open to the desert. The city was originally about ten miles in circumference; but such have been the destructions effected by time, that the boundaries are with difficulty traced and determined. In the *Modern Traveller* there is a very excellent description of the present aspect of this ruined city, by Mr. Josiah Conder.*

TARSHISH, a city and country to which the Hebrews and Phœnicians traded. It was situated in the west, as is evident from Gen. x. 4, where it is joined with Elishah, Kittim, and Dodanim (See also Ps. lxxii. 10); and according to Ezek. xxxviii. 13, it was an important place of trade; according to Jer. x. 9, it exported silver; and according to Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25, silver, iron, tin, and lead, to the Tyrian markets. In Isai. xxiii. 1, 6, 10, it is represented as an important Phœnician colony, and is named among other distant states, in chap. lxvi. 19. That these notices agree with Tartessus in Spain, has been shown by Bochart, Michaëlis, and Bredow; the Greek name *Tartessus*, being derived from a harder Aramean pronunciation of the word תרשיש. Another orthography was known to the Greeks; for in Polybius and Stepha-

nus Byzantinus occurs *Ταρσηϊον* synonymous with *Ταρήσσαος*. In the interval between the composition of the Books of Kings and Chronicles, this name seems to have been employed to denote any distant country; hence the ships that went to Ophir (1 Kings xxii. 49), are said expressly by the writer of Chronicles to have gone to Tarshish, 2 Chron. ix., xxi. 20, xxxvi. 37. The phrase, *Tarshish ships*, is also employed by Isaiah, xxiii. 1, 4, lx. 9, &c., to denote large merchant ships bound on long voyages, even though they were sent to other countries instead of Tarshish. The English phrase, an *Indiaman*, is very similar. The phrase is also used of the ships that went to Ophir, 1 Kings xxii. 49, x. 22.

TARSUS, the capital of Cilicia, of which city Paul was a native, Acts ix. 11, xxi. 39. Some think it obtained the privileges of a Roman colony by its firm adherence to Julius Cæsar, who made the inhabitants citizens of Rome: whence the apostle was free of Rome, by being born in Tarsus. Others believe that Tarsus, though a free city, was not a Roman colony in the time of Paul; and that the privilege of being a citizen of Rome belonged to the apostle, not as a native of Tarsus, but by some personal right derived from his father or ancestors.

THESSALONICA, a city and sea-port of the second division of Macedonia, in which a large number of Jews resided. They had a synagogue here, in which Paul (A. D. 52) preached to them on three successive sabbaths. Some of the Jews having surrounded the house in which they believed he was lodging, for the purpose of ill-treating him, the brethren secretly led Paul and Silas out of the city towards Berea, and they escaped from their enemies (Acts xvii.), leaving behind them Timothy and Silas, that they might confirm those in the faith who had been converted under Paul's ministry. Being subsequently informed by them of the state of the church in Thessalonica, he addressed to them the two Epistles so directed in our present canon. Thessalonica, now called Salonica, is at present a wretched town, but having a population of about 60,000 persons.

TIBERIAS, a city of Galilee, on the western shore of the lake of Genesareth, the original name of which is thought by some to have been Cinnereth, or Hammath, or Emath. Reland has shown, however, that this is very doubtful, and is only founded on the sea of Cinnereth being afterwards called the sea of Tiberias. Besides, as he observes, the portion of Naphtali did not begin towards the south, but at Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13), which is more to the north than Tiberias; and yet Cinnereth and Hammath belong to the portion of Naphtali, Josh. xix. 35. Josephus

* Calmet's Dictionary, *sub voce*.

states,* that Tiberias was built in honour of Tiberias by Herod Antipas, and that it was 30 furlongs from Hippos, 60 from Gadara, 120 from Scythopolis, and 30 from Tarichea.† Herod endowed it with great advantages; which, with its convenient situation, soon made it the metropolis of Galilee. When he was obliged to leave Rome, he retired hither with his uncle Herod; and the emperor Claudius afterwards bestowing it upon him, it had the name of Claudia Tiberias. Josephus took possession of it at the time of the wars with the Jews, and gave the bastinado to the officer who came to propose terms of peace to it from the Romans. Vespasian intended to put all the inhabitants to the edge of the sword; but Agrippa prevailed on him to be satisfied with beating down part of its walls. Tiberias is the only place on the sea of Galilee retaining any marks of its ancient importance. It is understood to cover the ground formerly occupied by a town of a much remoter age, and of which some traces can still be distinguished. Tabaria, as it is now denominated, has the form of an irregular crescent, and is inclosed towards the land by a wall, flanked with circular towers. It lies nearly north and south, along the edge of the lake, and has its eastern front so close to the water on the brink of which it stands, that some of the houses are washed by the sea. The whole does not appear more than a mile in circuit, and cannot, from the manner in which they are placed, contain above 500 separate dwellings. Here there are a mosque and two Jewish synagogues, also a Christian place of worship, called the House of Peter, which is thought by some to be the oldest building used for that purpose in any part of Palestine. The structure is of very ordinary description; but it derives no small interest from the popular belief that it is the very house which Peter inhabited at the time of his being called from his boat to follow the Messiah. The population of the town does not now exceed 2000. Of these about one-half are Jews; the rest are Mohammedans, with the exception of a few of the Christian creed. The warm baths, which have given celebrity to that neighbourhood, are still found at the distance of between two and three miles southward from the town. "Tiberias," says Carne, "is a scene where nature still seems to wear as sublime and lovely an aspect as in the day when it drew the visitations of our Lord. No curse rests on its shores, as on those of the Dead Sea, but a hallowed calm, and a majestic beauty, that are irresistibly delightful."

TIBERIAS, *sea of*. See p. 416, *ante*.

TOB, a country beyond Jordan, in the most northern part of the portion of Manasseh. Thither Jephthah fled, and was fetched from thence, Judg. xi. 3, 5. It is thought to be the same as Ish-tob, 2 Sam. x. 6, 8. Rabbi Joshua ben Levi says that Tob was afterwards called Susitha; in Greek, Hippene (cavalry-town). In the city Hippos were mingled both Jews and Gentiles.

TOPHET, a place near Jerusalem, in the valley of the children of Hinnom, where, as is said, a constant fire was kept, for burning the offal, and other filth, brought from the city. Isaiah (xxx. 33) seems to allude to the custom of burning dead carcasses in this place, when he says, "For Tophet is ordained of old; yea for the king [or Moloch] it is prepared; he hath made it deep and large. The pile thereof is fire and much wood: the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." Some think that the name of Tophet was given to the valley of Hinnom, because of the sacrifices offered there to the god Moloch, by beat of drum, to drown the cries of the consuming children; a drum in Hebrew, being called *toph*. Jeremiah (vii. 31) upbraids the Israelites with having built temples to Moloch: "The high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the sons of Hinnom, to burn their sons and their daughters in the fire." We learn from the same prophet that Tophet was a polluted and unclean place, where they used to throw the carcasses to which they refused burial, chap. vii. 32, xix. 11—13. Josiah defiled the place of Tophet, where the temple of Moloch stood, so that none might go thither again, to sacrifice their children to that cruel deity, 2 Kings xxiii. 10, 11.

TROAS, a city of Phrygia, or of Mysia, on the Hellespont, between Troy and Assos. Sometimes the name of Troas (or the Troad) signifies the whole country of the Trojans, the province where the ancient city of Troy had stood; but in the New Testament it signifies, a city of this name, sometimes called Antigonía, and Alexandria. Sometimes both names are united, Alexandria-Troas. Paul was several times at Troas, A. D. 52 (Acts xvi. 8, &c.), and once had a vision here of a man of Macedonia, who requested gospel assistance. He left here, in the custody of Carpus, some clothes and books, which he desired Timothy to bring with him to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 13.

TYRE, a celebrated city of Phœnicia, allotted to the tribe of Asher (Josh. xix. 29), though it does not appear that they ever drove out the Canaanites. There were, properly speaking, two Tyres—Insular Tyre, and Tyre on the continent, or Palæ Tyrus; and it is supposed by some learned writers, that the island was not inhabited till after

* Antiq., lib. xviii., cap. 3; De Bel., lib. ii., cap. 8.

† De Vita sua, pp. 1025, 1010.

the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. But this supposition is not merely at variance with Josephus, but is scarcely reconcilable with the language of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, who both seem to speak of Tyre as an isle. See Isai. xxiii. 2, 6; Ezek. xxvi. 17, xxvii. 3, xxviii. 2. Nor is it probable that the advantageous position of the island would be neglected by a maritime people. The coast would, indeed, first be occupied, and the fortified city mentioned in the book of Joshua was in all probability on the continent; but as the commercial importance and wealth of the port increased, the island would naturally be inhabited, and it must have been considered as the place of the greatest security. Volney supposes that the Tyrians retired to their isle when compelled to abandon the ancient city of Nebuchadnezzar, and that till that time the dearth of water had prevented it from being much built upon. The chief edifices were, at all events, on the main land, and to these the denunciations of total ruin strictly apply. Palæ Tyrus never rose from its overthrow by the Chaldean conqueror, and the Macedonian completed its destruction; at the same time, the wealth and commerce of Insular Tyre were for the time destroyed, though it afterwards recovered from the effects of this invasion. Ancient Tyre, then, probably consisted of the fortified city, which commanded a considerable territory on the coast, and of the port which was "strong in the sea." On that side it had little to fear from invaders, as the Tyrians were lords of the sea; and accordingly it does not appear that the Chaldean conqueror ventured upon a maritime assault. Josephus, indeed, states, that Salmaneser, king of Assyria, made war against the Tyrians, with a fleet of sixty ships, manned by 800 rowers. The Tyrians had but twelve ships; yet they obtained the victory, dispersing the Assyrian fleet, and taking 500 prisoners. Salmaneser then returned to Nineveh, leaving his land forces before Tyre, where they remained for five years, but were unable to take the city. This expedition is supposed to have taken place in the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, about A. M. 3287, or 717 B. C. It must have been about this period, or a few years earlier, that Isaiah delivered his oracle against Tyre, in which he specifically declared, that it should be destroyed, not by the power which then threatened, but by the Chaldeans, a people "formerly of no account," Isai. xxiii. 13. The more detailed predictions of the prophet Ezekiel were delivered an hundred and twenty years after, B. C. 588. Almost immediately before the Chaldean invasion, the army of Nebuchadnezzar is said to have lain before Tyre thirteen years, and it was not taken till the fifteenth year after the captivity,

B. C. 573, more than 1700 years, according to Josephus, after its foundation. Its destruction then must have been entire; all the inhabitants were put to the sword, or led into captivity, the walls were razed to the ground, and it was made a "terror" and a desolation. It is remarkable, that one reason assigned by Ezekiel, for the destruction of this proud city, is its exultation at the destruction of Jerusalem: "I shall be replenished now she is laid waste," Ezek. xvi. 2. This clearly indicates that its overthrow was posterior to that event; and if we take the seventy years during which it was predicted by Isaiah (xxiii. 15) that Tyre should be forgotten, to denote a definite term (which seems the most natural sense), we may conclude that it was not rebuilt till the same number of years after the return of the Jews from Babylon. Old Tyre, the continental city, remained, however, in ruins up to the period of the Macedonian invasion. Insular Tyre had then risen to be a city of very considerable wealth and political importance; and by sea her fleets were triumphant. It was the rubbish (Ezek. xxv. 12, 19), of old Tyre, thirty furlongs off, that supplied materials for the gigantic mole constructed by Alexander, of 200 feet in breadth, extending all the way from the continent to the island, a distance of three quarters of a mile. The sea that formerly separated them, was shallow near the shore, but, towards the island, it is said to have been three fathoms in depth. The causeway has probably been enlarged by the sand thrown up by the sea, which now covers the surface of the isthmus. Tyre was taken by the Macedonian conqueror, after a siege of eight months, B. C. 332, two hundred and forty-one years after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, and consequently about one hundred and seventy after it had been rebuilt. Though now subjugated, it was not, however, totally destroyed, since only thirty years afterwards it was an object of contention to Alexander's successors. The fleet of Antigonus invested and blockaded it for thirteen months, at the expiration of which it was compelled to surrender, and received a garrison of his troops for its defence. About three years after, it was invested by Ptolemy, in person, and owing to a mutiny in the garrison, fell into his hands. Its history is now identified with that of Syria. In the apostolic age, it seems to have regained some measure of its ancient character as a trading town, and Paul, in touching here on one occasion, in his way back from Macedonia, found a number of Christian believers, with whom he spent a week; so that the gospel must have been early preached to the Tyrians, Acts xxi. 3, 4. Josephus, in speaking of the city of Zabulon as of admirable beauty, says

that its houses were built like those in Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. Strabo also speaks of the loftiness and beauty of the buildings. In ecclesiastical history, it is distinguished as the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem. It shared the fate of the country in the Saracen invasion, in the beginning of the seventh century. It was re-conquered by the crusaders in the twelfth, and formed a royal domain of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as an archiepiscopal see. William of Tyre, the well-known historian, and an Englishman, was the first archbishop. In 1289 it was retaken by the Saracens, the Christians being permitted to remove with their effects. When the sultan Selim divided Syria into pashalics, Tyre, which had probably gone into decay with the depression of commerce, was merged in the territory of Sidon. In 1766, it was taken possession of by the Motualies, who repaired the port, and inclosed it on the land side with a wall twenty feet high. The wall was standing, but the repairs had gone to ruin, at the time of Volney's visit (1784). He noticed, however, the choir of the ancient church, also mentioned by Maundrell, together with some columns of red granite, of a species unknown in Syria, which Djezzar Pasha wanted to remove to Acre, but could find no engineers fit to accomplish it. It was at that time a miserable village: its exports consisted of a few sacks of corn and cotton, and the only merchant of which it could boast was a solitary Greek, in the service of the French factory at Sidon, who could hardly gain a livelihood. It is only within the last five and twenty years that it has once more begun to lift its head from the dust.*

Ur, the country of Terah, and the birth-place of Abraham (Gen. xi. 28), but its situation is unknown. It is usually placed in Chaldea, Babylonia, or Mesopotamia, but Mr. Taylor insists upon its lying much further east. It is usually said to be a city; but this he doubts, because (1) It is nowhere in Scripture called a city. (2) It is mostly coupled with the word *land*, or country, or district, as Gen. xi. 28, "Haran died in the *land* of his nativity, in *Aur* of the Chasdim;" where it seems that *Aur* is the same place as the *land*;—or else, it would have been said, one should think, "in the *city* of *Aur*, in the *land* of his nativity." The omission of the term *city* here seems to be of considerable weight. So ver. 31, "They went forth from *Aur*—to go into the *land* of Canaan." Again, chap. xv. 7, "I am the Lord, that brought thee out of *Aur* of the Chasdim, to give thee this *land*;" see also Nehem. ix. 7. So

Stephen says (Acts vii. 3), "He came out of the *land* of the Chaldeans;" and Achior observes (Judith v. 6), "They would not follow the gods of their fathers who were in the *land* of Chaldea." There is no mention of a city in any of these texts. Moreover, it is remarkable that when Abraham (Gen. xxii.) sends his servant to fetch a wife for Isaac, he directs him to his country—*land*, not *city*; and the servant is not said to go to the *city Aur* (ver. 10), but, to the *city of Nahor*. We might have expected, that in one of these fair opportunities, the term *city* would have occurred; but as it does not, it should seem that the taking *Aur* for a city, instead of a district, or country, is not authorized by Holy Writ. Mr. Bryant seems to have found the word *Aur* employed with the same intention; for he says—"Those who came originally from Chaldea were styled the children of *Ur*, or *Urius*." "Under the title of *Aurita* the sons of Cush came into Egypt. They settled in a province named from them Cushman, which was at the upper part of the Delta; and in after-times called *Nomos Arabicus*." The "*Aurita* were the same as the *Heliadae*—that is, descendants of the sun. "We are told by Syncellus, that Egypt had been in subjection to a threefold race of kings, (1) *Aurita*; (2) *Mestrae*; (3) *Egyptian*. He places the *Aurita* first, because he thought they were the first in time . . . they are supposed to have been Arabians, and are said to have come from the East." Mr. Taylor remarks on this *Arabian*, *Arabicus*, in Hebrew *Arami*, that it appears to be derived from an original *Aram* in the land of *Aur* or *Ur*; so that it strengthens the remarks in proof of an *Aram* (*Arabia*) farther east than either Syria or Mesopotamia, while at the same time the people described as *Aurita* (*Arabes*) are far too numerous to have been colonies from a single city. As *Aur*, or *Ur*, signifies *fire* or *light*, it seems to agree with the description of the "Sun-rising province;" and as the *Aurita*, wherever they are found, are children of the sun, it seems to confirm the propriety of deriving them rather from a province than from a city. Mr. Bryant finds these persons, and Ethiopians, in many places. It is certain the Chaldeans were called Ethiopians, but they never were thought to be natives of either Arabian or African Ethiopia.*

Uz, the place of Job's habitation; but about the locality of which there has been much controversy. Dr. Good, in one of the dissertations prefixed to his translation of the Book of Job, has bestowed much thought on the question, and he fixes it in Idumea, or the Stony Arabia. "In

* Modern Traveller, Syria, vol. i., pp. 46—52.

† Calmet's Dictionary, *sub voce*.

effect," he remarks, "nothing is clearer than that all the persons introduced into the poem were Idumeans, dwelling in Idumea; or, in other words, Edomite Arabs. These characters are, Job himself, of the land of Uz; Eliphaz of Teman, a district of as much repute as Uz; and, upon the joint testimony of Jeremiah (xlix. 7, 20), Ezekiel (xxv. 13), Amos (i. 11, 12), and Obadiah (v. 8, 9), a part, and principal part, of Idumea; Bildad of Shuah, always mentioned in conjunction with Sheba and Dedan, the first of which was probably named after one of the brothers of Joktan or Kantan, and the two last from two of his sons, all of them being uniformly placed in the vicinity of Idumea; Zophar of Naama, a city importing pleasantness, which is also stated by Joshua (xv. 21, 41), to have been situated in Idumea, and to have lain in a southern direction, towards its coast, or the shores of the Red Sea; and Elihu of Buz, which, as the name of a place, occurs only once in Sacred Writ, but is there mentioned in conjunction with Teman and Dedan (Jer. xxv. 23), and hence necessarily, like themselves, a border city upon Ausitis, Uz, or Idumea.

ZAREPHATH, a city of the Sidonians, between Tyre and Sidon, in Phœnicia, on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, and afterwards called Sarepta. It is between Tyre and Sidon, and was the resi-

dence of the prophet Elijah with a poor woman, during a famine in the land of Israel, 1 Kings xvii. 9, 10.

ZARETAN, a town in the land of Manasseh, on this side Jordan; called Zartanah, in 1 Kings iv. 12. It is said to be near Beth Shen, which was in the northern limits of Manasseh. From Adam to Zaretan the waters dried up (Josh. iii. 16); from Zaretan upwards, they stood on a heap. The brazen vessels for the temple were cast in the clay ground between Zaretan and Succoth, 1 Kings vii. 46.

ZEBULUN, a city of Asher, and then of Zebulun, not far from Ptolemais.

ZOAN, a royal city of Egypt, and extremely ancient. Called in Greek *Tanis* (Judith i. 10), and built, no doubt, by emigrants, Numb. xiii. 22; Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43; Isai. xix. 11, 13, xxx. 4; Ezek. xxx. 14.

ZOAR, a city of the Pentapolis, on the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, was destined, with the other five cities, to be consumed by fire from heaven; but at the intercession of Lot, it was preserved, Gen. xiv. 2. It was originally called Bela; but after Lot entreated the angel's permission to take refuge in it, and insisted on the smallness of this city, it had the name of Zoar, which signifies small or little.

PART V.

BIBLICAL NATURAL HISTORY.

1. THE Holy Scriptures, though not professing to communicate a knowledge of what are called "the laws of nature," which mean nothing more nor less than the order which the Divine Being has prescribed in the natural world; or to describe with any particularity the several properties of the various objects, animate and inanimate, which constitute the world natural; do, in fact, comprise a vast fund of information on both these branches of knowledge, and open up a wide field of observation to the naturalist and the philosopher.

2. The opening chapter of Genesis at once introduces us to the various topics comprehended under the title of this chapter; and that, too, in an orderly and scientific manner: ASTROGRAPHY, METEOROLOGY, GEOLOGY, BOTANY, ZOOGRAPHY;—the heavens, the air, and the earth; but as the latter is that in which we are more immediately interested, the sacred historian has supplied a larger measure of information relative to this than to either of the former. Confining himself to this part of the Mosaic narrative, Mr. Charles Taylor, to whom every subsequent writer on this branch of natural science has been greatly indebted, distributes the objects of Scripture natural history into three classes, conformably with the threefold arrangement of Moses, in his philosophical and beautiful narrative. Thus we have,

I. GEOLOGY. II. BOTANY. III. ZOOGRAPHY.
Gen. i. 1—10.—ver. 11, 12.—ver. 20, 26.

Here are the three kingdoms of nature—animal, vegetable, and mineral—opened up to our contemplation. How extended is the range; how teeming with important instruction, and with the materials of devout meditation!

All nature is a glass reflecting God,
As by the sea reflected is the sun,
Too glorious to be gazed on in his sphere!

3. The Mosaic arrangement is simple, but systematic; rising from inert matter to vegetation, from this to animal life, and thence to intellectual being!

4. Each branch of the division is further disposed into triads, thus:—

GEOLOGY.

Earth—Air—Water.

BOTANY.

Grass—Shrubs—Trees.

ZOOGRAPHY.

Aquatics—Terrestrials—Rationals.

The two former being again divided thus:

AQUATICS.

Animalcules—Amphibia—Birds.

TERRESTRIALS.

Domestic Animals—Wild Beasts—Reptiles.

5. What a beautiful gradation! Connecting links are seen throughout the whole order and class of being. Among a certain description of stones, some are fibrous, and have laminae, or a kind of leaves; as slate, talc, lythophytes, or stony marine plants, the amyanthus, or stony flower of mines. These lead us from the mineral to the vegetable kingdom. The plant which appears to occupy the lowest part of vegetable gradation is the truffle. Next come the numerous species of mushrooms and mosses, between which mould and paste seem to form the connecting medium. All these plants are imperfect, and properly constitute only the limits of the vegetable kingdom. The polypus seems to unite the vegetable and the animal kingdom. From its outward appearance, this singular production might be taken for nothing more than a mere plant, were it not seen to perform real animal functions. Worms, which are at the commencement of the animal kingdom, lead us to insects and shell-fish; between which, or, rather, next to them, are found reptiles, which, by means of the water-snake, are united to fish,

The flying-fish leads us to fowls. The ostrich, whose feet much resemble those of the goat, and which runs rather than flies, appears to connect birds with quadrupeds. Such is the harmony and gradation of nature in its varied and, at first sight, incongruous parts! There are no frightful chasms, or violent and unnatural transitions; a scale of the nicest gradation regulates the operations of the Almighty hand, and powerfully attests the wisdom by which it is directed.

ALMIGHTY!—we cannot comprehend him;
Excelling in power and in judgment!*

6. That most sublime and magnificent of all

* *Critica Biblica*, vol. iii., pp. 19, 20.

poems, ancient or modern, the book of Job, proves that the study of natural history, and especially the history of the animal kingdom, was cultivated at a very early period of the world, with a considerable degree of minute attention, in regard to various kinds and species; and the detailed references to the habits and manners of other animals that lie scattered through almost every part of the Hebrew Scriptures, and especially through the books of Psalms and prophecies, with the distinct historical notice which is given of the scientific acquaintance of Solomon with this attractive study (1 Kings iv. 33), show, not only that it was attended to at a very early period, but that it was a very favourite and fashionable pursuit for many ages throughout Egypt, Syria, and Arabia.

CHAPTER I.

ASTROGRAPHY AND METEOROLOGY.

I. ASTRONOMY:—Scantiness of Biblical Information—Knowledge of Astronomy possessed by the ancient Hebrews—Astrology.—II. METEOROLOGY:—Its Objects—The Seasons of the Hebrews.

I.—1. We have already intimated the scantiness of the information furnished in the sacred Scriptures relative to the solar system: it is mentioned but incidentally, or by the way, and as it stands in immediate relation to our own planet or globe. By employing the plural word שָׁמַיִם, *shemim*, heavens, it is believed that Moses meant to include in his description of the creation the whole of the solar system; but this is by no means certain, from the mere use of the plural substantive. In the Hebrew Scriptures, a great latitude of meaning is given to the word שָׁמַיִם. In Job xxxv. 11, it is used to denote the air or atmosphere; in Psalm xxxiii. 6, it expresses the atmosphere or planetary vortex; and in Dan. iv. 26, it denotes the Deity himself. The ancient Hebrews believed that there were three heavens; the ærial, in which the birds, &c., fly; the firmament, or expanse; and “the heaven of heavens,” or “the third heaven,” the peculiar dwelling-place of Jehovah and the blessed in eternity. By the word רָקִיעַ, *rekia*, which the English translators have rendered, following the vulgate, firmament, the Hebrews described the whole atmosphere, or the whole of the planetary vortex, in which the heavenly bodies exist; the stars are spoken of in the Scriptures as being infinite in number; and there are several beautiful allusions to them in Isa. xl. 26; Numb. xxiv. 17; Job xxv. 5; Ps. cxlviii. 3,

& *al.* In Jude 13, there is an allusion to the apparently irregular motion of the planets; and when it is known that the Hebrews called their teachers stars, the comparison of Jude seems to be very appropriate.

2. Whether the Hebrews understood the theory of lunar eclipses is doubtful; it seems that they did not, inasmuch as they always speak of these phenomena in terms which intimate a belief of their being effects of the extraordinary power and wrath of God. See Isa. xiii. 10; Ezek. xxxiii. 7, 8; Joel ii. 10; iii. 15, & *al.* On the circumstances of the sun and moon “standing still,” at the command of Joshua, as related in the book bearing his name (ch. x. 12), and the shadow on the sun-dial of Ahaz, mentioned in 2 Kings xx., and Isa. xxxv., we must refer to the commentators. Dr. A. Clarke has contributed much and satisfactorily towards explaining the relations in accordance with natural science, and vindicating the sacred writers against the charge of ignorance that has been often urged. In 2 Kings xxiii. 5, and Job xxxviii. 32, the planets, כְּכִלִּים, or constellations, are mentioned; and in Job ix. 9, xxxviii. 31, and Amos v. 8, some of them are called by name; whence it is evident that the science of astronomy was not wholly uncultivated amongst the ancient Hebrews, as is also, and indeed more clearly demonstrable from the construction of their calendars, and the regulation of their fasts, festivals, &c.

3. Astrology, or the science of reading the stars, was sedulously cultivated in the East, and especially in Chaldea (Isa. xlvii. 13; Jer. l. 35; Dan. i. 20; ii. 2, 12, &c.); so that at length “a Chal-

dean" became synonymous with "an astrologer." This superstition was prohibited by the law (Lev. xx. 27; Deut. xviii. 10), although the Hebrews did not preserve themselves free from its guilt, as is evident from various passages in the writings of the prophets.

II.—1. The science of meteorology, which treats of the atmosphere and the various phenomena with which it is connected, will, of course, bear some proportion in the estimation of a people to their attainments in astronomical science. If the one is neglected, the other will not be very sedulously cultivated; and we have no reason to believe that either of them formed very prominent objects of study amongst the ancient Hebrews. As a pastoral people, they were, of course, obliged to pay considerable attention to the state of the atmosphere, the weather, and the seasons; but it is very questionable whether they understood enough of the science of meteorology to be able to explain the principles by which these were regulated or modified.

2. The seasons of the natural year are indicated by a very ancient portion of the sacred history: "While the earth remaineth, *seed-time* and *harvest*, and *cold* and *heat*, and *summer* and *winter*, and *day* and *night*, shall not cease," Gen. viii. 22. We shall notice these divisions in order.

(1) *Zero*, or *seed-time*, which comprehended, according to our computation of time, from the beginning of October to the end of November,* was the period during which the *former rains* fell.† It seems that about the autumnal equinox these rains commenced, falling for two or three days in heavy showers, after which there was an interval of two or three weeks, when the real *former rain* set in. It was during this interval of time that the Hebrews ploughed their land, and sowed their wheat and barley.‡

(2) *Karoph*, the stripping season, or *winter*, extended from the beginning of December to the end of January. During this period the westerly winds generally blow, which bring heavy rains, especially during the night. The cold is piercing on the elevated parts of the land, and sometimes fatal to those not inured to the climate. David has finely described this season of the year, where, in speaking of the Divine Majesty, he says, "he giveth snow like wool; he scattereth the hoar

frost like ashes; he casteth forth his ice like morsels; who can stand before his cold?" Ps. cxlvii. 16, 17. And yet there are intervals when the sky is clear, and it is so hot that travellers with difficulty prosecute their journey. De la Roque relates, that he was greatly affected by the heat of the sun, when travelling near Tyre, on the 29th of January.|| During this season the inhabitants of Palestine, and the adjoining countries, continue to sow their corn and pulse.

(3) *Kur*, the *cold season*, embraced February and March. During the early part of this season there are some intense colds; and Shaw states, that it is the usual time at Jerusalem for the falling of snow. As the season advances, however, the atmosphere grows warm, and at length excessively hot, though the rains, accompanied with thunder and hail, are not yet over.§ The fields, which were pretty green before, become, by the springing up of the latter grain, entirely covered with pleasing verdure, and towards the end of March every tree is in full leaf.¶

(4) *Kdsur*, the *harvest*, included April and May, when the *latter rains* fell; ** called *harvest rains* (Deut. xi. 14, *Heb.*), because they helped to fill and ripen the corn for cutting. Thus the former rains fell after the autumnal equinox, at their seed-time, to quicken the grain; and the latter rains, after the vernal equinox, to ensure a plentiful crop. It was owing to these rains that Jordan used to overflow its banks, at the time of the barley-harvest, Josh. iii. 15. When they are past, the weather is variable till May, by cold winds from Libanus;†† from the end of which month till the middle of September, there are few or no showers. In the Plain of Jericho, the heat is excessive at this time; but in other parts of the country the spring is delightful. After the rains cease, the corn soon arrives at maturity, and the harvest commences, and continues till about the middle of June. It is impossible to describe the rich fragrance of an eastern climate, at this season of the year, and before the excessive heat comes on. The air is filled with odours of plants, and flowers, and trees, which the breeze wafts about in most delicious freshness. Solomon says, "The winter is past, the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come; and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land; the fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vine, with the tender grape,

* For an account of the computation of time adopted in Judaea, the reader is referred to Part IV., ch. i., ante.

† Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., Matt. xii. 1.

‡ For a detailed account of the weather and productions of Judaea, and of the agricultural operations of its inhabitants during these seasons, the reader is referred to Carpenter's *Calendarium Palestine*, pp. 1—13.

|| Voyage de Syrie, &c., tom. i., p. 17.

§ Maundrell, pp. 13, 20, 57, &c.; Pococke, vol. ii., p. 11.

¶ Russell, p. 10.

** Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., Luke iv. 25.

†† De La Valle, pp. 121, 122.

give a good smell," Cant. ii. 11—13. Before the middle of May, however, the verdure begins to fade, and by the end of the month all becomes parched and barren. To the extreme heat which now prevails, there are many beautiful allusions in the sacred writings. As when Isaiah is describing the peaceful and happy reign of the Messiah, he says, "And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the day-time, from the heat, and for a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain," chap. iv. 6. He uses the same language in describing God's care over the poor: "Thou shalt bring down the noise of strangers, as the heat in a dry place; even the heat with the shadow of a cloud; the branch of the terrible ones shall be brought low," chap. xxv. 5.

(5) *Kiitz*, summer, comprised the months of June and July, during which the sky is clear, and the sun's rays so intense, that the streams which in winter rushed with the impetuosity of torrents, either dwindle into brooks, or become entirely dry. The winds generally blowing from the west, refresh the air in the latter part of the day, and the dews being very moderate, the inhabitants pass the night on the roofs of their houses.* Thunder is very uncommon in this cli-

mate during the summer season, and it seldom or never rains.† When it does rain, it is usually preceded by a whirlwind, with clouds of dust; it is "with a stormy whirlwind, or an overflowing shower, or great hail," Ezek. xiii. 12, 13. What has been said of the heat which prevails at this season of the year, is chiefly applicable to the lower parts of the country; for, even in the hottest months, the regions of Libanus are so cold at times, during the night, as to render the use of fires indispensable.‡

(6) *Chum*, the heat, comprehended August and September. During this season the heat increases, and "the drought of summer" is experienced, Ps. xxxii. 4. The sky is serene and fair during the day; but in the night a copious dew falls, which either saturates the earth, or appears as hoar-frost: on the appearance of the sun it ascends as smoke from an oven, and becomes invisible. Lightning is also frequent in the night-time; and, if seen in the western hemisphere, it portends rain, often accompanied with thunder. During the heat, at noon, it is usual for persons to retire to rest.¶ See Judg. iii. 24; 2 Sam. iv. 5.

† Volney, Voyage, tom. i., p. 321; Josephus, Wars, book iii., chap. 7.

‡ D'Arvieux, Mem., tom. iii., p. 432.

¶ Niebuhr, Descript. de l'Arabie, p. 6.

* Russell, p. 152.

CHAPTER II

GEOLOGY.

Importance of the Science of Geology, and its Relation to the Bible—Mosaic Narrative of the Creation—Conformity of Modern Philosophy with the Hebrew Cosmogony—The Deluge attested by Modern Discoveries—The Age of the Earth—Hebrew Geological Terms.

THE intimate connexion of the science which treats of the substance of the earth, of the causes by which its several parts have been either arranged or disorganized, of the operations in which the stratification of its materials have originated, of the inequalities of its surface, and of the numerous bodies that enter into its composition, with various portions of Scripture, and especially with the Mosaic account of the creation and the deluge, gives it a strong claim to rank amongst the necessary studies of the interpreter and the theologian.

2. In the first chapter of Genesis, the Hebrew

historian describes briefly, but particularly and systematically, the order and process of the work of creation; beginning with the heavens, or solar system generally, and thence descending to the ארץ, earth—or, as the word implies, every thing relating to the terr-aque-aërial globe; that is, all that belongs to the solid and fluid parts of our world, and its surrounding atmosphere.* The narrative of Moses furnishes a fair subject of investigation for the philosopher and the natural historian; and it is gratifying to know that the discoveries of modern science have all tended to illustrate and confirm the particulars included in that narrative.

3. From the surveys that have been made of

* See Dr. Clarke, Annot. in loco.

the solid crust of the earth, so far as it has been penetrated into, it is evident that the rudimental materials of the globe existed at its earliest period, in one confused and liquid mass; that they were afterwards separated and arranged by a progressive series of operations, and a uniform system of laws, the more obvious of which appear to be, those of gravity and crystallization; and that they have since been convulsed and dislocated by some dreadful commotion and inundation, that have extended to every region, and again thrown a great part of the organic and inorganic creation into a promiscuous jumble. Hence have originated the Plutonic and Neptunian hypotheses; the former, ascribing the origin of the world, in its present state, to igneous fusion; the latter to aqueous solution, resolving the genuine origin of things into the operation of water. The Neptunian or aqueous theory is recommended by its general coincidence with the geology of the Scriptures, and its adaptation to several phenomena in the present structure of the earth. The Mosaic narrative opens with a statement of three distinct facts, each following the other in a regular series, in the origin of the visible world. First, an absolute creation, as opposed to a mere remodification of the heavens and the earth, which constituted the earliest step in the creative process. Secondly, the condition of the earth when it was thus primarily brought into being, which was that of an amorphous or shapeless waste. And, thirdly, a commencing effort to reduce the unfashioned mass into a condition of order and harmony. "In the beginning," says the sacred historian, "God *created* the heavens and the earth. And *the earth was without form and void*; and darkness was upon the face of the deep (or abyss). And the Spirit of God moved upon *the face of the waters*," Gen. i. 1, 2. We are hence necessarily led to infer, that the first change of the formless chaos, after its existence, was into a state of universal aqueous solution; for it was upon the surface of the waters that the Divine Spirit commenced his operative power. We are next informed, that this chaotic mass acquired shape, not instantaneously, but by a series of six distinct days or epochs, and apparently through the agency of the established laws of gravity and crystallization, which regulate it at the present moment. It tells us that during the first of these days was evolved—what, indeed, agreeably to the laws of gravity, must have been evolved first of all—the matter of light and heat; of all material substances the most subtle and attenuate; those by which alone the sun operates, and has ever operated, upon the earth and the other planets, and which may be the identical substances that constitute its essence. And

it tells us, also, that the luminous matter thus evolved produced light, without the assistance of the sun or moon, which were not set in the sky or firmament, and had no rule, till the fourth day; that the light thus produced flowed by tides, and alternately intermitted, thus constituting a single day and a single night, whatever their length might be. It tells us that, during the second day, uprose, progressively, the fine fluids, or waters, as they are poetically and beautifully denominated, of the firmament, and filled the blue ethereal void with a vital atmosphere; that, during the third day, the waters, more properly so called, or the grosser and more compact fluids of the general mass, were strained off and gathered together into the vast bed of the ocean, and the dry land began to make its appearance, by disclosing the peaks or highest points of the primitive mountains; in consequence of which a progress instantly commenced, from inorganic matter to vegetable organization, the surface of the earth, as well above as under the waters, being covered with plants and herbs bearing seeds after their respective kinds; thus laying a basis for those carbonaceous materials, the remains of vegetable matter, which are occasionally to be traced in some of the layers or formations of the class of primitive rocks (the lowest of the whole), without a single particle of animal relics intermixed with them. It tells us that, during the fourth day, the sun and moon, now completed, were set in the firmament, the solar system was finished, its laws were established, and the celestial orrery was put into play; in consequence of which the harmonious revolutions of signs and of seasons, of days and of years, struck up for the first time their mighty symphony. That the fifth period was allotted exclusively to the formation of water-fowl, and the countless tribes of aquatic creatures; and, consequently, to that of those lowest ranks of animal life, testaceous worms, corals, and other zoophytes, whose relics are alone to be traced in the second class of rocks or transition formations, and still more freely in the third or horizontal formations; these being the only animals as yet created, since the air, and the water, and the utmost peaks of the loftiest mountains, were the only parts as yet inhabitable. It tells us, still continuing the same grand and exquisite climax, that towards the close of this period, the mass of waters having sufficiently retired into the deep bed appointed for them, the sixth and concluding period was devoted to the formation of terrestrial animals; and, last of all, as the master piece of the whole, to that of man himself. Thus, in progressive order, uprose the stupendous system of the world; the bright host of morning stars

shouted together on its birth-day; and the eternal Creator looked down with complacency on the finished fabric, and "saw that it was good."*

4. But the sacred historian further assures us that the wickedness of man subjected the earth to desolations, changes, and new formations, in its surface and upper strata. Of the universal deluge, by which this was effected, he gives us a particular account, in Gen. vi., vii., viii.; and his narrative of the fact is authenticated and confirmed both by profane historians and by natural phenomena. Plutarch, in his book on the industry of animals, mentions both the ark and the dove. The account Ovid has given of the flood, in the reign of a surnamed Deucalion, which drowned all Thes-salia, and from which the king and his wife were saved on Mount Parnassus, seems clearly to be a confused tradition between the deluge of Noah and a partial inundation. The etymology of the name Deucalion, from *deuteros*, the second, and *kaleo*, to call, imports the recalling of society a second time into existence under the patriarch Noah. It was usual with ancient nations to give new names to princes, expressive of auspicious events; a custom not yet wholly discontinued. The landing of Deucalion with his wife on Mount Parnassus, is but a confusion of the tradition concerning the resting of the ark on Mount Ararat. The deluge not only covered both these mountains, but has left stratifications on all the higher mountains, as far as the snow will allow us to ascend. The moral cause of this unexampled catastrophe is wholly attributed by the Hebrew historian to the great and incorrigible wickedness of the antediluvians. And what could be more assortable to the divine perfections, when the apostasy was total—when all flesh had corrupted its way—when the sons of the great seized the daughters of the poor—when the earth was filled with violence—when the prophesying and translation of Enoch had no effect—when the preaching of Noah and the building of the ark excited scoffing, rather than reformation—what could be more assortable to the perfections of God, than to save the one righteous family, and wash away the filthy inhabitants of the earth? The changes and ravages of nature correspond with the impetuous force of the flood, as described by Moses.† Travellers and geologists are all

agreed, that in every continent and island, the mountains, the hills, and the declivities, are, in places without number, left desolated of earth, craggy and bare; and many of the rocks, and bolder hills, and salient promontories, appear to have been detached to a considerable distance from the elevated summits to which they once belonged. Whatever earths the impetuous tides of the deluge washed from one place, they must of necessity have deposited in another. Hence, one tide would bring gravel and marine exuvie, already worn by the action of the billows rolling on the shore; another would bring sand; and a third, clay. But though all alluvial strata were formed of the detritus of the old earths, they would repeat the first formation by combination. They would change into a variety of silica, rocks, marls, and minerals; while others, falling on more neutral earths, would remain in their primitive state. Thus, also, the deeper strata of the earth would be laid on while the waters were rising; and all the more loamy earths by the gradual retreat and subsiding of the waters. These long-continued actions and deposits of the water are a sure guide, in accounting for all the conformations and heterogeneous masses found in most parts of the alluvial earth.‡

5. But the researches of geologists have given confirmation to sacred history, not only as to the origin of the earth and the universal deluge, but also as to the age of the earth. Early in the last century, and even more recently, several geological phenomena were considered as indicative of the fact, that the creation of the globe was an event much more remote than the sacred history represents it to be. But the investigations of the latest and most sober philosophers have furnished proof, little short of demonstration, that the earth, in its present form,|| cannot have existed from a more

During the fall of the rain, it is thought that the atmosphere was much darkened, because it was afterwards promised that day and night should no more cease, Gen. viii. 22. The waters or tides continued to increase for one hundred and fifty days. The decrease commenced on the 1st day of Sivan, and continued one hundred and twenty days.

‡ This idea, that the deeper alluvial strata were laid on by the increasing tides, assists us to account for the deposit of coal, confessedly a vegetable fossil, that once floated upon the sea. When analyzed, charcoal constitutes the principal part of its base. Acidulous waters, bitumen, and hydrogen, it contains in various proportions. Its combustible qualities and its ashes may also be retraced to vegetable origin.

|| Mr. Faber, in order to meet the objections of some of our geologists, founded on the fossil phenomena occurring in the strata of the earth, maintains, that the six demiurgic days were periods of vast but uncertain length, during which some mighty revolution occurred, to which the origin of these strata are to be attributed, rather than to the deluge of Noah.—Treatise on the Three Dispensations, b. i., chap. iii.

* Good's Book of Nature, series 1, sect. 6.

† The Mosaic history of the deluge has been carefully examined by Lightfoot, who equalled the rabbins in Hebrew literature. The whole period, according to him, comprised a solar year. Forty-six days of this period were spent in conveying stores and provisions for the ark; and seven in receiving the beasts and cattle. The rain began to fall on the 18th day of the Hebrew month of Marchesvan, and continued forty days.

remote period than that assigned to it in the Mosaic narrative.* The absolute falsehood of many hardy assertions and specious inferences, hostile to the Scripture chronology, has been fully evinced; and thence has arisen a new presumptive argument in support of the authenticity of that volume which contains the most ancient and the most precious of all records.†

* Kirwan's *Geological Essays*, and Miller's *Retrospect*, cited by Shaw, "Panorama of Nature," p. 14. Mr. Townsend, in his 'Geological and Mineralogical Researches,' has presented us with some excellent GEOLOGICAL CHRONOMETERS, as Deltas, Lakes, Estuaries, Drift Sands, and Mouldering Cliffs. From all these chronometers, consisting in effects which result from known causes, operating since the existence of our continents, and of which the progress within known times is indicated by monuments, he justly draws this conclusion, that our continents are not of a more remote antiquity than has been assigned to them by the sacred historian, in the beginning of his Pentateuch.—P. 403.

† Carpenter's *Scripture Natural History*, *Introd. to Geology*. The valley of the Nile, it is well known, is covered with a bed or stratum of alluvial mud deposited by the river during its periodical overflowings; and this bed or stratum is superimposed on sand, in all respects resembling the sand of the adjoining desert. During the period of the French expedition, a great variety of experiments were made by the savans who accompanied it, upon the thickness of this alluvial bed; and some curious and interesting results were obtained. In the transverse section of the valley of Syout, and other places where the deposits could be made without obstacle, and without being in any material degree augmented or diminished by local causes, the mean of all the measurements gave for the average thickness of the mud stratum rather more than twenty feet. Having ascertained this point, M. Girard next applied himself to determine the quantity by which the soil is raised or thickened in the course of a century, from the depositions of the river; and the pits of the nilometers furnished him with the basis of an approximate calculation, which gave the centenary elevation of the soil, from the cause already mentioned, at less than four and a half inches. Dividing, then, the whole thickness or depth of this stratum by the quantity added to it in the course of a century, the quotient is 5,650; from which it follows that the origin of this superimposed soil, must have preceded 1809, the date of the experiments, by 5,650 years, being only 154 less than the Mosaic chronology gives as the age of the world at that time.

6. The various geological terms employed by the sacred writers have been investigated and judiciously arranged by a learned and indefatigable student of the Bible, in the "Scripture Encyclopædia," published in the *CRITICA BIBLICA*.‡ Amongst them are noticed, אֶרֶץ *aretz*, by which the Hebrews commonly expressed the idea of earthy or solid substances in general: יָם *imim*, seas, and אֵר *ar*, fluidity in general, or a river in particular (Amos viii. 8): אֶבֶן יָקָר *aben ikra*, a stone of value, or a precious stone (1 Sam. xii. 32; 1 Kings x. 2; Ezek. xxvii. 22; Dan. xi. 38), and λίθος *lithos*, in 1 Cor. iii. 12; and Rev. xviii. 12. A rock is called סֶלֶם *salo*, from its craggy nature. Copper and iron (נֹחֶשֶׁת *nuckesheth* and כֶּרֶס *berzal*) are mentioned, as being in use among the antediluvians, in Gen. iv. 22; and silver (כֶּסֶף *kasaph*) as an article of barter, or most likely, a species of money, in the time of Abraham, Gen. xiii. 2. Gold is called זָהָב *zeb*, to denote the purity of its nature; פֶּזֶז *phez*, from its solidity; חֶרֶץ *cherutz*, because of its being dug out or found in small pieces; and אוֹפִיר *auphir*, from the place where it was found in large quantities. Tin (חֶבְדִּיל *chedil*) is mentioned in Numb. xxxi. 22, as part of the spoils of the Midianites, who had been principal carriers of oriental merchandise, Gen. xxxvii. 25—28. Salt is called מֶלַח *melach*, from its property of melting; and a stone אֶבֶן *aben*, from its appearance of being built up or constructed of a large number of separate and divisible particles of matter.||

The coincidence between the sacred chronologist and the deduction of science strikes us as very remarkable; nay, as affording one more proof how nature and revelation harmonize, when the truth is sought in the love of it. We may add, that the French savant has carefully avoided drawing the inference to which his own premises necessarily lead; an avoidance which is only the more absurd from the obvious nature of the conclusion obtruded upon the mind of the reader.

‡ Vol. iii., p. 19, &c.

|| See Parkhurst's *Heb. Lex. sub voce*.

CHAPTER III.

BOTANY.

Scientific arrangements in the Scriptures; Herbaceous productions—Corn, its uses and preparation—Fruitfulness of Palestine—Sacred groves.

1. We have already adverted to the scientific order in which the Hebrew legislator enumerates the several classes of the vegetable world, in his narrative of the creation, in Gen. i. 11, 12. Solomon also exhibits the same adherence to system,

in his treatises on natural history, mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 33, advancing from the lesser to the larger: from *grass*, including the minutest species of whatever is green, to *shrubs*, or trees of the smaller kind; and from these, again, to *trees*, which differ, not only in their enlarged dimensions, but in their permanency also.

2. The common term for herbaceous produc-

tions, in the Hebrew writings, is *desha*, although it is also specifically applied to grass. The Hebrews, as Wetstein remarks, divided all kinds of vegetables into trees and herbs; the former of which the Hellenists call *ξύλον*, the latter, *χρῆρος*, under which they also comprehended all sorts of grass, corn, and flowers. See Matt. vi. 30; Luke xii. 28, &c. There is great impropriety, as the late editor of Calmet has shown, in our version of Prov. xxvii. 25, "The *hay* appeareth, and the tender grass sheweth itself, and herbs of the mountains are gathered." If the tender grass is but just beginning to show itself, the hay, which is grass cut and dried, after it has arrived at maturity, ought by no means to be associated with it, still less to precede it. Mr. Taylor takes the word, here rendered *hay*, to mean the first-shoots, the rising, just budding spires of grass. So the wise man says: "The tender risings of the grass are in motion, and the buddings of the grass [grass in its early state] appear; and the tufts of grass, proceeding from the same root, collect themselves together, and by their union, begin to clothe the mountain tops with a pleasing verdure." Surely the beautiful progress of vegetation, as described in this passage, must appear to every reader of taste as too poetical to be lost; but what must it be to an eastern beholder—to one whose imagination is exalted by a poetic spirit—one who has lately witnessed an all-surrounding sterility—a grassless waste! The same impropriety, but in a contrary order, and where, perhaps, the English reader would be less likely to detect it, occurs in the English version of Isai. xv. 6: "For the waters of Nimrim [water is a principal source of vegetation] shall be desolate, departed, DEAD; so that [the hay, in our translation, but as it should be] the tender, just sprouting risings of the grass are withered, dried up; the buddings of the grass are entirely ruined" ["there is no green thing," in our version]. The following verse may be thus translated: "Insomuch that the reserve he had made, and the deposit he had placed with great care in supposed security, shall all be driven to the brook of the willows." A similar gradation of poetical imagery is used in 2 Kings xix. 26: "Their inhabitants were of shortened hand, dismayed, ashamed; they were as grass of the field [vegetables in general]; as the green buddings of grass; as the tender risings on the house-tops; and those, too, struck by the wind, before it is advanced in growth to a rising up." What a climax of imbecility! A tree is, in the Hebrew Scriptures, called *עץ אֶזְרָא*, from a verb which signifies "to make firm," or "steady;" and it is

thus distinguished from herbage or plants, which are more soft and loose.

3. It is evident from Ruth ii. 14, 2 Sam. xvii. 28, 29, and other passages in the Old Testament, that parched corn constituted part of the ordinary food of the Hebrews, as it still does of the Arabs. Corn was also used for bread; and the method of preparing it for the oven demands some notice here. The threshing was done either by the staff or the flail (Isai. xxviii. 27, 28); by the feet of cattle (Deut. xxv. 4); or by "a sharp threshing instrument having teeth" (Isai. xli. 15), which was something resembling a cart, and was drawn over the corn by means of horses or oxen. When the corn was threshed, it was separated from the chaff and dust by throwing it forward across the wind by means of a winnowing-fan, or shovel (Matt. iii. 12); after which the grain was sifted to separate all impurities from it (Amos ix. 9; Luke xxii. 31). Hence the threshing-floors were in the open air (Judg. vi. 11; 2 Sam. xxiv. 18). The grain thus obtained was commonly reduced to meal by the hand-mill, which consisted of a lower millstone, the upper side of which was concave, and an upper millstone, the lower surface of which was convex. The hole for receiving the corn was in the centre of the upper millstone; and in the operation of grinding, the lower was fixed, and the upper made to move round upon it with considerable velocity, by means of a handle. These mills are still in use in the East, and in some parts of Scotland, where they are called *querns*. The employment of grinding with these mills is confined solely to females; and the practice illustrates the prophetic observation of our Saviour, concerning the day of Jerusalem's destruction: "Two women shall be grinding at the mill; one shall be taken, and the other shall be left," Matt. xxiv. 41. Mr. Pennant, who has given a particular account of these hand-mills, as used in Scotland, observes, that the women always accompany the grating noise of the stones with their voices; and that when ten or a dozen are thus employed, the fury of the song rises to such a pitch, that you would, without breach of charity, imagine a troop of female demons to be assembled. As the operation of grinding was usually performed in the morning at day-break, the sound of the females at the hand-mill was heard all over the city, which often awoke their more indolent masters. The Scriptures mention the want of this noise as a mark of desolation, in Jer. xxv. 10, and Rev. xviii. 22. There was a humane law, that "no man shall take the nether or upper millstone in pledge, for he taketh a man's life in pledge," Deut. xxiv. 6. He could not grind his daily bread without it.

* See Expository Index, *in loc.*

4. It is demonstrable, from numerous and authentic sources, that those writers who have described Palestine as a barren and unfruitful place, have formed their notions upon a very partial survey of the land; or else that they have, from unworthy motives, grossly misrepresented the fact. Abulfeda describes this country as the most fruitful part of Syria; and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, as one of the most fruitful parts of Palestine. Malte Brun has remarked, that if the advantages of nature were seconded by the efforts of human skill, we might, in the space of twenty leagues, bring together in Syria the vegetable riches of the most distant countries. Besides wheat, rye, barley, beans, and the cotton-plant, which are cultivated every where, there are several objects of utility or pleasure, peculiar to different localities. Palestine, for example, abounds in sesamum, which affords oil, and in dhoura, similar to that of Egypt. Maize thrives in the light soil of Baalbec, and rice is cultivated with success along the marsh of Haoule. Within these twenty-five years sugar-canes have been introduced into the gardens of Saida and Beirout, which are not inferior to those of the Delta. Indigo grows without culture on the banks of the Jordan, and only requires a little care to secure a good quantity. The hills of Latakia produce tobacco, which creates a commercial intercourse with Damietta and Cairo. This crop is at present cultivated in all the mountains. The white mulberry forms the riches of the Druses, by the beautiful silks that are obtained from it; and the vine, raised on poles or creeping along the ground, furnishes red and white wines equal to those of Bordeaux. Jaffa boasts of her lemons and water-melons; Gaza possesses both the dates of Mecca and the pomegranates of Algiers. Tripoli has oranges which might vie with those of Malta. Beirout has figs like Marseilles, and bananas like St. Domingo. Aleppo is unequalled for pistachio-nuts; and Damascus possesses all the fruits of Europe; inasmuch as apples, plumbs, and peaches grow with equal facility on her rocky soil. Niebuhr is of opinion that the Arabian coffee-shrub might be cultivated in Palestine.* The land of Canaan was characterized by Moses as "a land flowing with milk and honey," and it still answers to this description; for it contains extensive pasture lands of the richest quality, and the rocky country is covered with aromatic plants, yielding to the wild bees which hive in the hollow of the rocks, such abundance of honey, as to supply the poorer classes with an article of food. See Matt. iii. 4; Sam. xiv. 25; Ps. lxxxi. 16. Tacitus compares

both the climate and soil of Judea to those of Italy; and particularly specifies the palm-tree and balsam-tree, as productions which gave the country an advantage over his own.† Amongst other indigenous productions may be enumerated the cedar, and other varieties of the pine, the cypress, the oak, the sycamore, the mulberry-tree, the fig-tree, the willow, the turpentine-tree, the acacia, the aspen, the arnutus, the almond-tree, the tamarisk, the ollander, the peach-tree, the chastetree, the carob or locust-tree, the oskar, the doom, the mustard-plant, the aloe, the citron, the apple, the pomegranate; and many flowering shrubs, as the rose, the myrtle, &c. The country about Jericho was celebrated for its balsam, as well as for its palm-trees; but Gilead appears to have been the country in which it abounded. Hence the name, "the balm of Gilead." Since the country has fallen under the dominion of the Turks, the balsam has ceased to be cultivated; but it is still found in Arabia.‡

5. It will not be out of place to notice here, the consecration of groves to idols, a circumstance that is frequently referred to in the Old Testament Scriptures. The custom is so ancient, that it is thought to have been antecedent to the consecration of temples and altars. But this is very questionable, for the *ashel* of Abraham, rendered "grove" in the English Bible, being differently expressed from the consecrated groves elsewhere in the same writings spoken of, is rather to be understood of a single tree, the oak or the tamarisk. Be this as it may, however, it is certain that the use of sacred groves for the celebration of mysteries, is of very high antiquity, and perhaps of all others the most universal.

(1) At first there were in these groves neither temple nor altar: they were simple retreats, to which there was no access for the profane, or such as were not devoted to the service of the gods. Afterwards temples were built in them, and to preserve so ancient a custom, they took care, whenever they had it in their power, to plant groves round the temples and altars, which groves were not only consecrated to the gods in honour of whom the temples had been built, but were themselves a place of sanctuary, or an asylum for criminals, who fled thither for refuge.

(2) This very prevalent custom seems to have originated in the conception, that shade and solitude gave an air of mystery and devotion to religious services, and were adapted to inspire the worshippers with a solemn and superstitious dread

† Hist. lib. v., chap. 6. The palm-tree was the symbol of Palestine.

‡ Modern Traveller, Palestine, p. 10, &c.

* Malte Brun, vol. ii., p. 130.

of those divinities which they were taught to believe were present in such sacred places. "If you find," says Seneca, "a grove thick set with ancient oaks, that have shot up to a vast height, the tallness of the wood, the retirement of the place, and the pleasantness of the shade, immediately make you think it to be the residence of some god."* The prophet Hosea also intimates this to have been the reason for selecting these places for idolatrous ceremonies: "They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks, and poplars, and elms, because the shadow thereof is good," chap. iv. 13.

(3) As these groves were more particularly the scenes of those impure and obscene rites which formed the leading feature of most of the systems of idolatrous worship, the Jewish legislator prohibited his people from planting trees around or near the altar of God: "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God," Deut. xvi. 21. From the proneness of the Hebrews to imitate the customs of surrounding nations, however, they became guilty of sacrificing in high places and consecrated groves; and one of their kings carried his impiety so far as to plant one of these groves at Jerusalem. See 2 Kings xxi.

(4) Landseer has attempted to prove that the word *ashreh*, rendered "groves" in the English Bible, does not denote a plantation of trees, but a kind of orrery or armillary machine used for the purposes of divination; and which he supposes to have been about the height of a man, with small balls branching off curvedly from the sustaining rod or axis; and referring to 2 Kings xxi., he says, "The Sabæan *ashre* appears to have been erected within the precincts of the temple, where the altars also were built; but beside this, perhaps immovable armillary machines, for the purpose of divination, which Manessh had constructed in the courts of the temple, he had also a small copy, or 'graven image' of the *ashre* within; doubtless to assist in the celebration of those Sabæan rites which were performed in the interior during his idolatrous reign, and which are described by Ezekiel; for there can be no reasonable doubt that the idolatries which the prophet saw in vision on the banks of the Chebar, were those with which the temple at Jerusalem had really been polluted."† It must be allowed that the Hebrew word, trans-

lated "groves," cannot always mean a plantation of trees, since we read of setting up *groves* "under every green tree" (2 Kings xvii. 1, &c.); but it is also certain that it cannot always denote an image, for we read that the people "made them molten *images*, and made a *grove*, and worshipped all the host of heaven," and used divination, ver. 16, 17 (See also Judg. vi. 25, 26, 28, 30). Selden supposes that the term was used to denote the images worshipped in the groves, especially Astarte or Venus; and with him agrees Dr. A. Clarke. Others have conjectured, that as by Beal was meant the *sun*, so by *ashre* or "groves" was meant the moon, worshipped as "the queen of heaven."‡ We incline to think that the term is used with considerable latitude of meaning, sometimes denoting the image of Astarte, and at other times any of the symbols of her worship.

6. To cut down the sacred groves, or to waste them, was considered an act of sacrilege, perhaps the most unpardonable of all others. Lucan, speaking of the trees which Cæsar caused to be felled near Marreile, to construct engines of war, well describes the consternation of the soldiers, who refused to be instrumental in the work, till the general had taken the axe and felled one of them himself. "Struck with a religious awe for the sanctity of the grove, they were full of the belief, that if they had presumptuously attempted to cut down any of its trees, the axe would have recoiled upon themselves."|| The prevalence of such an opinion may have furnished an additional reason for the injunctions to "cut down" the groves that had been polluted by the idolatrous Canaanites (Exod. xxiv. 13; Deut. vii. 5); and the promptness with which Josiah destroyed those on the Mount of Olives, that had been consecrated to Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom, during the awful period of Solomon's apostasy, exhibits in a striking light the freedom of his own mind from those debasing superstitions, and the strength of his faith in the God of Israel, while thus opposing himself to what was, perhaps, a too popular sentiment among the people over whom he reigned.§

‡ De diis Syris, *synag.* 2.

|| See Borlase's *Antiq. of Cornwall*, chap. xvii.; Bæuer's *Mythology*, vol. i., b. iii., chap. 7; Young on *Idolatrous Corruptions in Religion*, vol. ii., pp. 26–29; and Dr. Townley's translation of the *More Nevochim* of Maimonides, notes pp. 339, 340.

§ Carpenter's *Scripture Natural History*, art. "Trees."

* Epistle lxi.

† Sabæan Researches, pp. 285–287, *et al.*

CHAPTER IV.

ZOOGRAPHY.

Scripture Arrangements of Moses and Solomon—Clean and unclean Beasts—Structure, Functions, &c., of Man—Animals inhabiting Palestine—Scripture Notices of Birds—Birds inhabiting Palestine—Ichthyology of the Bible—Reptiles—Insects.

I. WE have particularly noticed the order in which Moses disposes the several classes of animated nature, in his narrative of the creation; but there is another passage in his writings demanding attention, as exhibiting the same orderly and systematic arrangement. It is Deut. iv. 16—18, where his system takes this form:—

MAN—BEASTS—BIRDS—REPTILES—FISHES;

and to this order, Solomon, in the zoographical part of his natural history, mentioned in 1 Kings iv. 33, conforms. We are not able further to trace the system of this celebrated naturalist; but, as Mr. Charles Taylor remarks, it is reasonable to conclude, that the outlines, which are so scientifically laid down, were filled up with equal judgment and skill. If so, we are led to the conclusion, that Aristotle was not the first philosopher who perceived the necessity and accomplished the task of methodically arranging the animal creation.

II. But there is another arrangement in the writings of Moses, too deeply interwoven with the Jewish ritual to be passed over in silence—the division of animals into clean and unclean. Michaëlis judiciously remarks, that we are too apt to consider the terms *clean* and *unclean* as implying a division of animals with which we are wholly unacquainted; and then wonder that Moses, as a historian, in describing the circumstances of the deluge, which took place many centuries before the era of his own laws, should mention clean and unclean beasts, and by so doing, pre-suppose that there was such a distinction made at that early period. But the fact is, that we ourselves, and, indeed, almost all nations, make this very distinction, although we do not express it in the same terms. The phrase “clean and unclean” beasts, is precisely tantamount to “beasts usual and not usual for food.” And how many animals are there not poisonous, but perfectly edible, which yet we do not eat, and at the flesh of which many among us would feel a strong repugnance, just because we have not been accustomed to it from infancy? As soon as we know, therefore, what is the real meaning of “clean and unclean beasts,” many errors, some of them ludicrous, and from

which even men of great learning have not been wholly exempt, instantly vanish. The word *unclean*, applied to animals, is no epithet of degradation. Of all animals *man* was the *most unclean*; that is, human flesh was least of all things to be eaten; and such is the case in every nation not reckoned among cannibals. The lion and the horse are unclean beasts, but were to the Hebrews just as little objects of contempt as they are to us. The passage that has given rise to these remarks is in Lev. xi. 4, &c., where the line of permission and exclusion of animals is drawn by means of those divisions which nature has appointed to their feet. *Solipedes*, or animals of one hoof, such as the horse and the ass, are unclean. *Fissipedes*, or animals having hoofs divided into two parts, are clean. But then this division must be entire, not partial; effective, not apparent only; and, as well as its external construction, its internal or anatomical construction must be strictly analogous with this formation. Moreover, animals having feet divided into more than two parts are unclean; so that the number of their toes, as three, four, or five, is cause sufficient for the entire rejection of them, whatever other quality they may possess. Such appears to be the principle of the Levitical distinction of animals, into clean and unclean, derived from the conformation of their feet: their rumination is a distinct character, but a character absolutely unavailing without the more obvious and evident marks derivable from the construction we have noticed. To inquire into the reasons upon which these distinctions were founded, forms no part of our present business. That they were of a mixed nature there is every reason to think; but be this as it may, it is certain that they were founded upon a correct knowledge of the nature of the animal creation, and were induced, to some extent, by dietical and moral considerations. Of the division of animals itself, Michaëlis remarks as follows: “That in so early an age of the world, we should find a systematic division of quadrupeds, so excellent as never yet, after all the improvements in natural history, to have become obsolete, but, on the contrary, to be still considered as useful by the greatest masters of science, cannot but be looked upon as truly wonderful.” Upon these principles, too, has been founded, more or less, almost every methodical arrangement subsequently made in natural science. Of

these, the systems of Ray, Linnæus, and Cuvier are the most celebrated.*

III. The object of divine revelation being rather to prepare man's spiritual and moral nature for a holier and higher state of existence, than to communicate a philosophical knowledge of those intellectual and physical properties that at once identify him with and distinguish him from the rest of the animal creation, we should be wasting our time were we to search there for such discoveries as these. But there are, notwithstanding, a number of interesting particulars as to the nature of man scattered throughout the sacred volume, that will repay the student for any trouble or labour he may undertake to collect them and investigate their import. From these we make the following selection, as collected in a work to which we have more than once referred in this part of our book.†

1. The primitive designations of man demand some notice. ADAM, which was the appellative name of the human nature, is usually derived from a word signifying *vegetable earth*, or *mould*, because man was formed of the dust of the ground. In Gen. iv. 26, the believing Seth calls his first-born, *Enoch* (*a wretch*), because of the infirm and wretched state of man in the world, by reason of his sin. It is deserving of notice, too, that this is the term by which the human *species* is most commonly called in Scripture; and attention to its import will place in a striking light some passages otherwise not fully understood; as the following: "Put them in fear, O Lord, that the nations may know themselves to be but *men*;" that is, *weak, frail, wretched beings*.

2. The testimony of Scripture is decisive as to the origin and complex character of man. Created in the glorious image of his Maker (Gen. i. 27), which consisted *pre-eminently* in righteousness and true holiness (Ephes. iv. 24), and *secondarily* in his intellectual endowments (Col. iii. 10), and delegated authority over inferior animals (Gen. i. 28, 29, ix. 2, 3), man stood forth the noblest monument of creative power. While connected with the various classes of animals by his corporeal organization, he was infinitely removed from them by the possession of an intelligent and immortal spirit—

Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels,
And crowned him with glory and honour.
Thou hast given him dominion over the works of thy hands;

Thou hast put all things under his feet.

O JEHOVAH our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!

Psalms viii.

The animal and intellectual lives of man are supposed to be intimated in Gen. ii. 7:

And JEHOVAH God formed man of the dust of the ground,
And breathed into his nostrils the BREATH OF LIVES;
And man became a living soul.

3. That active and energetic power which animates in some way every form of organized matter, but more decidedly and palpably sensitive beings—(upon which the identity and individuality of the beings depends, upon a failure of which the individual frame ceases, the organs lose their relative connexion, the laws of chemistry, which had previously been controlled by its superior authority, assume their action, and the whole system becomes decomposed and resolved into its primary elements)—has engaged the research of the wisest and best of mankind in all ages of the world. But it is not necessary that we should advert to the numerous theories that have been started on this subject; our object is rather to trace out if possible, any scriptural intimations, and, when we have found them, to show their conformity with the discoveries of science. It will be recollected by every reader of the Bible, that in the Mosaic writings, the life is uniformly represented as being "in the blood," on which account it was peremptorily forbidden to the Israelites to eat this fluid, under any form; and it was, moreover, on this account, appointed as the medium of atonement: "And whatsoever man of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn among you, eateth any manner of blood, I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people. FOR THE LIFE OF THE FLESH IS IN THE BLOOD; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for your soul," Lev. xvii. 10, 11. But the doctrine was not new; it had a place in the ritual of the patriarchs (Gen. ix. 4), whence it has, without doubt, been derived by the Parsees, Hindoos, and other eastern nations of very remote antiquity. Among the Greeks and Romans, were the authority of the poets to be of any avail, we should imagine that this hypothesis never ceased to be in reputation; for the *purple death* of Homer, and the *purple life* of Virgil, are common-place terms among all of them. In modern times, this hypothesis has again dawned forth, and risen even to meridian splendour, under auspices that entitle it to our most attentive consideration. Harvey, to

* Carpenter's Scripture Natural History, Introd; Harris's Natural History of the Bible, Dissert. iii.

† Carpenter's Scripture Natural History.

whom we are indebted for a full knowledge of the circulation of the blood, may be regarded as the phosphor of its uprising; Hoffman speedily became a convert to the revived doctrine; Huxam not only adopted it, but pursued it with so much ardour, as, in his own belief, to trace the immediate part of the blood in which the principle of life is distinctly seated, and which he supposed to be its red particles. But it is to that truly original physiologist, John Hunter, only, that we can look for a fair restoration of this system to the favour of the present day, or for its erection upon any thing like a rational basis. By a variety of important experiments, this indefatigable and accurate observer succeeded in proving, incontrovertibly, that the blood contributes in a far greater degree, not only to the vital action, but to the vital material, of the system, than any other constituent part of it, whether fluid or solid. But he went beyond this discovery, and afforded equal proof, not only that the blood is a mean of life to every other part, but that it is actually alive itself. "The difficulty," he says, "of conceiving that the blood is endowed with life, while circulating, arises merely from its being a fluid, and the mind not being accustomed to the idea of a living fluid." * Important, however, as the facts collected by Hunter are, they do not reach home to the question before us. They sufficiently establish the blood to be alive, but they do not tell us what makes it alive; on the contrary, they rather drive us into a pursuit after some foreign and superadded principle; for that which is at one time alive, and at another time dead, cannot be life itself. The fact appears to be, that neither physiology nor chemistry, with all the accuracy and assiduity with which these sciences have been pursued of late years, has been able to arrest or develope the fugitive principle of life. They have unfolded to us, perhaps, the means by which life is produced and maintained in the animal frame, but they have given us no information as to the thing itself. We behold the instrument before us, and see some of the fingers that play upon it, but we know nothing whatever of the mysterious essence that dwells in the vital tubes, and constitutes the vital harmony.† The animal frame is a combination of solids and fluids, duly harmonized, and equally contributing to each other's perfection. The principle of life, of whatever it consists, exists equally in both; in some kinds in a greater, in others in a lesser, degree. In the fluids, Mr. Hunter has traced it down to their first and lowest stage of existence, for he has

traced it in the chyle; and there are evident proofs of its accompanying several of those which are eliminated from the body. In the blood it exists, as we have already said, in a high degree of activity, and probably in a still higher in the nervous fluid. In the solids it varies equally. There are some in which it can scarcely be traced at all, except from their increasing growth, as the cellular membrane and the bones; in others we find a perpetual internal activity, or susceptibility to external impressions. But it is in those irritable threads or fibres, that constitute the general substance of the muscles or flesh of the animal, that the principle of life exerts itself in its most extraordinary manner. ‡

4. The anatomy of man, says Galen, discovers above six hundred different muscles; and whoever only considers these, will find that in each of them nature must have, at least, adjusted ten different circumstances, in order to attain the end which she proposed:—proper figure, just magnitude, right disposition of the several ends, the upper and lower position of the whole, and the due insertion of the several nerves, veins, and arteries. So that, in the muscles alone, above *six thousand* several views and intentions must have been formed and executed! This writer calculated the bones to be two hundred and eighty-four, and the distinct purposes aimed at in the structure of each, above forty. This makes *eleven thousand, three hundred and sixty!* What a prodigious display of artifice, even in these simple and homogeneous parts! But if we consider the skin, ligaments, vessels, glands, humours, and the several limbs and members of the body, how must our astonishment rise, in proportion to the number and intricacy of the parts so artificially adjusted! Who can survey this wonderful structure without admiring the power and wisdom of its Architect?—

I am fearfully and wonderfully made:
Wonderful are thy works, as my soul well knoweth.

5. If we turn from the *animal* to the *intellectual* part of man, our admiration will rise in proportion to the superiority of his mental powers over his bodily organs and functions.

There is a spirit in man,
And the inspiration of the Almighty giveth him understanding.

Besides an ability to perceive, think, or reason, the mind is possessed of an almost infinite variety of other attributes or faculties, implanted in it for

* Hunter on the Blood, p. 20.

† See Good's Book of Nature, vol. ii., p. 243.

‡ Ibid., p. 249.

the wisest and most beneficent purposes. It is endowed with consciousness, judgment, memory, and imagination; with a power of choosing or refusing; with admiration and desire, hope and fear, love and hatred, grief and joy, transport and terror; with anger, jealousy, and despair. And each of these faculties, as called into action, produces a correspondent effect upon the organs of the body; giving rise to what the painters call **EXPRESSION**, or the language of the features, and to articulate sounds, or the language of the lips; lighting up the eye, and animating the countenance; invigorating the speech, and harmonizing its periods; or, on the contrary, filling the eye and the countenance with gloom or indignation, and the voice with sighs and bitter rebukes. The external signs thus produced, and representative of the inward motion, operate in their turn with a reflex influence, and rekindle in the mind the feelings that have given birth to them. In different persons, these energetic principles are differently modified, and associated in every variety of combination; sometimes one of them, and sometimes another, and sometimes several leagued together, being peculiarly active, and obtaining a mastery over the rest. And we behold these effects in different instances, from different causes; as peculiarity of temperament, peculiarity of climate, custom, habit, or education. And hence the origin of moral or intellectual character; the particular dispositions and propensities of individuals, or of whole nations. Hence one man is naturally violent, and another gentle; one a prey to perpetual gloom, and another full of hope and confidence; one irascible and revengeful, and another all benevolence and philanthropy; one shrewd and witty, and another heavy and inert. Hence the refinement and patriotism of ancient Greece, the rough hardihood of Rome, and the commercial spirit of Carthage; and hence, in modern times, the silent and plodding industry of the Dutch; the chivalrous honour of the Spaniards of the last century, unpoisoned by the deadly fever of Corsican morality; the restless loquacity and intriguing ambition of the French; and the high heroic courage and love of freedom, the generosity and promptitude to forgive injuries, the unswerving honesty and lofty spirit of adventure, that peculiarly signalize the inhabitants of the British isles.

6. The mental faculties themselves are numerous and complicated; so much so, indeed, that it is difficult to arrange and analyze them. Dr. Good, to whom we are indebted for the remarks immediately preceding, has offered a new distribution; dividing them into the three general heads—powers or faculties of the **UNDERSTANDING**;

powers or faculties of **ELECTION**; and powers or faculties of **EMOTION**. To the first belong the principles of perception, thought, reason, judgment, memory, and imagination; to the second, those of choosing and refusing, or of **WILLING** and **NULLING**, to adopt an old and very expressive metaphysical term, that ought never to have grown obsolete; to the third belong those of hope, fear, grief, joy, love, hatred, anger, and revenge, or whatever else is capable of moving the mind from a state of tranquillity and rest. But what are the uses or proposed ends of this extensive and complicated machinery of the mind of man? What are the respective parts which its various faculties are intended to fulfil, and the means by which they are to operate? Their object is threefold, in every respect most important, and admirably calculated to prove the wisdom and benevolence of the Almighty architect. They are the grand sources by which man becomes endowed with knowledge, moral freedom, and happiness, and is hence fitted to run the elevated race of a rational and accountable being. From the powers of the understanding he derives the first; from those of volition or election, the second; and from the passions or motive powers, the third. Yet never let it be forgotten, that he can in no respect, or at least to no considerable extent or good purpose, possess either one or the other, unless the mind, as an individual agent, maintain its self-dominion, and exercise a due degree of government over its own forces. This must be obvious to every one; and it is in this harmonious balance, this equitable guidance and control, that the perfection of the human character can alone consist and exhibit itself. Unless the faculties of the understanding be called forth, there can be no knowledge; and unless they be properly directed, though there may indeed be knowledge, it will be of a worse nature than utter ignorance; we shall pluck, not of the mixed tree of the knowledge of good and evil, as it stood before the fall, but from the tree of the knowledge of evil alone, without any union or participation of good. In like manner, unless the will and the passions be under an equal degree of guidance, the mind can be neither independent nor happy; a mental chaos must usurp the place of order, and the whole be misrule and confusion.*

IV. We have but imperfect notices of the zoology of Palestine. The Scriptures contain familiar references to the lion, the wolf, the fox, the leopard, the hyæna, the jackal, and the wild boar, which induce a belief that they were native

* Good's Book of Nature, vol. ii., Sermon 3; Lect. viii.

animals. The wilder animals, however, have mostly disappeared. Hasselquist, a disciple of Linnaeus, who visited the Holy Land in 1750, mentions, as the only animals he saw, the porcupine, the jackal, the fox, the rock-goat, and the fallow-deer. We know, however, that formerly the antelope, the hart, and the hind were common in the country. Captain Mangles describes an animal of the goat species as large as the ass, with long, knotty, upright horns, some bearded, and and their colour resembling that of the gazelle: the Arabs call them *meddu* or *neddu*. The Syrian goat has very long ears, which are more than once alluded to in the sacred writings; and the large tail of the sheep is scarcely less remarkable. Burckhardt mentions wild boars and ounces as inhabiting the woody parts of Mount Tabor. The horse does not appear to have been generally adopted till after the return of the Jews from Babylon. Solomon was the first monarch who collected a numerous stud of the finest horses that Egypt or Arabia could produce.* In the earlier times, the wild ass was deemed worthy of being employed for the purposes of royal state as well as convenience. See Judg. v. 10, x. 3, 4, xii. 13, 14; 1 Kings iv. 24. The breed of cattle reared in Bashan and Gilead were remarkable for their size, strength, and fatness.

V.—1. The common name for a bird, in the Hebrew Scriptures, is *tzephus*, a rapid mover, or hurrier; a name very expressive of that volatile creature. A more general and indefinite name is *ouph*, a fier; but under this term is comprehended every thing that flies, whether bird or insect. It is often translated *foel* in the English Bible. A bird of prey is called *ouh*, a rusher, from the impetuosity with which it rushes upon its prey.

2. It might naturally be supposed, that the Hebrew legislator, who had issued the strictest injunctions relative to animals clean and unclean, would have given some directions equally strict respecting birds; a class of creatures as much distinguished among themselves, by their qualities and modes of living, as are the several species of beasts. But here the characteristics derived from the feet failed; nor was it easy to fix upon marks which should, in every instance, guide the learned and the unlearned, the country rustic and the more intelligent citizen. Hence there is not in the Mosaic institutes any reference to the conformation, as the means of distinguishing birds into clean and unclean, lawful and unlawful; a list of exceptions forms the sacred directory, and

certain kinds are forbidden, without a word concerning those that are allowed. Those living on grain do not appear to be prohibited; and as these are the domesticated kinds, we might almost express it in other words—that birds of prey, generally, are rejected; i. e., those with crooked beaks and strong talons, whether they prey on fowls, on animals, or on fish; while those which eat vegetables are admitted as lawful. So that the same principle is admitted, to a certain degree, among birds as among beasts. The excepted birds are divided into three classes, according as they occupy the air, the land, or the water; thus:—

BIRDS OF THE AIR.

ENGLISH BIBLE.	PROBABLE SPECIES.
Eagle - - - - -	Eagle
Ossifrage - - - - -	Vulture
Ospray - - - - -	Black Eagle
Vulture - - - - -	Hawk
Kite - - - - -	Kite
Raven - - - - -	Raven.

LAND BIRDS.

Owl - - - - -	Ostrich
Night Hawk - - - - -	Night Owl
Cuckoo - - - - -	Saf Saf
Hawk - - - - -	Ancient Ibis.

WATER BIRDS.

Little Owl - - - - -	Sea-gull
Cormorant - - - - -	Cormorant
Great Owl - - - - -	Ibis Ardea
Swan - - - - -	Wild-geese
Pelican - - - - -	Pelican
Gier Eagle - - - - -	Alcyone
Stork - - - - -	Stork
Heron - - - - -	Long Neck
Lapwing - - - - -	Hoopoe
Bat - - - - -	Bat.†

These are the unclean birds, constituting the list of exceptions, so far as they have been identified; though it must not be concealed that there is some doubt as to certain ones amongst them.

3. The eagle, the vulture, the cormorant, the bittern, the stork, the owl, the pigeon, the swallow, the crane, and the dove, were familiar to the Hebrews, ancient and modern. Hasselquist enumerates the following from his own observation: the vulture, two species, one seen near Jerusalem, the other near Cana in Galilee; the falcon, near Nazareth; the jackdaw, in numbers, in the oak-woods

* See Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii., pp. 431—514.

† Taylor's Expository Index to the Holy Bible, p. 56.

near Galilee, the green wood-spite, at the same place; the bee-catcher, in the groves and plains between Acra and Nazareth; the nightingale among the willows at Jordan and olive-trees of Judea; the field-lark, every where; the gold-finch, in the gardens near Nazareth; the red partridge, and two other species; the quail, and the quail of the Israelites; the turtle-dove, and the ring-dove. Game is abundant; partridges in particular being found in large coveys, so fat and heavy that they may easily be knocked down with a stick,* wild-ducks, widgeons, snipes, and water-fowl of every description, abound in some situations.†

VI.—1. There are but few references to the subject of Ichthyology in the sacred writings. The reasons are obvious: the Jews being an agricultural people, fish formed no considerable part of their food; nor could they furnish any striking objects of comparison or illustration to the sacred writers, as was the case with quadrupeds and birds. The well-known biblical appellations of fish are *dag* and *taninim*: the former being expressive of their amazing fecundity; the latter, of their rapid motion. In Gen. i. 21, the word *taninim*, rendered “great whales” by the English translators, seems used to describe fish of the largest description, and not any particular species. From Neh. xiii. 16, we learn that, during the administration of this zealous patriot, the Tyrians brought fish in considerable quantities to Jerusalem, for purchasing which on the sabbath-day, Nehemiah reproved the Jewish elders. As the people of Tyre were remarkable for their skill in maritime affairs, it is impossible to say how far their fisheries might extend; but from Le Bruyn,‡ we ascertain, that fish in large numbers, and of excellent qualities, were to be procured in the neighbourhood of their own city. Nor should we omit to notice, in justification of John xxi. 11, that the Sea of Tiberias was well stocked with fish of a very large size. Hasselquist,|| and Egmont, and Heyman,§ notice the charnud or harmud, which is common to this lake and the hill, and which weighs nearly thirty pounds.

2. With regard to fish as an article of food, Moses has a very simple law: “All that have scales and fins are clean; all others unclean.” Upon this distinction, Mr. Taylor observes, that fishes’ fins are analogous to the feet of land ani-

mals; and as the sacred legislator had given directions for separating animals according to their hoofs and claws, so he directs that fishes, which had no clear and distinct members adapted to locomotion, should be unclean. Those which had fins were to be clean, provided they also had scales.

3. Though fish was the usual food of the Egyptians, we learn from Herodotus,¶ and Charemon, as quoted by Porphyry,** that their priests abstained from fish of all sorts. Hence we may see how distressing was the infliction which turned the waters of the river into blood, and occasioned the death of the fish (See Exod. vii. 18–21). Their sacred stream became so polluted as to be unfit for drink, for bathing, and for other uses of water to which they were superstitiously devoted (See Exod. ii. 4, vii. 15, viii. 20), and themselves obliged to nauseate what was the usual food of the common people, and held sacred by the priests.††

VII. Of reptiles we have not much information in the Scriptures; there are some general or incidental allusions, but too scanty to furnish any materials for extended disquisition.

1. The Hebrew word *nachash* appears to be used by the Hebrew writers as a general term for the whole serpentine genus. The primitive meaning of the word from which this appellation is derived signifies to *view*, *observe attentively*, &c.; and so remarkable are serpents for this quality, that “a serpent’s eye” became a proverb among the Greeks and Romans, who applied it to those who view things sharply or acutely. An ingenious writer, speaking of the supposed fascination of the rattlesnake’s eye, says, “It is, perhaps, more universal among the poisonous serpents than is supposed: our common viper has it.”‡‡ The craft and subtlety of the serpent are noticed in Scripture as qualities by which it is distinguished above every other beast of the field, Gen. iii. 1. Of its prudence and cunning, many instances are adduced; though it is but reasonable to suppose, that, in common with the rest of the animal creation, it has materially suffered in these respects from the effects of the curse.

2. Calmet enumerates eleven kinds of serpents, that were known to the Hebrews:—

1. *EPHE*, the viper.
2. *CHEPHIR*, a sort of aspic.

* Ali Bey, vol. ii., p. 210.

† Modern Traveller, Palestine, p. 11.

‡ Tom. i., p. 564.

|| Page 158.

§ Vol. ii., pp. 33, 220.

¶ Lib. ii., c. 37.

** De Abstinentia, lib. iv.

‡‡ Harris’ Nat. Hist., p. 123; Carpenter’s Scripture Natural History, p. 417, 5th edition.

†† Watson’s Animal World Displayed, p. 264, cited by Parkhurst.

3. AOTHUB, the aspic.
4. PETHEN, a similar reptile.
5. TZEBOA, a speckled serpent.
6. TEIMMAON.
7. TZEPHO or TZEPHONI, a basilisk.
8. KIPPOS, the acontias.
9. SHEPPIPHON, the cerastes.
10. SHACKAL, the black serpent.
11. SARAPH, a flying serpent.

3. The prophet Isaiah mentions the viper among the venomous reptiles which, in extraordinary numbers, infested the land of Egypt, ch. xxx. 6. In illustrating the mischievous character of wicked men, and the ruinous nature of sin, he thus alludes to this dangerous creature again: "They hatch cockatrice' eggs, and weave the spider's web: he that eateth of their eggs dieth; and that which is crushed breaketh out into a viper." The cockatrice here, says Paxton, undoubtedly means the viper; for the egg of one creature never produces, by any management, one of a different species. When the egg is crushed, the young viper is disengaged, and leaps out prepared for mischief. It may be objected, that the viper is not an oviparous, but a viviparous animal; and that, consequently, the prophet must refer to some other creature. But it is to be remembered, that although the viper brings forth its young alive, they are hatched from eggs perfectly formed in the belly of the mother. Hence Pliny says of it, "The viper alone, of all terrestrial animals, produces within itself an egg of a uniform colour, and soft like the eggs or roe of fishes." This curious natural fact reconciles the statement of the sacred writer with the truth of natural history. If by any means the egg of the viper be separated from the body, the phenomenon which the prophet mentions, may certainly take place.* Father Labat took a serpent of the viper kind, and ordered it to be opened in his presence. In its womb were found six eggs, each the size of a goose's egg, and containing from thirteen to fifteen young ones, about six inches long, and as thick as a goose quill. They were no sooner liberated from their prison-house, than they crept about, and put themselves into a threatening posture, coiling themselves up, and biting the stick with which he was destroying them.

4. The Hebrew *Pethen* is variously translated in our version; but interpreters generally consider it as referring to the asp. Zophar alludes to it more than once in his description of a wicked man: "Yet his meat in his bowels is turned; it is the gall of asps within him: he shall suck the poison

of asps; the viper's tongue shall slay him, Job xx. 14. The venom of asps is the most subtle of all; it is incurable, and if the wounded part be not instantly amputated, it speedily terminates the existence of the sufferer. To these circumstances Moses evidently alludes, in his character of the heathen: "Their wine is the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps," Deut. xxxiii. 33. See also Rom. iii. 13. To tread upon the asp is attended with extreme danger; and to express in the strongest manner the safety which a godly man enjoys under the protection of his heavenly Father, it is promised that he shall tread with impunity upon the adder and the dragon, Ps. xci. 13. No person of his own accord approaches the hole of these deadly reptiles, for he who gives them the smallest disturbance is in extreme danger of paying the forfeit of his rashness with his life. Hence the prophet Isaiah, predicting the conversion of the Gentiles to the faith of Christ, and the glorious reign of peace and truth in those regions, which, prior to that period, were full of horrid cruelty, declares, "The sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice' den. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," Isaiah xi. 6—9. In the glowing descriptions of the golden age, with which the oriental writers, and the rapturous bards of Greece and Rome, entertained their contemporaries, the wild beasts grow tame, serpents resign their poison, and noxious herbs their deleterious qualities: all is peace and harmony, plenty and happiness.†

5. The incantation of serpents is one of the most curious and interesting facts in natural history. This wonderful art, which soothes the wrath and disarms the fury of the deadliest snake, and renders it obedient to the charmer's voice, is not an invention of modern times, for we discover manifest traces of it in the remotest antiquity. It is asserted that Orpheus, who probably flourished soon after letters were introduced into Greece, knew how to still the hissing of the approaching snake, and to extinguish the poison of the creeping serpent. The Argonauts are said to have subdued by the power of song the terrible dragon that guarded the golden fleece; and Ovid ascribes the same effect to the soporific influence of certain herbs and magic sentences. It was the custom of others to fascinate the serpent by touching it with the hand. Of this method Virgil takes notice, in the seventh book of the *Æneid*.

* Illustrations of Scripture, vol. i., p. 336.

† Louth, *in loco*.

But it seems to have been the general persuasion of the ancients, that the principal power of the charmer lay in the sweetness of the music. Pliny says, accordingly, that serpents were drawn from their lurking-places by the power of music; Seneca held the same opinion. The wonderful effect which music produces on the serpent tribes, is confirmed by the testimony of several respectable moderns. Adders swell at the sound of a flute, raising themselves up on the one half of their body, turning themselves round, beating proper time, and following the instrument. Their head, naturally round and long like an eel, becomes broad and flat like a fan.* The tame serpents, many of which the Orientals keep in their houses, are known to leave their holes in hot weather, at the sound of a musical instrument, and to run upon the performer.† Dr. Shaw had an opportunity of seeing a number of serpents keep exact time with the dervises in their circulatory dances, running over their heads and arms, turning when they turned, and stopping when they stopped; and Chateaubriand relates a very extraordinary instance of the power of the flute over a rattlesnake that entered their encampment.‡ But on some serpents, these charms seem to have no power; and it appears from Scripture that the adder sometimes takes precautions to prevent the fascination which he sees preparing for him; “for the deaf adder shuts her ear, and will not hear the voice of the most skilful charmer,” Ps. lviii. 5, 6. The same allusion is involved in the words of Solomon: “Surely the serpent will bite without enchantment, and a babbler is no better,” Eccles. x. 11. The threatening of the prophet Jeremiah proceeds upon the same fact: “I will send serpents (cockatrices) among you, which will not be charmed; and they shall bite you,” Jer. viii. 17. In all these quotations, the sacred writers, while they take it for granted that many serpents are disarmed by charming, plainly admit that the powers of the charmer are in vain exerted upon others. To account for this exception, it has been alleged, that in some serpents the sense of hearing is very imperfect, while the power of vision is exceedingly acute; but the most intelligent natural historians maintain that the reverse is true. The

sense of hearing is much more acute than the sense of vision. Unable to resist the force of truth, others maintain that the adder is deaf, not by nature, but by design; for the Psalmist says, she shutteth her ear, and will not hear the voice of the charmer. But the phrase, perhaps, means no more than this, that some adders are of a temper so stubborn, that the various arts of the charmer make no impression; they are like creatures destitute of hearing, or whose ears are so completely obstructed that no sounds can enter. The same phrase is used in other parts of Scripture to signify a hard and obdurate heart: “Whoso stoppeth his ears at the cry of the poor, he also shall cry himself, but shall not be heard,” Prov. xxi. 13. It is used in the same sense of the righteous by the prophet: “That stoppeth his ears from the hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil,” Isai. xxxiii. 15. He remains as unmoved by the cruel and sanguinary counsels of the wicked as if he had stopped his ears.||

VIII. Of the insect tribes mentioned in the Bible, we may notice, amongst the wingless ones, the scorpion, the spider, the flea, and the louse—all hideous and revolting in their appearance and habits; amongst the winged classes, the zimb, or dog-fly, the hornet, the gnat, the moth, the bee, the ant, and the locust are the most prominent. Insects, as well as reptiles, were prohibited generally by the inspired lawgiver of the Hebrews, Lev. xi. 20. The only exception was in favour of those winged insects which, in addition to four walking legs, have also two longer springing legs, for the purpose of leaping from off the earth. This provision embraces locusts, which are declared to be clean in all the four stages of their existence, and are a common article of food in the East to this day, as they were in the time of John the Baptist. See Matt. iii. 4, &c. The immense numbers in which these insects collect, and migrate from one place to another, are referred to in the Scriptures, especially in Judg. vi. 5, vii. 12; Ps. cv. 34; Jer. xlvi. 23; Nah. iii. 15; Joel ii. 3—10; and various travellers have authenticated the fact.§

|| Harris' Natural Hist. of the Bible.

§ See Shaw's Travels, p. 256, olio; Volney's Travels, vol. i. chap. i., s. 5, p. 188. See also Harris' Nat. Hist. of the Bible, p. 251, &c.; Carpenter's Script. Nat. Hist., p. 485, &c.; and Fragments to Calmet, No. xlv.

* Chardin. † Greaves' Travels.

‡ Beauties of Christianity, quoted in Scripture Natural History.

PART VI.

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND DOMESTIC USAGES.

THERE are several topics pertaining to biblical archæology, or what are usually termed historical circumstances, immediately connected with the art of interpretation, that could not with propriety be arranged under any of the preceding chapters of this work, but which are of too much consequence to be wholly omitted. To these we shall devote the following chapters.

CHAPTER I.

ARTS.

State of the Arts amongst the Antediluvians; under Moses; and in the later periods of the Hebrew Commonwealth.

1. WE know but little of the state of the arts amongst the ancient Hebrews, and still less of them as they existed amongst their ancestors before the flood. There are but few direct intimations upon the subject in the sacred writings; and what are there, are for the most part so general or so vague, as to lead us but little beyond the bare fact itself.

2. Man, by his sin, having caused alienation and consequent absence from God, and being driven out of Eden, became the subject of want. Hence the invention of arts, his ingenuity and labour being necessary to supply his wants, and render his degraded condition tolerable. A careful reader of the Mosaic account of the antediluvian world will be disposed to think that mankind had, at that period, made nearer approaches towards civilization—which consists in an appropriation of the arts and sciences to the conveniences, comforts, and enjoyments of life—than is generally supposed. There is no doubt that the inhabitants of the old world possessed a knowledge of agriculture, architecture, metallurgy, music, engraving, writing, and probably of weaving. They were governed by laws, both civil and religious; such as right of property and relationship, freedom of person, the observance of the sabbath, marriage, &c. With regard to *agriculture*, the fact is certain. Man was made to dress and till the earth (Gen. ii. 15);

Cain was a husbandman, as was also Noah, who, besides, understood the planting of vineyards (Gen. ix. 20), and the method of fermenting the juice of the grape, for it is said that “he drank of the vine,” which produced inebriation, ver. 21. *Pasturage* is an occupation coeval with the birth of man. Adam had dominion over cattle (Gen. i. seq.); Cain and Noah, in their agricultural pursuits, must have included pasturage; and Abel seems to have been exclusively occupied as “a keeper of sheep.” From the circumstance of the early postdiluvian patriarchs constantly migrating from place to place, there is good reason to think that pasturage occupied so much of their attention as to form their almost exclusive employment. The “golden age” of the heathen world was said to be under the government of “shepherd-kings;” and it may be reasonably supposed, that in the world before the flood the same occupation ranked high. In fact we find this intimated in Gen. iv. 20, where it is said, that “Jabal was the father of such as have cattle,” or whose occupation was pasturage, which would include all its branches, as shepherd, swine-herd, cow-herd, &c. In proof of the fact, that the antediluvians had made some advancement in *architecture*, we may refer to the building of a city by Cain (Gen. iv. 17); and to the construction of that extraordinary and stupendous vessel in which the world was saved during the deluge, by Noah. Nor can we look at the circumstances connected with the building of

Babel, without conviction, that those employed in the work must have derived their knowledge, through the sons of Noah, from the antediluvians. In *metallurgy*, they had made considerable advances; they wrought in brass and iron (Gen. iv. 22). The art of constructing musical instruments was understood, for Jubal was the father of those who played upon the *kinner* and the *hugab*—the lyre and the ancient organ, or pandean pipes (Gen. iv. 21). The antediluvians also possessed the means of communicating their ideas and of recording facts by *writing*, or hieroglyphics. The story of Lamech and his wives—the oldest specimen of poetry extant—bears all the evidences of having been an existing document which Moses incorporated into his narrative; as do also the genealogies, &c. of the antediluvian patriarchs.* Touching the manufacture of cloth, by *weaving*, or some such process, Jabal was the first of those who dwelt in tents, and Noah adopted the same kind of dwelling-place (Gen. iv. 20, ix. 21); at the same time we must admit, that these might have been constructed of the skins of beasts.

3. Soon after the flood, we find numerous references to the advanced state of the arts (see Gen. xviii. 4—6, xxi. 14, xxiv. 22, xxiv. 53, &c.). In the time of Moses, the knowledge of the arts of architecture, metallurgy, cabinet-making, masonry, spinning, embroidery, must have attained to a high degree of perfection. Indeed, the sacred writer expressly states, that the Lord filled certain persons with the spirit of God “in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, to devise curious works, to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass; and in the cutting of stones to set them, and in carving of wood, to make any manner of cunning work; as also to engrave and embroider” (see Exod. xxxvi. 30—35). Agriculture and pasturage was specially cultivated by the Hebrews, these being the particular pursuits encouraged by the polity to which they became subject. In 1 Chron. iv. 14, “a valley of craftsmen,” or “artisans,” are spoken of; and in verse 21 we find “female workers of fine linen;” as in Exod. xxxvi. 25, 26. In 1 Chron. iv. 23, “the potters,” or “formers,” are spoken of; and from 2 Kings xxiv. 14, we find that “smiths” found occupation in Jerusalem. There are numerous other passages in the historical and prophetic books of the Old and New Testaments, from which it is evident that many of the arts were cultivated and well understood by the Jewish people, especially after their return from Babylon, and under the dominion of the Romans; but a particular reference to them is unnecessary here,

as we shall now proceed to notice more particularly those branches immediately bearing upon the interpretation of the sacred volume.

SECTION I.

WRITINGS AND BOOKS.

Origin of Writing—Materials and Forms of Books—Illustrations of Scripture Phraseology—Epistolary Letters.

1. The origin of writing is involved in impenetrable obscurity. Some believe it to have been in use amongst the antediluvians, while others suppose it not to have been known until it was required to take down the law delivered upon Mount Sinai.† We believe that the arguments in support of the former of these hypotheses greatly preponderate; but our limits forbid discussion. We must refer to those writers who have professedly treated on the subject.‡

2. Various materials were anciently used for writing upon. Plates of lead or copper, barks of trees, bricks, stones, and wood, were originally employed for engraving such things upon as men desired to transmit to posterity. Josephus speaks of two columns, one of stone, the other of brick, on which the children of Seth wrote their inventions and astronomical discoveries; and Porphyry mentions pillars preserved in Crete, on which were recorded the ceremonies practised by the Corybantes in their sacrifices. Hesiod's works were at first written on tablets of lead, in the temple of the Muses in Boeotia; God's laws were written on tablets of stone, and Solon's laws on wooden planks. In Job xix. 23, 24, mention is made of writing in a book, engraving on lead, and cutting on a rock. In Ezek. xxxvii. 16, 17, we read of writing upon a stick, a practice much in use among the Greeks and other ancient nations.¶ Tablets of box and of ivory were common amongst the ancients; when they were of wood only, they were oftentimes coated over with wax, and received the writing with the point of a style or

† The Hindoos ascribe the invention of writing to Brahma or Siva. They say that those zigzag marks on the skull (called the *sutures*), are characters written by the divine hand, descriptive of every man's fate. Thus men, in excuse for their crimes, say, “It was written on our foreheads; what could we do?” Sir Walter Scott, in his *Life of Napoleon* (vol. iv., p. 95), says of the wounded Turks, after the battle, “Some of them, of higher rank, seemed to exhort the others to submit, like servants of the prophet, to the decree, which, according to their belief, was written on their foreheads.” See *Roberts's Oriental Illustrations*, p. 109.

‡ See *Fragments to Calmet*, Nos. 134, 709—711; *Moses on the Atonement*. Illust. 54; *Horne's Introd. to Bibliography*, vol. i., pp. 72—100; *Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature*, vol. i., chap. 1.

¶ See *Townley's Illustrations*, vol. i., pp. 28—30.

* See *Fragments to Calmet*, No. 709—711.

iron pen; so that what was written might be effaced by the broad end of the style. Afterwards, the leaves of the palm-tree were used, instead of slips of wood; and also the finest and thinnest bark of trees, such as the lime, the ash, the maple, and the elm. Hence the word *liber*, which signifies the inner bark of a tree, signifies also a book. As these barks were rolled up to be the more conveniently carried about, they were called *volumen*, "a volume;" a name also given to rolls of paper, or of parchment. Papyrus, from which comes our word paper, is a description of seed that grows in the hill. Its stem is composed of several layers, which are taken off with a needle, and afterwards spread out upon a table, where so much is moistened as is equal to the size intended for the leaves of *papyrus*. It subsequently undergoes another process, and is then fit for use. Varro and Pliny observe that papyrus, as a material for writing upon, was first discovered in Egypt, at the time when Alexander built Alexandria.* The manufacture of parchment was discovered at Pergamus, whence it was called *pergamenum*. It was also called *membrana*, because made of the skin with which the members of beasts were covered. Of these leaves of parchment or vellum, books of two descriptions were made; one in the form of rolls, composed of many leaves, sewed or glued together end by end, and written upon one side only. The other description of books were similar to those now in use, and written on both sides of the leaf. The ancients wrote also upon linen. Pliny says that the Parthians, even in his time, wrote upon their clothes; and Livy speaks of certain books made of linen, *lintei libri*, on which the names of magistrates, with the history of the Roman commonwealth, was written, and which were preserved in the temple of the goddess Moneta.† The instrument for writing with was suited to the material upon which the writing was to be done. For harder substances, they used a bodkin or iron style; but when they wrote upon linen or parchment, they used a reed (*calamus*) formed into a pen, and some colouring substance equivalent to ink; like Isaiah, when he wrote his prophecy, in chap. viii. 1. In Ezek. ix. 2, 3, 11, we read of persons carrying ink-horns at their sides. The same is done at the present day among the Moors in Barbary, and also among the Persians.‡

3. These descriptions will throw light upon several passages of Scripture, which must appear strange to persons unacquainted with the forms of ancient books.

(1) Isaiah says, "The heavens shall be folded up like a book," or scroll, chap. xxxiv. 4. Here is an allusion to the method of rolling up books amongst the ancients, as described above. Thus the heavens should shrink into themselves, and disappear from the eyes of God, when his wrath should be kindled. Zechariah speaks of "a flying roll," twenty cubits long and ten wide; which was probably made of skins connected together; a practice sometimes resorted to, as appears from Josephus, where he speaks of the introduction of the translators of the Septuagint to Ptolemy Philadelphus.|| These rolls were generally written only on one side; but that of Ezekiel (chap. ii. 10), was written within and without; i. e., on both sides, to show the abundance of matter contained in it. Of the same kind, probably, was that of John (Rev. v. 1), which as "a book" written within and without is unintelligible.§

(2) In Isaiah xxx. 8, the Lord says to the prophet, concerning a prediction relative to the Jews, "Now go, write it before them in a table;" and the father of John Baptist (Luke i. 63) called for "a writing table;" both of which passages refer to the tablets of wood or other materials of which we have already spoken. The commentator on Varro, describing one of these *tabulæ literariæ*, says, "It is of a square oblong form, like those tablets for letters on which children learn to read and write, having on the upper part a round appendix, called the *capitulum*. One of these tablets will be found hanging up in the engraving given in the next page.

(3) There is an expression in Psalm xl. 7, which has been ingeniously illustrated by the editor of Calmet—"In the *volumen* of the book it is written of me," which is rendered by the LXX. "in the head (*cephalis*) of the book." Chrysostom has described this *cephalis* as a wrapper (*eilema*), and supposes that on it was written a word or words, which imported "about the coming of the Messiah;" and Aquila uses the word *eilema* to express the Hebrew word, which we render *volumen*. "On this," Mr. Harmer says, "the thought is not only clear and distinct, but very energetic; amounting to this, that the sum and

* This is very questionable, however; for Pliny hints at an assertion of Cassius Hemina, an ancient annalist, that paper books were found inclosed in the tomb of Numa, who lived above 300 years before Alexander.

† Calmet's Biblical Ency., art. "Book."

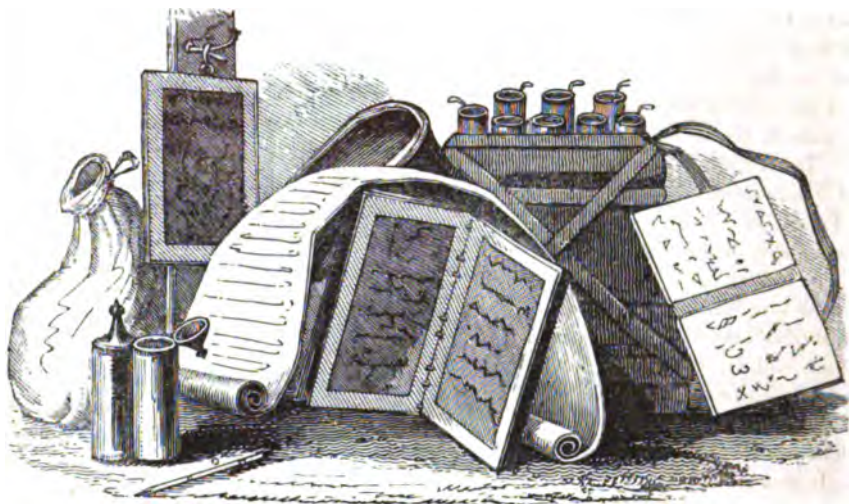
‡ See Shaw's Travels, p. 227; and Hanway's Travels, vol. i., p. 332.

|| Antiquities, b. xii., c. 2. To account for the transpositions that appear to have taken place in some parts of the Pentateuch, Dr. Kennicott ingeniously conjectures that some of the skins on which it was originally written were separated from each other, and afterwards misplaced.

§ The editor of Calmet has attempted to prove the contrary, but not with success. See Fragments, No. 74.

substance of the sacred books is, 'The Messiah cometh;' and that those words, accordingly, might be written or embroidered, with great propriety, on the wrapper or case wherein they were kept.* Admitting this conclusion to be just, Mr. Taylor thinks he has found better premises than Harmer has collected for it, in a picture discovered at Herculaneum, and which represents a portable book-case, apparently made of leather, and of the

kind known to the Romans by the name of *scri-narii*. It is filled with ruled books, each of which has a ticket or label appended to it—probably the genuine *capitulum*, or argument of the book, for the purpose of directing the person who was about to draw out a roll, to that which contained the treatise he wanted. We have introduced this book-case in the back-ground of the engraving.



It is obvious that rolls of linen, silk, or parchment were very liable to the injuries of time, both as to their texture and writing; and they seem, therefore, to have been preserved in chests of wood, or some other durable material. Jeremiah's roll was preserved in an earthen pitcher (chap. xxxii. 14); and with respect to deeds of no great length, but of much importance, they seem to have been engraved on sheets of lead rolled up. For Pliny informs us that "writing on lead (*plumbeis voluminibus*, rolls of lead) was of high antiquity, following writing on the bark and leaves of trees, and that it was used in recording public transactions." Josephus frequently speaks of decrees of states being written on brass.

(4) Besides books in the form of rolls, we also read in Scripture of letters being sent from one person to another. These were in general in the form of rolls also, and resembling probably those in the East at this day. Thus Niebuhr tells us that "the Arabs roll up their letters, and then flatten them to the breadth of an inch, and paste up the end of them, instead of sealing them. And Hanway tells us that "the Persians make up a letter in the form of a roll, about six inches

long, and that a bit of paper is fastened round it with gum, and sealed with an impression of ink, which resembles our printers' ink, but not so thick." When letters were written to inferiors they were often sent open, or in the form of an unsealed roll; but when addressed to equals or superiors, they were inclosed in a bag of silk or satin, sealed and addressed. Hence we perceive the insult of Sanballat to Nehemiah, in sending his letter to him by his servant open, Neh. vi. 5. It was just now said that these letters were sealed; we may remark, as an additional circumstance, that the very ancient custom of sealing them (see Gen. xli. 42; Esth. iii. 10—12, viii. 2, 8, 10; Jer. xxii. 24), with a seal or signet set in a ring, is still retained in the East. "In Egypt," says Dr. Pococke, "they make the impression of their name with their seal, generally of cornelian, which they wear on their finger, and which is blacked when they have occasion to seal with it." And Mr. Hanway remarks that the Persian ink "serves not only for writing, but for subscribing with their seal; indeed many of the Persians in high office, he adds, could not write: but in their rings they wear agates, which serve for a seal, on which is frequently engraven their name and some verse of the Koran." Dr. Shaw also says, that "as few or none either of the Arab

* Observations, vol. iv., p. 10.

sheikhs, or of Turkish and eastern kings, princes, or bashaws, know how to write their own names; all their letters and decrees are stamped with their proper rings, seals, or signets (see 1 Kings xxi. 3; Esth. iii. 12; Dan. vi. 17; Eccus. xlix. 11), which are usually of silver or cornelian, with their respective names engraven upon them on one side, and the name of their kingdom or principality, or else some sentence of the Koran, on the other." It is, perhaps, to this that the apostle alludes, when he says (2 Tim. ii. 19), "The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal or impression, on the one side, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and on the other, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." Dr. Brown states that he saw a letter addressed from a governor-general of India to the king of Persia, in Persic, on beautifully glazed white paper, fifty inches long, and twenty inches broad. The written part, however, was only two feet long, and one foot broad; the rest being filled with a beautiful ornamental painting at the head of the letter, and a very elegantly painted border round the whole sheet. The bag in which it was to have been sent, and which the author also saw, was a cloth composed of gold threads and crimson silk. It was tied at the neck with a gold lace, which, after being knotted, passed through an immense seal, four inches in diameter, and about an inch thick, of red wax; which seal of office was entirely covered with Persic characters, containing the titles of the company; those of the king being at the beginning of the letter. In order to preserve the seal and lace entire, the bag was opened at bottom, to extract the letter, but the natural way of opening it would be either by melting the wax, or cutting the lace between the wax and the bag. Mr. Wortley's courier, whom he sent from Essek, returned with the Bassa's answer in a purse of scarlet satin.* Whether the bag represented in our engraving was appropriated to such a purpose, we know not.

SECTION II.

ENGRAVING, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING.

Early Origin of Engraving—Signets and their Uses—Sculpture and Painting.

I.—1. The manner in which the engraver's art is spoken of in the Pentateuch, shows that in the time of Moses it was an art of no recent invention; and that, among the surrounding nations, signets

were then common, and in well-known use. The onyxes for the sacred ephod, the plate of gold for the mitre of the high-priest, and the precious stones for his breast-plate, were all expressly ordered to be engraven "like the engravings of a signet;" that is to say, being effected by direct incision with a tool, by the Italians termed *intaglio*, which is now become in all the languages of Europe a technical word, distinguishing this mode of art from engraving in *cameo*, from sculpture by *excision*, and from that species of low relief bedded in the stone, which was, at the time of the Hebrew exode, so much in use among the engravers of Egyptian hieroglyphics. "Like the engravings of a signet," are only other and more familiar words for saying, such engraving as is performed with the view and for the purposes of yielding impressions in relief. And these words are used no fewer than three times in Exodus xviii.; are again repeated, twice, in chap. xxxix.; and in this latter chapter it is also said, that "they wrought onyx-stones inclosed in ouches of gold, graven as signets are graven."

2. From these passages in the book of Exodus, Mr. John Landseer, to whom alone we are indebted for much curious and original matter on the subject,† argues the frequency of signets in the time of Moses, and, of course, the commonness of the art of engraving. Josephus, too, as he remarks, informs us that, some ages before this, when Pharaoh invested the youthful Joseph with power over the land and people of Egypt, he intrusted to his direction the use of the royal *signet*, along with, and as the ostensible mark of, the royal authority. Yet we may not suppose, that the Hebrews learned either the arts of the lapidary and engraver, or the practice of sealing, during their Egyptian servitude; for we read in Genesis xxxviii., that Judah, the elder brother of Joseph, possessed a portable signet, which it would appear that he carried about with him on ordinary occasions, and left as a pledge with his disguised daughter-in-law, when on his way to the sheep-shearing at Timnath; an event which must have happened several years before the sons of Jacob were driven into Egypt by famine. Landseer, upon the authority of Cedrenus, thinks, indeed, that Terah, the father of Abram, and the first artist whose name is any where upon record, was an engraver of signets, as well as a sculptor or modeller of such small idols as Rachel, in three generations from Terah, is recorded to have hidden under the furniture of a camel.‡ In the book of Job, certainly one of the oldest, if not the very oldest,

* Lady M. W. Montague's Letters, letter 23rd; Brown's Jewish Antiquities, vol. ii., p. 94.

† Sabreau Researches, *passim*.

‡ Ibid., p. 6.

writing extant, the references to signets, engraved seals, and their uses in sealing, are frequent. But after these early times, the references to these engraved signets are very few; for it appears that Moses suppressed the use of them in consequence of their connexion with the Sabæan idolatry. Jezebel appears to have signed her forged letters to the elders with one of these (1 Kings xxi. 8); and in the prophet Jeremiah very particular mention is made of another signet, used as an instrument of legality in the purchase of a field (chap. xxxii. 7, 8, &c.), from which it would appear to have been the custom of the Hebrew conveyancers in the reign of Zedekiah, to deposit a sealed copy of every deed of transfer of landed property in some public office. But the most important occasion of Hebrew sealing that is any where upon record, is that of the ratification of the new covenant, by "the princes, Levites, and priests," which is particularly detailed by Nehemiah (chap. ix. 38). Sealing is here obviously tantamount to signing, or rather is signing; and it seems pretty clear, from the specification of the names of the signing priests and chiefs, and from other circumstances, that among the Jews the astronomical signets of the patriarchal ages had by this time been superseded by signets bearing the respective *names* of their proprietors.*

3. Having thus referred to the Scripture allusions to the art of engraving, and intimated the applications of it which those allusions indicate, we must leave our readers to pursue the subject, as they may have the means and the inclination so to do.

II. Neither sculpture nor painting appear to have made any noticeable progress amongst the Hebrews. The application of these arts to the purposes of idolatrous worship, was a sufficient reason for their discouragement amongst the chosen people of God, who were to be wholly unlike the nations by which they were surrounded, both in their character and their pursuits. Their proneness to idolatry, however, occasionally led to the introduction of "graven images," which were, no doubt, rude pieces of sculpture, fashioned after the various real or imaginary objects to which they were dedicated. From Isa. xlv. 9—18, it seems that there were "artists" regularly and scientifically employed in the manufacture of idols—the smith, the carpenter, and the sculptor: "The smith with the tongs both worketh in the coals and fashioneth it with hammers, and worketh it with the strength of his arms: yea, he is hungry, and his strength faileth; he drinketh no water, and is faint. The carpenter stretcheth out his rule,

he marketh it out with a line, he fitteth it with planes, and he marketh it out with a compass, and maketh it after the figure of a man, according to the beauty of a man; that it may remain in the house. . . . He maketh a god, and worshippeth it: he maketh it a graven image, and falleth down thereto." This is a very curious passage, and it is, so far as we can recollect, the only passage in the Old Testament in which there is a distinct reference to any thing like the art of sculpture. "Molten images" are spoken of again in chap. xli. 29, and other places.

SECTION III.

ARCHITECTURE.

Tents—Villages—Houses—Furniture—Ships.

WE have already noticed the general intimations that occur in the early Scriptures, especially in those parts relating to the antediluvian world, of the state and progress of architecture in those times. We may now notice more particularly the state of the art, and the manner in which it was applied amongst the Hebrews, after the time of Moses.

1. THERE is no doubt that the ancient Jews lived in tents, similar to those now in use in the East. Dr. Shaw describes them as being of an oblong figure, not unlike the bottom of a ship turned upside down. They vary in size according to the number of their occupants, and are divided by a hanging carpet into separate apartments. They are kept firm and steady by bracing, or stretching down their eaves with cords, tied to hooked wooden pins, well pointed, which are driven firmly into the ground. They are covered with hair cloth, for the purpose of keeping out the wet. Some of these tents are very splendid; and hence the pious declaration of the Psalmist, "I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the [splendid] tents of the wicked," Ps. lxxxiv. 10.†

2. The villages of Judæa, which were situated in the plains, were probably built of mud, or clay, as they are to this day in the East.‡ Through these mud walls, it is no uncommon thing for the thieves to dig; and hence the allusion of our Lord, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth, where thieves *break through* and steal," Matt. vi. 19, 20. To the destruction of such edifices, occasioned by violent rains, there is an allusion in Matt. vii. 26, 27. See also Ps. lxii. 3, and Isai. xxx. 13. Mr. Roberts says, that in

† Travels, vol. i., p. 296.

‡ See Sir R. Wilson's Hist. of the Brit. Expedition into Egypt, vol. i., p. 157.

* Landseer, p. 34.

India, amongst the Hindoos, the strength of a house is not indicated by saying, "it will last so many years," but "it will outstand the rains: it will not be injured by the floods."*

3. Of the ordinary eastern buildings Dr. Shaw has given a very minute and interesting description; and as it illustrates several passages in Scripture, in a most satisfactory manner, we shall present it to the reader. He observes,

(1) "The general method of building, both in Barbary and the Levant, seems to have continued the same from the earliest ages down to this time, without the least alteration or improvement. Large doors, spacious chambers, marble pavements, cloistered courts, with fountains sometimes playing in the midst, are certainly conveniences very well adapted to the circumstances of these hotter climates. The jealousy likewise of these people is less apt to be alarmed, whilst, if we except a small latticed window or balcony, which sometimes looks into the street, all the other windows open into their respective courts or quadrangles. It is during the celebration only of some *zeenah* (as they call a public festival), that these houses and their latticed windows or balconies are left open. For this being a time of great liberty, revelling, and extravagance, each family is ambitious of adorning both the inside and the outside of their houses with the richest furniture; whilst crowds of both sexes, dressed out in their best apparel, and laying aside all modesty and restraint, go in and out where they please. The account we have 2 Kings ix. 30, of Jezebel's painting her face, and tiring her head, and looking out at a window, upon Jehu's public entrance into Jezreel, gives us a lively idea of an eastern lady at one of these *zeenahs* or solemnities.

(2) "The streets of these cities, the better to shade them from the sun, are usually narrow, with sometimes a range of shops on each side. If from these we enter into one of the principal houses, we shall first pass through a porch or gate-way, with benches on each side, where the master of the family receives visits and dispatches business; few persons, not even the nearest relations, having further admission, except upon extraordinary occasions. From hence we are received into the court, or quadrangle, which lying open to the weather, is, according to the ability of the owner, paved with marble or such materials as will immediately carry off the water into the common sewers. There is something very analogous betwixt this open space in these buildings, and the impluvium, or *cava ædium* of the Romans; both

of them being alike exposed to the weather, and giving light to the house. When many people are to be admitted, as upon the celebration of a marriage, the circumcising of a child, or occasions of the like nature, the company is rarely or never received into one of the chambers. The court is the usual place of their reception, which is strewed accordingly with mats and carpets for their more commodious entertainment; and as this is called *the middle of the house*, literally answering to the *midst* of St. Luke (v. 19), it is probable that the place where our Saviour and the apostles were frequently accustomed to give their instructions, might have been in the like situation; i. e., in the area or quadrangle of one of these houses. In the summer season, and upon all occasions when a large company is to be received, this court is commonly sheltered from the heat or inclemency of the weather, by a *velum*, umbrella, or veil, which, being expanded upon ropes from one side of the parapet wall to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleasure. The Psalmist seems to allude either to the tents of the Bedouins, or some covering of this kind, in that beautiful expression of "spreading out the heavens like a veil or curtain."†

(3) "The court is for the most part surrounded with a cloister, as the *cava ædium* of the Romans was with a peristylum or colonnade; over which, when the house has one or more stories (and I have seen them with two or three), there is a gallery erected, of the same dimensions as the cloister, having a balustrade, or else a piece of carved or latticed work going round about it, to prevent people from falling from it into the court. From the cloisters and galleries, we are conducted into large spacious chambers, of the same length with the court, but seldom or never communicating with one another. One of them frequently serves a whole family, particularly when a father indulges his married children to live with him, or when several persons join in the rent of the same house. From whence it is, that the cities of these countries, which are generally much inferior in size to those of Europe, yet are so exceedingly populous, that great numbers of the inhabitants are swept away by the plague, or any other contagious distemper. A mixture of families of this kind seems to be spoken of by Maimonides, as he is quoted by Dr. Lightfoot‡ upon 1 Cor. x. 16.

† Ps. civ. 2. We have the same expression in the prophet Isaiah, chap. xl. 22.

‡ "Solomon appointed that each place be appropriated to one man there, where there is a division into divers habitations, and each of the inhabitants receive there a proper place to himself, and some place is also left there common to all, so that all have an equal right to it, as a court belonging to many houses," &c.

In houses of better fashion, these chambers, from the middle of the wall downwards, are covered and adorned with velvet or damask hangings, of white, blue, red, green, or other colours (Esth. i. 6), suspended upon hooks, or taken down at pleasure; but the other part is embellished with more permanent ornaments, being adorned with the most ingenious wreathings and devices in stucco and fretwork. The ceiling is generally of wainscot, either very artfully painted, or else thrown into a variety of pannels, with gilded mouldings and scrolls of their Koran intermixed. The prophet Jeremiah (xxii. 14), exclaims against the eastern houses that were ceiled with cedar, and painted with vermilion. The floors are laid with painted tiles,* or plaster of terrace; but as these people make little or no use of chairs (either sitting cross-legged, or lying at length), they always cover or spread them over with carpets, which, for the most part, are of the richest materials. Along the sides of the wall or floor, a range of narrow beds or mattresses is often placed upon these carpets; and for their further ease and convenience, several velvet or damask bolsters are placed upon these carpets or mattresses—indulgences that seem to be alluded to by the ‘stretching themselves upon couches, and by the sewing of pillows to arm-holes,’ as we have it expressed, Amos vi. 4; Ezek. xiii. 18—20. At one end of each chamber, there is a little gallery, raised three, four, or five feet above the floor, with a balustrade in the front of it, with a few steps likewise leading up to it. Here they place their beds, a situation frequently alluded to in the Holy Scriptures (Gen. xlix. 4; 2 Kings i. 6—16; Ps. cxxxii. 3); which may likewise illustrate the circumstance of Hezekiah’s turning his face,† when he prayed, towards the wall (i. e., from his attendants), 2 Kings xx.

“The consorting together, which those that dwell among themselves in the same court make, is called the *communion of courts*. And that consorting together which they make that dwell among themselves in the same walk or entry, or which citizens of the same city make among themselves, is called, *participating together*.”

* A pavement like this is mentioned, Esth. i. 6, 7: “The beds were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of red and blue and white and black marble.”

† In the Targum of Jonathan, turning towards the wall is explained by turning towards the wall of the sanctuary, or the western wall (as Abarbanel further illustrates it), where the ark stood; this being their *kiblah*, or place towards which they were to worship, 1 Kings viii. 39, &c. But the like action that is recorded of the wicked and idolatrous king Ahab, can scarcely have such a construction put upon it; neither can we well suppose that the like custom was observed in placing both their beds and their windows to face the sanctuary (Dan. vi. 10); for if the latter did so, the other, as lying in a corner, at a distance from them, must have a different situation.

2, that the fervency of his devotion might be the less taken notice of and observed. The like is related of Ahab (1 Kings xxi. 4), though probably not upon a religious account, but in order to conceal from his attendants the anguish he was in for his late disappointment.

(4) “The stairs are sometimes placed in the porch, sometimes at the entrance into the court. When there is one or more stories, they are afterwards continued through one corner or other of the gallery, to the top of the house; whither they conduct us through a door, that is constantly kept shut, to prevent their domestic animals from daubing the terrace, and thereby spoiling the water which falls from thence into the cisterns below the court. This door, like most others we meet with in these countries, is hung, not with hinges, but by having the jamb formed at each end into an axle-tree or pivot; whereof the uppermost, which is the longest, is to be received into a correspondent socket in the lintel, whilst the other falls into a cavity of the like fashion in the threshold. The stone door, so much admired and taken notice of by Mr. Maundrell,‡ is exactly of this fashion, and very common in most places.

“I do not remember ever to have observed the staircase conducted along the outside of the house, according to the description of some late very learned authors; neither, indeed, will the contiguity and relation which these houses bear to the street and to each other (exclusive of the supposed privacy of them), admit of any such contrivance. However, we may go up or come down by the staircase I have described, without entering into any of the offices or apartments, and consequently without interfering with the business of the house.

(5) “The top of the house, which is always flat, is covered with a strong plaster of terrace; from whence, in the Frank language, it has attained the name of *the terrace*. This is usually surrounded by two walls, the outermost whereof is partly built over the street, partly makes the partition with the contiguous houses; being frequently so low, that one may easily climb over it. The other, which I shall call *the parapet wall*, hangs immediately over the court, being always breast high, and answers to the *battlement* of Deut. xxi. 8. Instead of this parapet wall, some terraces are guarded, like the galleries, with balustrades only, or latticed work; in which fashion, probably, as the name seems to import, was the *net*.

‡ See Maundrell’s Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 77. edit. Ox. 1707.

or *lattice*, as we render it, that Ahaziah (2 Kings i. 2), might be carelessly leaning over, when he fell down from thence into the court. For upon these terraces, several offices of the family are performed; such as the dying of linen and flax (Josh. ii. 6), the preparing of figs and raisins; where, likewise, they enjoy the cool refreshing breezes of the evening (2 Sam. xi. 2, xvi. 22; 1 Sam. ix. 25, 26), converse with one another, and offer up their devotions, Zeph. i. 5; Isai. xv. 3; Acts x. 9. In the feast of tabernacles, booths were erected upon them, Neh. viii. 16. As these terraces are thus frequently used and trampled upon, not to mention the solidity of the materials wherewith they are made, they will not easily permit any vegetable substances to take root or thrive upon them; which perhaps may illustrate the comparison (Isai. xxxvii. 27) of the Assyrians, and (Ps. cxxix. 6) of the wicked, to 'the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth before it is grown up.'

(4) "When any of these cities is built upon level ground, one may pass along the tops of the houses from one end of it to the other, without coming down into the street. Such in general is the manner and contrivance of these houses. If, then, it may be presumed that our Saviour, at the healing of the paralytic, was preaching in a house of this fashion, we may, by attending only to the structure of it, give no small light to one circumstance of that history, which has lately given great offence to some unbelievers. For among other pretended difficulties and absurdities relating to this fact, it has been urged,* that "as the uncovering or breaking up of the roof (Mark ii. 4), or the letting a person down through it (Luke v. 19), supposes the breaking up of tiles, spars, rafters, &c., so it was well," as the author goes on in his ludicrous manner, "if Jesus and his disciples escaped with only a broken pate, by the falling of the tiles; and if the rest were not smothered with dust." But that nothing of this nature happened will appear probable from a different construction that may be put upon the words in the original; for it may be observed, with relation to the word we render *roof*, that it will denote, with propriety enough, any kind of *covering*, the veil which I have mentioned, as well as a roof or ceiling, properly so called; so, for the same reason, the verb we render *uncovered* may signify the undoing, or the removal only, of such covering. The word which we render *breaking up* is omitted in the Cambridge MS., and not regarded in the Syriac and some other Versions; the translators, perhaps,

either not rightly comprehending the meaning of it, or finding the context clear without it. In St. Jerome's translation, the correspondent word is *patefacientes*, as if *breaking up* was further explanatory of *uncovered*; the same in the Persian Version is expressed by *quatuor angulis lectuli totidem funibus annexis*; as if *breaking up* related either to the letting down of the bed, or, preparatory thereto, to the making holes in it for the cords to pass through. According to this explanation, therefore, the context may run thus: When they could not come at Jesus for the press, they got upon the roof of the house, and drew back the veil where he was; or they laid open and uncovered that part of it especially which was spread over the place where he was sitting; and having removed and plucked away (according to St. Jerome) whatever might incommode them in their intended good office, or having tied (according to the Persian Version) the four corners of the bed or bedstead with cords, where the sick of the palsy lay, they let it down before Jesus.

(5) "For that there was not the least force or violence offered to the roof, and consequently that the two verbs will admit of some other interpretations than what have been given to them in our Version, appears from the parallel place in St. Luke, where what we translate, *they let him down through the tiling*, as if *that* had actually been broken up already, should be rendered, *they let him down over, along the side, or by the way of the roof*. For as *keramoi*, or *tegulae*, which originally, perhaps, denoted a roof of tiles, like those of the northern nations, were afterwards applied to the *tectum* or *doma* in general, of what nature or structure soever they were; so the meaning of letting down a person into the house, *per tegulas*, or *dia ton keramon*, can depend only upon the use of the preposition. Now, both in Acts ix. 26 and 2 Cor. xi. 33, where the like phraseology is observed as in St. Luke, *dia* is rendered in both places *by*, i. e., *along the side, or by the way of the wall*. By interpreting, therefore, *dia* in this sense, the passage will be rendered, as above, *they let him down over, or by the way of, the wall*. What Dr. Lightfoot observes out of the Talmud, upon Mark ii. 4, will, by an alteration only of the preposition which answers to *dia*, further vouch for this interpretation. For as it is there cited, "when Rabh Honna was dead, and his bier could not be carried out through the door, which was too strait and narrow, therefore (in order, we may supply, to bury it) *they thought good to let it down*" (i. e., not through the roof, or through the way of the roof, as the Doctor renders it, but) *by the way, or over the roof*, viz., by taking it upon the terrace, and letting it down by the wall, that way, into the street. We have a passage

* See Wolston's Four Discourses, p. 57.

in Aulus Gellius* exactly of the same purport, where it is said, that if 'any person in chains should make his escape into the house of the Flamen Dialis, he should be forthwith loosed; and that his fetters should be drawn up through the *impluvium*, upon the roof or terrace, and from thence be let down into the highway or the street.'

(6) "When the use, then, of these phrases, and fashion of the houses, are rightly considered, there will be no reason to suppose that any breach was actually made in the roof or covering; since all that was to be done, in the case of the paralytic, was to carry him up to the top of the house, either by forcing their way through the crowd up the staircase, or else by conveying him over some of the neighbouring terraces; and there, after they had drawn away the *veil*, to let him down, along the side of the roof (through the opening, or *impluvium*) into the midst (of the court) before Jesus.

(7) "To most of these houses there is a smaller one annexed, which sometimes rises one story higher than the house; at other times it consists of one or two rooms only and a terrace; whilst others that are built, as they frequently are, over the porch or gateway, have, if we except the ground-floor, which they have not, all the conveniences that belong to the house, properly so called. There is a door of communication from them into the gallery of the house, kept open or shut at the discretion of the master of the family; besides another door, which opens immediately from a privy stairs, down into the porch or street, without giving the least disturbance to the house. These back houses, as we may call them, are known by the name of *alee* or *oleah*; for the house, properly so called, is *dar* or *beet*; and in them strangers are usually lodged and entertained; in them the sons of the family are permitted to keep their concubines; thither, likewise, the men are wont to retire from the hurry and noise of their families, to be more at leisure for meditation or diversions; besides the use they are at other times put to, in serving for wardrobes and magazines.

"The *oliah* of the Scriptures being literally the same appellation with *aulich* (Arab.), is accordingly so rendered in the Arabic Version. We may suppose it, then, to have been a structure of the like contrivance. The little chamber (2 Kings iv. 10), consequently, that was built by the Shunamite for Elisha, whither, as the text instructs us, he retired at his pleasure, without breaking in upon the private affairs of the family, or being in his turn interrupted by them in his devotions; the summer chamber of Eglon (Judg. iii. 20—23),

which, in the same manner with these, seems to have had privy stairs belonging to it, through which Ehud escaped after he had revenged Israel upon that king of Moab; the chamber over the gate (2 Sam. xxxviii. 33), whither, for the greater privacy, David withdrew himself to weep for Absalom; the upper chamber, upon whose terrace Ahaz, for the same reason, erected his altars (2 Kings xxiii. 12); the inner chamber, likewise, or, as it is better expressed in the original, a *chamber within a chamber*, where the young man, the prophet, anointed Jehu (2 Kings ix. 2);—seem to have been all of them structures of the like nature and contrivance with these *oliahs*.

(8) "Besides, as *oliah* in the Hebrew text, and *aulich* in the Arabic Version, is expressed by *uperōon* in the LXX., it may be presumed that the same word, where it occurs in the New Testament, implies the same thing. The upper chamber, therefore, where Tabitha was laid after her death (Acts ix. 36), and where Eutychus (Acts xx. 8, 9) also fell down from the third loft, were so many back houses or *oliahs*, as they are indeed so called in the Arabic Version.

(9) "That the Greek denotes such a private apartment as one of these *oliahs* (for garrets, from the flatness of the roofs, are not known in these climates), seems likewise probable from the use of the word among the classic authors. For the chamber where Mercury and Mars carried on their amours,† and where Penelope kept herself‡ with the young virgins,|| at a distance from the solicitations of their wooers, appear to carry along with them circumstances of greater privacy and retirement than are consistent with chambers in any other situation.

(10) "Nay, further, that *oliah* or *uperōon* could not barely signify a single chamber, *comaculum*, or dining-room, but one of those contiguous or back houses, divided into several apartments, seems to appear from the circumstance of the altars which Ahaz erected upon the top of his *oliah*. For besides the supposed privacy of his idolatry, which, upon account of the perpetual view and observation of the family, could not have been carried on undiscovered in any apartment of the house; I say, if this his *oliah* had been only one single chamber of the house, the roof of it would have been ascribed to the *house*, and not to the *oliah*; which, upon this supposition, could only make one chamber of it. A circumstance of the like nature may probably be collected from the Arabic Version of *uperōon* (Acts ix. 39), where it is not rendered

† Hom. Il. ii., ver. 184. B. ver. 514.

‡ Hom. Odys. O., ver. 515-16.

|| Athen. Deip. lib. ii., cap. 16. Emstat. in ver. 184. Il. ii. p. 1064, et in Il. ii., ver. 514, p. 272.

* Vide Aul. Gell. Noct. Attic. x. 15.

aulich, as in ver. 37, but *girfat*; intimating, perhaps, *that* particular chamber of the *aulich* where the damsel was laid. The falling, likewise, of Eutychus from the third loft (as the context seems to imply) of the *uperōon*, there being no mention made of a house, may likewise be received as a further proof of what I have been endeavouring to explain. For it has been already observed, that these *oliahs* are built in the same manner and with the like conveniences as the house itself; consequently what position soever the *uperōon* may be supposed to have from the seeming etymology of the name, will be applicable to the *oliah* as well as to the house.

(11) "This method of building may further assist us in accounting for the particular structure of the temple or house of Dagon (Judg. xvi.), and the great number of people that were buried in the ruins of it, by pulling down the two principal pillars that supported it. We read (ver. 27), that about "*three thousand persons were upon the roof, to behold while Samson made sport,*" viz., to the scoffing and deriding Philistines. Sampson, therefore, must have been in a court or area below; and consequently the temple will be of the same kind with the ancient *temens* or *sacred inclosures*, which were only surrounded either in part or on all sides with some plain or cloistered buildings. Several palaces and *dou-rōānas*, as the courts of justice are called in these countries, are built in this fashion, where, upon their public festivals and rejoicings, a great quantity of sand is strewn upon the area for the pellowans or *rowellers* to fall upon; whilst the roofs of these cloisters are crowded with spectators, to admire their strength and activity. I have often seen numbers of people diverted in this manner, upon the roof of the Dey's palace at Algiers; which, like many more of the same quality and denomination, has an advanced cloister, over against the gate of the palace (Eeth. v. 1), made in the fashion of a large pent-house, supported only by one or two contiguous pillars in the front, or else in the centre. In such open structures as these, the bashaws, kadees, and other great officers, distribute justice, and transact the public affairs of their provinces. Here, likewise, they have their public entertainments, as the lords and others of the Philistines had in the house of Dagon. Upon a supposition, therefore, that in the house of Dagon there was a cloistered building of this kind, the pulling down the front or centre pillars which supported it, would be attended with the like catastrophe that happened to the Philistines."*

4. Of the furniture of eastern houses we shall notice only the *duan*, or sofa; which formed, in-

deed, the principal part of it. This we do the rather, because our translators have frequently spoken of "beds," in such a connexion as is very likely to perplex the reader. It will be recollected what Dr. Shaw has just said about these indispensable requisites in an eastern house; to which we add, that the narrow mattresses of which he speaks, serve the double purpose of a seat by day, and a bed by night. The place of honour, on these seats, is the corner, and this will explain Amos iii. 12—"The children of Israel shall be taken out that dwell in Samaria, in the corner of a bed:"—in the place of honour—the most easy, voluptuous, indulging station of the *duan*. The Orientals frequently lay their beds on the floor, as we learn from Sir J. Chardin, Mr. Hanway, Dr. Russell, and other travellers. Mr. Hanway describes the beds of Persia as consisting "only of two cotton quilts, one of which is folded double and serves as a mattress, the other as a covering, with a large flat pillow for the head." Was it on such a bed as this that Saul slept, 1 Sam. xxvi. 7? And was not the bed of the paralytic of this description (Luke v. 19; Mark ii. 4, 11)—"Arise, take up thy bed," that is, thy mattress—the quilt spread under thee.†

5. To naval architecture, there are many allusions in the Hebrew Scriptures; and it has been remarked by a learned friend,‡ that there is an observable affinity in the terms usually applied in most languages to ships, or marine vessels, the whole of which are decidedly in favour of a Hebrew original.¶ We have already noticed the first piece of naval architecture supplied in the ark of Noah, which must have been constructed upon strictly scientific principles; and although formed upon a divine model, there can be no doubt that it furnished a pattern to after times. Some of the parts and appendages of a ship are noticed; as *the sail* (Isai. xxxiii. 23; Ezek. xxvii. 7); *the main-sail* (Acts xxvii. 17, 40); *ship-boards* (Ezek. xxvii. 5); *a mast* (Prov. xxiii. 34); *the stern* (Acts xxvii. 29); *an anchor*, ver. 30. There are varieties, too, as to size and structure, though nothing to the extent now witnessed, in the highly advanced state of this most important art. We read of boats (John vi. 22, 23; Acts xxvii. 16, 30); swift ships (Job ix. 26); gallant ships (Isai. xxxiii. 21); a navy of ships (1 Kings ix. 26); ships of Tarshish (Isai. lx. 9); of Chittim (Dan. xi. 30); and of the Chaldeans, Isai. xliii. 14.§

† See Fragments to Calmet, Nos. xii., xiii.

‡ Scrip. Encyclop., in Crit. Bib., vol. iii., p. 269.

¶ Let the reader turn to the word *navis*, either in Beza's de Orig. Lat. Ling., p. 725, or Calepini Dict. undecim. Linguarum, p. 934, and he will find every satisfaction.

§ See Critica Biblica, vol. iii., p. 269.

* Shaw's Travels, vol. i., pp. 373—392.

SECTION IV.

MUSIC.

Antiquity of the Art—Civil and Sacred Music—Instruments of Music mentioned in the Bible—Various kinds of the Harp, &c.
—The Levites.

1. THE art of music is obviously amongst those to which mankind have been led by the appointment of nature itself. Endowed with a flexible organ of voice for the prolongation and gradation of sound, with an ear capable of distinguishing those gradations in their nicest modulations, it may fairly be presumed that these powers were not suffered to remain unemployed, but that, from the first, they contributed to the enjoyment of their possessors, and, no doubt, were engaged in the solemnities addressed to their all-bounteous Maker and Benefactor. But exertions of the voice, however mellifluous that voice might be, were not long practised without discovering that tones equally musical, and much more sonorous, might be obtained from instruments; and these, being heard more extensively, could regulate a much greater number of performers, in the open air, especially, than any voice whose exertions preserved its musical intonation. This engaged musical instruments in religious worship; and this has been their office, not only in the earliest ages with which we are acquainted, but among all nations whose manners are known to us. Jubal was "the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ"—the *kinnur* and the *ougib*—generic names, probably, including all stringed and wind instruments.

2. Music may be considered under a two-fold aspect—as *civil* and *sacred*. *Civil* music was used anciently on public occasions; for so we find Laban hints, at sending away Jacob "with mirth, with songs, with *tabret*, and with *harp*," Gen. xxxi. 27. The first clear mention of *sacred* music is in Exod. xv. 20: "And Miriam the prophetess took a *timbral* in her hand, and all the women went out after her with *timbrels* and with dances." Here musical instruments are mentioned, not as any thing new, but as customary; not as confined to one, but as employed by many; and, indeed, had it been a novelty, "all the women" could not have been provided with instruments. The employment of instruments, then, was no innovation in worship; it was found as a custom by Moses, and he adopted it as a matter of course. There can be no question that their services were continued to the time of David, who regulated the more extensive exercise of them, with a view to the temple solemnities; in which solemnities Solomon engaged and embodied them.

3. The instruments mentioned in the sacred writings comprise the three descriptions of instru-

ments—*pulsatile*, *wind*, and *stringed*. Of the former kind are the tabret or tabor, the cymbal and the sistrum, called *cornet* in our translation of 2 Sam. vi. 5. Of wind instruments we have "the organ," more properly the *συγγή*, or pipe of Pan, used by the Greeks, now known as "the pandean pipes;" the flute or hautboy; the dulcimer or *σαλμούνη* of the Greeks; the horn, and the trumpet; but as stringed instruments only appear to have formed part of the sacred music, they are more particularly spoken of in the Old Testament.

4. The *harp* seems specially to have been honoured in religious services, and was generally, if not always, accompanied by the voice: "Unto thee will I sing with the harp, O thou Holy One of Israel. My lips shall greatly rejoice when I sing to thee.—Sing to the Lord with the harp; with the harp, and the voice of a psalm (Ps. lxxi. 22; xcvi. 5; cxlvii. 7; cxlix. 3). The psalmist also mentions his opening a dark saying upon the harp (xlix. 4), which intimates the accompaniment of the voice; and Solomon made harps and psalteries for the singers, 1 Kings x. 12.

(1) Admitting, now, that the harp was thus employed, a question arises: Were there more kinds of harps than one? In attempting to answer this question, we must first endeavour to dismiss whatever instruments have been unjustly denominated by this title; and we are under the necessity of directly contradicting Calmet, who reckons among harps the *cihara* or *kiara*, called by Daniel קִיָּרָה, *kitros*, or *kiaros* (Dan. iii. 5, 7, 10); whereas the *kiara* has still its representative, both in name and nature, in our *guitar*, which, though a stringed instrument, yet differs from harps of every kind. Calmet says, "All the Fathers describe it as of a triangular figure: its cords strung from the top to the bottom. The belly of it, which gave the sound, was hollow, and at the bottom; but it was touched in the upper part, either with the finger or with the bow." The author of the Commentary on the Psalms, under the name of St. Jerome, says the *cihara* has six cords. The author of the Epistle to Dardamus, in the works of the same Father, mentions *twenty-four*.* That the *kinaros* was different from the *kiaros*, appears from 1 Mac. iv. 54, xiii. 51, where they are mentioned together.

(2) Beside the *kiaros*, we have, in Hebrew, three names for stringed instruments. The נבל *nebel*, the עֶשְׂרָה *oshur*, and the קִנּוּר *kinnur*. Of these we select at present the *kinnur*, or harp. It was certainly the most ancient instrument of

* A Turkish instrument, answering closely to this description, may be seen in the Fragments to Calmet's Dictionary, No. ccxxviii., new edition.

the kind, being invented and used before the deluge. (Gen. iv. 21.) It was made of wood; for we are expressly told that Solomon employed part of the *almuggin* wood, brought by the queen of Sheba, in making harps, 1 Kings x. 12. It was light of carriage, since it was carried about by women; for so Isaiah addresses Tyre: "Take a harp; go about the city; make sweet melody; sing many songs," xxiii. 16. With this agrees Ezek. xvi. 13. The captives at Babylon carried this instrument with them; and it was the harp which they "hanged on the willows," Ps. cxxxvii. 2. The harp was also the instrument with which David, when a shepherd's boy, was familiar, 1 Sam. xvi. 3, 23. From these instances we infer that the harp was not large, but of small dimensions, as well as of light weight. Moreover,

(3) The sound of the harp was soothing and condoling, or rather solemn. Isaiah compares the compassionate sounding of his bowels over Moab to the sound of this instrument; and this character was peculiarly adapted to counteract the boisterous passions of the maniac Saul; sometimes by sympathizing with his gloomy malignity, sometimes by moderating his feverish paroxysms, by gradually soothing them down to the standard of health: and in this tone of the harp we see the propriety of introducing it in devotion. Accordingly the psalmist thus characterizes it: "It is good to sing praises . . . on the harp with solemn sound," Ps. xcii. It should appear, then, that the harp contributed to calm the mind, to tranquillize, to compose, to harmonize the spirit, as it were, to calm unpleasant passions; and that this was its duty in acts of devotion.

(4) The word *κινυρος*, *kinyros* (the *kinnur* of the Hebrews), in Greek signifies *mournful*; and Horace calls the harp, from its solemnity, "the friend of the temple," lib. iii., ode 11.

Nec loquax olim, neque grata: nunc et
Divitum mensis, et amica templis.

(5) The number of strings in the harp was at first three; but afterwards they were increased to four, and at last to seven. (Diod. Sic., lib. i.) Pindar gives seven strings to his harp (Pyth., Ode 2; vide 27 Enund., Nem., Ode 5), and Horace the same:

Tuque testudo resonare septem callida nervis.

This maintains a determinate distinction between the harp and any instrument of ten strings; and *a fortiori* between the harp and any instrument of twenty or twenty-four strings. The harp was touched either by the finger, or by the bow; or rather, perhaps, by the *plectrum*, a small piece of wood, or ivory, or quill, &c.

(6) Having restricted the number of strings in the harp to seven, we come now to the *עשור*, *oshur*, which word signifies *ten*; and accordingly, when denoting an instrument of music, it is rendered by the Seventy *δυναρχον*; by the Vulgate *dedacordo*, and *decem chordarum*; and by our English translators *ten-stringed*. After these authorities, it might be thought unnecessary to say more on this article: but it seems that there is a peculiarity in the application of this word which no commentator has yet pointed out. In Psalm xcii. 3, we read, "To sing praises—on the *עשור*, *oshur*, and on the *נבל*, *nebel*—on the harp with a solemn sound." Here the two instruments, *עשור*, *oshur*, and *נבל*, *nebel*, are clearly distinguished, and the *עשור*, *oshur*, is placed first. But in Psalm xxxiii. 2, we read, "Praise the Lord with harp; with the *נבל*, *nebel*, *ten-stringed* (*עשור*, *oshur*), sing unto him." And so Psalm clxiv. 9, "O God, a new song will I sing to thee: on a *nebel*, *ten-stringed* (*עשור*, *oshur*), will I sing to thee!" These passages certainly import, 'On a *נבל*, *nebel*, of the kind called *עשור*, *oshur* (ten, from its having ten strings), will I sing: and this fixes the *עשור* *oshur* to be of the *נבל* *nebel* kind, and differing from the perfect *נבל* *nebel* only in the number of its strings being limited to ten. So that, as we have seen seven strings formed a harp, we now see ten strings form an *עשור* *oshur*: the Targum and Syriac agree with this explanation. When Josephus says (Ant. lib. vii., cap. 12), that *ἡ μιν κινυρα, δεκα χορδαῖς ἐξημμινη, τυπτεται πληκτρυ*, "the *kinyra* was furnished with *ten* strings, and was played on with a plectrum," he clearly means the *עשור* *oshur*; and his associating it with the *נבל*, shows beyond dispute the nature of the instrument, as it was extant in his days; and that it was the same as in the days of David, and continued in the temple worship. When, therefore, David says he would sing praises with the *עשור* *oshur*, it was on a sacred instrument that he proposed to play.

(7) There remains the *נבל* *nebel*, which the Seventy render sometimes *Ψαλτηριον*, *psalterion*, and sometimes *ναβλα*, *nabla*; our translation usually renders *psaltery*. Josephus attributes to the *nabla*, or *nablum*, *δωδεκα φθογγους εχουσα, τοις δακτυλοις κρουεται*, "twelve note or sounding strings; it is struck, or played on (says he), with the fingers." (Ant. lib. vii., cap. 12) This we take to be the very lowest *psaltery*, the next in degree of power and extent of musical scale above the *עשור* *oshur* of ten strings: and from this number up to twenty, and probably more, were composed into the *psaltery*. Mr. Taylor, to whom we are indebted for this disquisition, thinks that we have in the Welsh harp the representative of the

ancient *psaltery*, or *nablum*. From the number of strings in this instrument, we may certainly suppose it to be of considerable magnitude; and though we occasionally read of the psaltery as accompanying religious processions, yet it does not seem to have been carried about so customarily or so conveniently as the harp. Our Welsh harps are usually carried by a servant to the bard who plays them. The psaltery appears to have been first mentioned in the days of David (2 Sam. vi. 5); and we know that prince was a collector of musical instruments. Athenæus (lib. iv., cap. 23), says, *ναβλα φοινικῶν σιναι ἰνσημα*, the *nabla* was invented by the Phœnicians, [but observe, these were a colony from Assyria, and probably only communicated the instruments to Greece] which he proves from a passage of *Sopater*:

— οὐτε το Σιδωνίου Ναβλα
Δαρρυγοφονος. —

“ — And the Sidonian *nabla*
Loud sounding every cord.” —

This author describes it as made of wood, hollow, placed along-side and above and below its well-braced cords, which yielded an agreeable harmony. It appears, also, that it was, like our ancient British harp, played on by both hands, as we learn from *Ovid de Arte Amandi*, lib. iii.

Disce etiam duplici genialia *nablia* palma
Plectere: conveniunt dulcibus illa modis.

And its character for sweetness of note seems to have been general; for so says one in the *Adulterer of Philemon*,

Οὐκ οἶσθα *ναβλα*; οὐδὲν οὖν οἶσθ' αὐθον.

“ Not know the *nabla*! Then thou knowest nothing good.”

The Fathers, as referred to by Calmet, compare its general shape to a triangle, and such, no doubt, was the form of many; but to restrict its form to this only seems improper.

(8) Thus we have seen that there was a gradation in this kind of stringed instrument: (1) the *harp*, of three, four, and seven strings; (2) the *ashur*, of ten strings, (3) the *psaltery*, of twelve strings, and all above.*

5. In the tabernacle and the temple, the Levites were the lawful musicians, but on other occasions, any one who chose might use musical instruments. There was, however, this exception, the holy silver trumpets were to be blown only by the priests, who, by the sounding of them proclaimed the festival days, assembled the leaders of

the people, and gave the signal for battle, and for retreat (Numb. i. 1—10). David, in order to give the best effect to the music of the tabernacle, divided the four thousand Levites into twenty-four classes, who sang psalms, and accompanied them with music. Each of these classes was superintended by a leader (רָאשֵׁי) placed over it; and they performed the duties which devolved upon them, each class a week at a time, in succession. (See 1 Chron. xvi. 5; xxiii. 4, 5; xxv. 1—31. Comp. 2 Chron. v. 12, 13.) The classes collectively, as a united body, were superintended by three directors. This arrangement was subsequently continued by Solomon after the erection of the temple, and was transmitted till the time of the overthrow of Jerusalem. It was, indeed, sometimes interrupted during the reign of the idolatrous kings, but was restored by their successors. (See 2 Chron. v. 12—14; xxix. 27; xxxv. 15.) It was even continued after the captivity (Ezra iii. 10; Neh. xii. 45—47; 1 Macc. iv. 54; xiii. 51). It should be remarked, however, that neither music nor poetry attained to the same excellence after the captivity, as before that period.†

SECTION V.

MEDICINE AND CHIRURGERY.

Physicians amongst the Hebrews—Modes of treating the sick—Diseases mentioned in Scripture.

1. THE theory of physic seems never to have made any considerable advances among the Hebrews. Physicians (רִפְּאִי *rephaim*) are first mentioned in Gen. i. 2; Exod. xxi. 19; Job xiii. 4. Some acquaintance with chirurgical operations is implied in the rite of circumcision; and there is ample evidence that the Israelites had some acquaintance with the internal structure of the human system, although it does not appear that dissections of the human body for medical purposes were made till as late as the time of Ptolemy. That physicians sometimes undertook to exercise their skill in removing diseases of an internal nature, is evident, from the circumstance of David playing upon the harp, to cure the malady of Saul (1 Sam. xvi. 16).

2. The art of healing was committed among the Hebrews, as well as among the Egyptians, to the priests; who, indeed, were obliged, by a law of the state, to take cognizance of leprosy (Lev. xiii. 1—14, 57; Deut. xxiv. 8, 9). Reference is made to physicians who were not priests, and to instances of sickness, disease, healing, &c., in the

* Critica Biblica, vol. iii., p. 1, &c.

† Jahn's Biblical Archaeology, by Upham, § 98.

following passages : 1 Sam. xvi. 16 ; 1 Kings i. 2-4, xv. 23 ; 2 Kings viii. 29, ix. 15 ; Isai. i. 6 ; Jer. viii. 22 ; Ezek. xxx. 21 ; Prov. iii. 18, xi. 30, xii. 18, xvi. 15, xxix. 1. The probable reason of King Asa not seeking help from God, but from physicians, as mentioned in 2 Chron. xvi. 12, was, that they had not at that period recourse to the simple medicines which nature offered, but to certain superstitious rites and incantations ; and this, no doubt, was the ground of the reflection that was cast upon him. About the time of Christ the Hebrew physicians made advancements in science, and increased in numbers (See Mark v. 26 ; Luke iv. 23, v. 31, viii. 43 ; Joseph. Ant., xvii. 6, 5). It appears from the Talmud,* that the Hebrew physicians were accustomed to salute the sick, by saying, " Arise from your disease ;"—a salutation adopted by our Lord (Mark v. 41). According to the Jerusalem Talmud, a sick man was judged to be in a way of recovery when he began to take his usual food. Comp. Mark v. 43.†

3. With regard to the treatment of the sick and indisposed, and the expedients they employed to assuage or expel disease, the Hebrews appear to have proceeded by an invariable system, and uniformly to have practised certain rules and methods of cure, which had nothing to recommend them but the sacred prescription and sanction of antiquity.‡ They seem to have regarded oil as a more efficacious remedy than any other discovery for mitigating or extirpating the various disorders of the human frame. The sick, whatever the distemper might be, they appear to have anointed with oil, as the most powerful preservative they knew from the further progress of the disease, and the most effectual remedy for the recovery and re-establishment of health. We have one of the medical prescriptions which is in this form. " He who is afflicted with pains in his head, or eruptions in his body, let him anoint himself with oil ;"§ and this was deemed of such supreme efficacy, that one of the rabbins gave his dispensation for anointing the sick, even on the sabbath.§ To this common custom of treating sick persons, reference is made in Mark vi. 13, and James v. 14. Not that this unction, either in the former or latter case, contributed any thing to the miraculous cure, which the immediate power of God alone could effect : it served only

as a striking external sign to the sick person, and to every spectator, to raise and engage the attention, and to impress the mind with the deepest conviction that the miracle was wrought to attest the divine authority and truth of the Gospel. The balm of Gilead was celebrated as a medicine (Jer. viii. 22, xlv. 11, li. 8), and mineral baths were deemed worthy of notice, as appears from Gen. xxxvi. 24.

4. The Hebrews, like other of the ancients, attributed the origin of diseases, particularly of those whose natural cause they did not understand, to the immediate interference of God. The ancient Greeks called them *μάστιγες*, *the scourges of God*,—a word which is employed in the New Testament by the physician Luke himself (chap. vii. 21), and also by Mark (chap. v. 29, 34).

5. In the primitive ages of the world, diseases, in consequence of the great simplicity in the mode of living, were but few in number.¶ At a subsequent period the number was increased, by the accession of diseases that had been previously unknown. Epidemics, also,—diseases somewhat peculiar in their character, and still more fearful in their consequences,—soon made their appearance ; some infesting one period of life, and some another ; some limiting their ravages to one country, and some to another. The propriety of this statement, in regard to the original extent and subsequent increase of diseases in general, and to epidemics, will recommend itself to every mind that makes even but small pretensions to attainments in knowledge. PROSPER ALPINUS** mentions the diseases which are prevalent in Egypt, and in other countries in the same climate. They are ophthalmies, leprosies, inflammations of the brain, pains in the joints, the hernia, the stone in the reins and bladder, the phthisic, hectic, pestilential, and tertian fevers, weakness of the stomach, obstructions in the liver, and the spleen. Of these diseases, ophthalmies, pestilential fevers, and inflammations of the brain are epidemics ; the others are of a different character. Every region, and every age of the world, has been in the habit of attributing certain diseases to certain causes, and of assigning names to those diseases derived from the supposed origin or cause, whether it were a real or only an imaginary one. The names thus given have been in many instances retained, both by the vulgar and by men of medi-

* Shabbath, p. 110

† Jahn, Arch. Bib., § 106.

‡ Thus Diodorus Siculus informs us that the Egyptian physicians administered medicines by a certain practised old formula, from which they were not to depart, on pain of death. Vol. i., p. 93.

§ Wetstein in Marc. vi. 13.

§ Ibid.

¶ What follows on the diseases mentioned in Scripture is abridged from Upham's translation of Jahn's Biblical Archaeology, chap. xii.

** Book de Medicina Egyptiaca, lib. i., c. 13, p. 13.

cal science, after different causes had been developed and assigned to the diseases in question. In respect to this subject, we know that there are certain words of very ancient standing, which are used to express diseases of some kind or other; it will, therefore, be a prominent inquiry with us to learn what the diseases are that were designed to be expressed by those words.

(1) THE DISEASE OF THE PHILISTINES, which is mentioned in 1 Sam. v. 6, 12, vi. 18, is denominated in the Hebrew עֶפְלִים *ophelim*. This word occurs likewise in Deut. xxviii. 27, and it is worthy of remark, that it is every where explained, in the *Keri* or marginal readings, by the Aramean word טַחְרִים *techerim*, an expression which in the Syriac dialect means the fundament, and likewise the effort which is made in an evacuation of the system. The authors, therefore, of the reading in the *Keri* appear to have assented to the opinion of Josephus, expressed in Ant. vi., 1, 1; and to have understood by this word the *dysentery*. The corresponding Arabic words mean a swelling on the anterior part of the VERENDA in females, answering somewhat in its nature to the hernia in men; a disease, consequently, very different from the hemorrhoids, which some persons understand to be meant by the word עֶפְלִים. Among other objections, it may also be observed, that the *mice*, which are mentioned not only in the Hebrew text (1 Sam. vi. 5, 12, xvi. 18), but also in the Alexandrine and Vulgate Versions (1 Sam. v. 6, vi. 5, 11, 18), are an objection to understanding the hemorrhoids by the word under consideration, since, if that were in fact the disease, we see no reason why *mice* should have been presented as an offering to avert the anger of the God of Israel. Lichtenstein, a writer in Eichhorn's Bibliothek,* has given a solution, which is free from the difficulties that attended all preceding ones. The word עֶפְלִים, which is rendered *mice*, he supposes to mean VENOMOUS SOLPUGAS, which belong to the spider class, and yet are so large, and so similar in their form to mice, as to admit of their being denominated by the same word. These venomous animals destroy and live upon scorpions. They also bite men, whenever they can have an opportunity, particularly in the fundament and the verenda. Their bite causes swellings, fatal in their consequences, which are called in Hebrew עֶפְלִים *ophelim*.† The probable supposition then is, that SOLPUGAS were at this time multiplied among the Philistines by the special providence of God, and that, being very

venomous, they were the means of destroying many individuals.

(2) THE DISEASE OF KING JEHOAM. This king, who was clothed with the double infamy of being at once an idolater and the murderer of his brethren, was diseased internally for two years, as had been predicted by the prophet Elijah; and his bowels are said to have fallen out by reason of his sickness. 2 Chron. xxi. 12—15, 18, 19. This disease, beyond all doubt, was the dysentery; and though its continuance so long a time was very uncommon, it is by no means a thing unheard of. The intestines in time become ulcerated by the operation of this disease. Not only is blood discharged from them, but a sort of mucous excrement likewise is thrown off, and sometimes small pieces of the flesh itself; so that apparently the intestines are emitted or fall out, which is sufficient to account for the expressions that are used in the statement of king Jehoram's disease. ‡

(3) FALSE CONCEPTION, OR PREGNANCY, in Greek, *σπυρματωσις*, in Latin, *mola ventosa*, does not appear to have been so unfrequent among the Hebrew women, as among those of Europe. If it had been so, it probably would not have made its appearance on the pages of Hebrew writers in the shape of a figure of speech. The fact to which allusion is made is this. The Hebrews were accustomed to expect after calamities a state of things quite the reverse, viz., a season of prosperity and joy. They accordingly compared a season of misfortune and calamity to the pains of a woman in travail; but the better destiny which followed, they compared to the joy which commonly succeeds childbirth, Isai. xiii. 8, xxvi. 17; 2 Kings xix. 3; Jer. iv. 31, xiii. 21, xxii. 23, xxx. 6; Micah iv. 9, 10; John xvi. 21, 22. But they carry the comparison still further. Those days of adversity which were succeeded by adversity still,—those scenes of sorrow which were followed only by additional sorrow,—were likened to women who laboured under that disease of the system, which caused them to exhibit the appearance and endure the pains of a state of pregnancy, when that apparent state of pregnancy resulted either in nothing, or in the parturition of a monster, Isai. xxvi. 18; Ps. vii. 14.

(4) The leprosy prevails in Egypt, in the southern part of Upper Asia, and in fact may be considered a disease endemic in warm climates generally. Accordingly, it is not at all surprising, if many of the Hebrews, when they left Egypt were infected with it; but the assertion of Man-

* Band vi., pp. 407—466.

† See Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. xxiv. 4.

‡ Mead, Medic. Sacra., c. 4.

tho, that they were *all* thus infected, and were in consequence of the infection driven out by force, in which he is precipitately and carelessly followed by Strabo, by Tacitus, by Justin Trogu, and by others more recent, is a mere dream, without any adequate foundation. The disease, it is true, was a very severe and a very repulsive one, and was regarded by the ancients as a marked exhibition of the justice and the wrath of God. It was denominated by the Hebrews *the stroke or wound*, i. e., by supplying the ellipsis, *the stroke or wound of the Lord*, Numb. xii. 1—10; 2 Kings v. 1, et seq., xv. 5; 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, et seq.* But certainly the kings of Egypt, who, according to the unanimous testimony of the ancients, could correctly estimate the value of a numerous population, acted a strange and unaccountable part, if it be a fact, that on account of a disease, which might be called one of the attributes of the country and climate, they expelled from the very heart of the nation more than two millions of people. The leprosy is, without doubt, a frightful disease. It exhibits itself on the exterior surface of the skin, but it infects, at the same time, the marrow and the bones; so much so that the furthest joints in the system gradually lose their powers, and the members fall together in such a manner as to give the body a mutilated and dreadful appearance. From these circumstances, there can be no doubt that the disease originates and spreads its ravages internally, before it makes its appearance on the external parts of the body. Indeed we have reason to believe that it is concealed in the internal parts of the system *a number of years*: for instance, in infants commonly till they arrive at the age of puberty; and in adults, as many as three or four years, till at last it gives the fearful indications on the skin of having already gained a deep-rooted and permanent existence. Its progress subsequently to its appearance on the external surface of the body is far from being rapid; in a number of years it arrives at its middle, and in a number after to its final state. A person who is leprous from his nativity may live fifty years; one, who in after life is infected with it, may live twenty years; but they will be such years of dreadful misery as rarely fall to the lot of man in any other situation. The appearance of the disease externally, is not always the same. The spot is commonly small, resembling in its appearance the small red spot that would be the consequence of a puncture from a needle, or the pustules of a ringworm. The spots for the most part make their appearance very suddenly, especially if the in-

fecting person, at the period when the disease shows itself externally, happens to be in great fear, or to be intoxicated with anger, Numb. xii. 10; 2 Chron. xxvi. 19. They commonly exhibit themselves in the first instance, on the face, about the nose and eyes; they gradually increase in size for a number of years, till they become, as respects the extent of surface which they embrace on the skin, as large as a pea or bean. They are then called שֹׂאֵן. The white spot or pustule, בִּהְרֵת, MORPHEA ALBA, and also the dark spot, מַפְרֵת, MORPHEA NIGRA, are indications of the existence of the real leprosy, Lev. xiii. 2, 39, xiv. 56. From these it is necessary to distinguish the spot, which, whatever resemblance there may be in form, is so different in its effects, called *Bohak*, בּוֹחַק, and also the harmless sort of scab, which occurs under the word, מַסְפָּחָה, Lev. xiii. 6—8, 29. Moses, in the thirteenth chapter of Leviticus, lays down very explicit rules for the purpose of distinguishing between those spots which are proofs of the actual existence of the leprosy, and those spots which are harmless, and result from some other cause. Those spots which are the genuine effects and marks of the leprosy, gradually dilate themselves, till at length they cover the whole body. Not only the skin is subject to a total destruction, but the whole body is affected in every part. The pain, it is true, is not very great; but there is a great debility of the system, and great uneasiness and grief, so much so, as almost to drive the victim of the disease to self-destruction, Job vii. 15. There are four kinds of the real leprosy. The first kind is of so virulent and powerful a nature, that it separates the joints and limbs, and mutilates the body in the most awful manner. The second is the *white leprosy*, צִרְעָה. The third is the *black leprosy*, or *Peora*, יִלְפָּה, יִרְסָה שְׁחִין פְּרוֹרָה, Deut. xxviii. 27, 35; Lev. xxi. 20—22. The fourth description of leprosy is the *alopecia*, or red leprosy. The person who is infected with the leprosy, however long the disease may be in passing through its several stages, is at last taken away suddenly, and for the most part unexpectedly. But the evils which fall upon the living leper are not terminated by the event of his death. The disease is to a certain extent hereditary, and is transmitted down to the third and fourth generation; to this fact there seems to be an allusion in Exod. xx. 4—6, iii. 7; Deut. v. 9, xxiv. 8, 9. If any one should undertake to say, that in the fourth generation it is not the real leprosy, still it will not be denied, there is something which bears no little resemblance to it in the shape of defective teeth, of fetid breath, and a diseased hue. Leprous persons, notwithstanding the deformities and mutilation of their bodies, give no special

* Herodot. I., 138

evidence of a liberation from the strength of the sensual passions, and cannot be influenced to abstain from the procreation of children, when at the same time they clearly foresee the misery of which their offspring will be the inheritors. The disease of leprosy is communicated not only by transmission from the parents to the children, and not only by sexual cohabitation, but also by much intercourse with a leprous person in any way whatever. Whence Moses acted the part of a wise legislator* in making those laws, which have come down to us, concerning the inspection and separation of leprous persons. The object of these laws will appear peculiarly worthy, when it is considered that they were designed, not wantonly to fix the charge of being a leper upon an innocent person, and thus to impose upon him those restraints and inconveniences which the truth of such a charge naturally implies; but to ascertain in the fairest and most satisfactory manner, and to separate those, and those only, who were truly and really leprous. As this was the prominent object of his laws that have come down to us on this subject, viz., to secure a fair and impartial decision on a question of this kind, he has not mentioned those signs of leprosy which admitted of no doubt, but those only which might be the subject of contention; and left it to the priests, who also fulfilled the office of physicians, to distinguish between the really leprous, and those who had only the *appearance* of being such. In the opinion of Hensler,† Moses, in the laws to which we have alluded, discovers a great knowledge of the disease. Every species of leprosy is not equally malignant; the most virulent species defies the skill and power of physicians. That which is less so, if taken at its commencement, can be healed. But in the latter case also, if the disease has been of long continuance, there is no remedy.

(5) THE PESTILENCE, in its effects, is equally terrible with the leprosy, and is much more rapid in its progress; for it terminates the existence of those who are infected with it almost immediately, and, at the farthest, within three or four days. The Gentiles were in the habit of referring back the pestilence to the agency and interference of that being, whatever it might be, whether idol or spirit, whom they regarded as the divinity. The Hebrews also every where attribute it to the agency, either of God himself, or of that legate or

angel whom they denominate מַלְאָךְ *malach*. We are not, however, to suppose that the Hebrews, in using these expressions, mean to attribute the pestilence to the *immediate* agency of God; nor would they permit us to understand by the *messenger*, who, they assure us, is the agent in business of so disastrous a nature, the true and appropriate angel or legate of Jehovah. It is true, they tell us, that God sends forth the pestilence, and that the angel goes with it and smites the people with its power; but let it not be forgotten, that every angel is the creature of God, and that, in a certain sense, God is the author of all things and all events, whether prosperous or afflictive, whether good or bad. When they make God the author of the pestilence, it is clear they do not mean to say he is the *immediate* cause in so fearful a calamity, from the fact, that in other places they represent God as the author of moral evil, where they certainly do not mean to say he is the *immediate* author of such evil. In a somewhat recent period of their history, it cannot be denied, that instead of making God the author of evil, they attribute it to a malignant spirit of high origin, viz., Satan; but still they were aware of the origin of this being, that he was the creature of God, and acted beneath his superintendence. The difficulty, then, in regard to their representations, arises from this source. God, in a certain sense, is the author of all things. This is true. But the ancient Hebrews do not appear to have distinguished with sufficient accuracy that liberty or permission which is given us, in the course of Divine Providence, to do or not to do, to do good or evil, from the direct and immediate agency of God himself, Deut. iv. 19; Josh. xi. 20; 2 Sam. xvi. 10, xxiv. 1; comp. 1 Chron. xxi. 1; 2 Kings xvii. 14; Ps. lxxviii. 49—51. In consequence of this disposition to identify the agency of God with the actions of his creatures, and to confound the original with second and subsidiary causes, we find, by consulting the Scriptures, that they sometimes represent men, and sometimes animals or inanimate existences, as מַלְאָכִים, *the messengers or the angels of God*: and this not only in poetry, but likewise in prose, Ps. xxxiv. 7, civ. 4; Heb. ii. 2; Acts vii. 53, xii. 23; Gal. iii. 19; comp. Josephus, Antiq. xv. 5. 3. This mode of speech was so common, that the Sadducees of a more recent age, who, although they received the Scriptures with veneration, denied the existence of any spirits, interpreted all the passages (where mention is made of angels) of other existences, which were employed by God as instruments, and, as they supposed, were, from that circumstance *merely*, denominated the messengers or angels of God. The Samaritans, likewise, as has been shown by

* Moses rather acted the part of a faithful servant, as Paul says, in promulgating those laws which were communicated to him from Jehovah himself.—Ed.

† Geschichte der abendländischen Aussetzes, p. 273.

Reland,* gave the same perverted interpretation to the word which is rendered *angel*. This mode of speaking found its way also among the Syrians, who were in the habit of calling diseases *angels*, i. e., messengers, that were sent to inflict punishment upon men; and were accustomed to denominate a sick man, one tempted or tried of God, or of his angel.† It is in this way that the PESTILENCE (the secondary cause of it being overlooked) is attributed directly to God (Exod. xi. 4—7, xii. 23, 29; comp. Ps. lxxviii. 49, 50); also to an *angel* (2 Sam. xxiv. 15, 16), who is represented as slaying men with a sword; and in 1 Chron. xxi. 16 is described with the additional circumstance of being elevated between heaven and earth. But that God, or the angel in these instances, is merely the PESTILENCE itself, the original cause being put for the effect, and being identified with it in a way which is not common among us, seems to be sufficiently clear from 2 Sam. xxiv. 12, 15, where a pestilence, with its ordinary and natural attributes, is the prominent subject of discourse. This view of the subject gives a reason why the Septuagint renders the word דִּבֶּר *deber*, or *pestilence*, in Ps. xci. 6, by δαίμωνιον μυστηριώδες, i. e., *the demon of noon-day*; and why Jonathan renders the same word in the Chaldee Targum, Hab. iii. 5, by the Chaldee word מַלְאךְ *malach*, *angel* or *messenger*. We lay it down, then, as a general principle, that wherever we are told an angel scatters abroad a pestilence, the pestilence *merely* is meant by such expressions. Apply it, for instance, to the destruction of Sennacherib's army, 2 Kings xix. 35; comp. 2 Kings xviii. 23, xix. 6—8. In this destruction, a hundred and eighty-five thousand men perished. We are told it was done by an angel; but we know this was a common mode of speech, and that all natural events and effects were frequently described as the messengers or angels of God. If we seek, then, for a natural cause for so wide a destruction, we fix immediately upon the PESTILENCE, which is most violent in its first attack, and might well have destroyed the hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians, if the spoils of Egypt, infected with its contagious properties, had been scattered through the camp. The idea, that Sennacherib's army perished by means of the PESTILENCE, communicated in the way above alluded to, or some other, agrees better than any other hypothesis with the fact, that the survivors in that army were not aware, till the return of the morning light, of the immense number that had died.‡ It may be re-

marked, that no one ever recovered from the pestilence, unless the boil of the pestilence came out upon him. And even then, he could not always be cured, 2 Kings xx. 7; Isai. xxxviii. 21.

(6) THE DISEASE OF SAUL AND OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.—The position which we have endeavoured to defend in the preceding section, that diseases and events of rare occurrence, and, we may add here, events likewise of *daily* occurrence, were attributed by the ancient Hebrews to God, or to some angel as his messenger, throws light upon many passages of Scripture. A person who understands the extent and the proper bearing of that principle will readily see that *the spirit of God* which departed from Saul was no other than an upright and a generous tendency of mind; and that *the evil spirit from the Lord*, which beset and filled him with terror (1 Sam. xvi. 14, 15, xviii. 10, xix. 9), was a sort of madness, which had the effect of deceiving him into the idea that he was a prophet; for it seems that he prophesied, and, in all probability, predicted the loss of his own kingdom. The Targum of Jonathan accordingly renders the word יִתְנֵבָה *ithneba*, *he was mad* or *insane*. This evil spirit, in a word, was not more a spirit or messenger from God than the evil spirit which, in Judg. ix. 23, is said to have been sent by him among the Shechemites; and which, certainly, as was evident even to the ancient interpreters, and has been since to every body else, was nothing more than the spirit of strife and dissension. In the same way, *the spirit of fornication*, רוּחַ זִנּוּנִים *ruach zenunim*, in Hos. iv. 12, is merely *lust*; comp. 1 Sam. xi. 6, xvi. 14; Judg. iii. 10, vi. 34, xi. 29, xiv. 6; Ps. li. 11; Ezek. xi. 19, xviii. 31. This representation, more than any other, is suitable to the fact that Saul was benefited by music; for the charms of music, however great its efficacy in any other case, would have been very incompetent to the task of subduing the untractable spirit of a real demon. This mode of speaking did not originate, as some have supposed, in the time of the captivity, from the doctrine held by the Mehestani, although it undoubtedly at that time became more common, and was used with greater latitude than at any previous period. For agreeably to this mode of speech, and to the belief on which it is founded, viz., the subordinate agency of angels, we find mention made in Dan. iv. 10, 14, 20|| of קִרְיִים or *star-watchers*. The designs or the decrees of these "holy watchers," as they are termed, which are made known to Nebuchadnezzar in his vision, and are stated in the verses above mentioned, are referred by Daniel

* De Samaritanis, 7—9.

† Assemani Bibl. Orient. T. I., p. 215; comp. 2 Cor. xii. 7.

‡ See Calmet's Dict., 8vo., art. "Angel."

|| Consult Michaëlis' edition of the Hebrew Bible.

in the twenty-eighth verse of the same chapter to the immediate agency of God himself; a circumstance which is altogether conformable to what has been already stated, in this and the preceding section, on this subject. *The disease of Nebuchadnezzar*, mentioned in this chapter, was that of insanity or madness. His mind was in such a state, his reasoning powers were so perverted and deranged, that it appeared to him as if he heard a voice from heaven, declaring his expulsion from the kingdom; and he imagined that he was really transformed into a beast. Accordingly he acknowledges, in the fourth chapter (verses 31, 33), that he had again received the use of his reason; which is an evidence, that he understood the disease from which he had recovered to have been *insanity*.

(7) **DEMONIACS.**—The inquiry respecting the DEMONIACS, who are so often introduced in the New Testament, and likewise in the writings of profane authors of antiquity, is a very intricate and a very difficult one. There are some persons who contend that the demoniacs were all of them either madmen, epileptics, or persons subject to melancholy; and they make their appeal in behalf of their opinions to physicians. They accordingly, in their interpretation of those expressions which are employed in reference to demoniacs, go on the principle, that the sacred writers meant by them the same and nothing more than would be naturally meant, in case the possessed persons were merely the subjects of those diseases. Other persons, both theologians and physicians, have strong objections to this view of the subject. In *their* estimation, the expressions in the New Testament clearly imply that the demoniacs were possessed by an evil spirit; and this state of things, they suppose, was permitted in the providence of God, in order to give to the Saviour an opportunity to exhibit his miraculous powers. This, however, is too purely a *questio hermeneutica* to be discussed here. Those who desire satisfaction may refer to Hewlett's Commentary; Townsend's New Test., vol. i., p. 157; Carlisle's Essay on Evil Spirits, *passim*; or to the Critica Biblica, vol. iii., where the substance of the arguments employed by these writers is given. Jahn has also devoted some space to the discussion, in his Archæologia, § 192—197.

(8) **THE PALSY** of the New Testament is a disease that is of very wide import. Many infirmities, as Richter has demonstrated, were comprehended under the word which is rendered *palsy* in the New Testament. (1) The **APOPLEXY**, a paralytic shock which affected the whole body. (2) The **HEMIPLEGY**, which affects and paralyzes only one side of the body. (3) The **PARAPLEGY**, which paralyzes all the parts of the system below the neck.

(4) The **CATALEPSY**, which is caused by a contraction of the muscles in the whole or part of the body (*e. g.* in the hands), and is very dangerous. The effects upon the parts seized are very violent and deadly. For instance, when a person is struck with it, if his hand happens to be extended, he is unable to draw it back. If the hand is not extended, when he is struck with the disease, he is unable to extend it. It appears diminished in size, and dried up. Hence the Hebrews were in the habit of calling it a *withered hand*, 1 Kings xiii. 4—6; Zech. xi. 17; Matt. xii. 10—13; John v. 3. (5) The **CRAMP**, which in oriental countries is a fearful malady, and is by no means unfrequent. It originates from the chills of the night. The limbs, when seized with it, remain immoveable, sometimes turned in, and sometimes out, in the same position as when they were first seized. The person afflicted resembles a man undergoing the torture, *Βασανίζομαι*, and experiences nearly the same exquisite sufferings. Death follows this disease in a few days, Matt. viii. 9, 10; comp. Luke vii. 2, 1 Macc. ix. 55—58. (6) The disease, denominated in Matt. ix. 20, Mark v. 25, and Luke viii. 43, **AN ISSUE OF BLOOD**, is too well known to require any particular explanation. It may be well, however, to make this single observation, that physicians themselves acknowledge, that it is a disorder which is difficult to be cured, Mark v. 26.

(9) **THE DISEASE OF HEROD AGRIPPA.** Josephus* and Luke (Acts xii. 23) attribute the disease with which Herod died to the immediate agency of God, because he so readily received the idolatrous acclamations of the people, who hailed and honoured him as a divinity. Josephus says, the disease was in the intestines. But he perverts his statement by the intermixture of certain superstitious and incredible notions. Luke, who was a physician, says, more definitely and accurately, that Herod was consumed with worms, which in eastern countries frequently prey upon the intestines. Josephus observes, that he died on the fifth day after the attack.

SECTION VI.

AGRICULTURE.

Importance and Value of Agriculture—Mosaic Regulations for pursuing it—Estimation in which it was held—Means used to increase Fertility—Implements used in cultivating the Soil—Animals used in Agriculture—Preparation of the Land, and sowing of Grain—The Harvest—Threshing and preparing of Corn—Vines and Vineyards—The Vintage—Various descriptions of Gardens—The Fallow or Sabbatical Year.

1. In the primitive ages of the world, agriculture, as well as the keeping of flocks, was a prin-

* Antiq. lib. xix., c. 8, 2.

cial employment among men, Gen. ii. 15, iii. 17—19, iv. 2. It is an art which has ever been a prominent source both of the necessities and the conveniences of life. Those nations, which practised it at an early period, learned its value, not only from their own experience, but also from observing the condition of the neighbouring countries that were destitute of a knowledge of it.* Impressed with the importance of agriculture, Noah, after he had escaped from the deluge, once more bestowed upon it his attention; and there were some of the Nomades, who were far from neglecting it, Gen. xxvi. 12—14; xxv. 34; xxxvii. 7; Job i. 3.†

2. These states and nations, especially Babylon and Egypt, which made the cultivation of the soil their chief business, arose in a short period to wealth and power. To these communities just mentioned, which excelled in this particular all the others of antiquity, may be added that of the Hebrews, who learned the value of the art while remaining in Egypt, and ever after that time were famous for their industry in the cultivation of the earth.

3. Moses, following the example of the Egyptians, made agriculture the basis of the state. He, accordingly, apportioned to every citizen a certain quantity of land, and gave him the right of tilling it himself, and of transmitting it to his heirs. The person who had thus come into possession, could not alienate the property for any longer period than the year of the coming jubilee; a regulation which prevented the rich from coming into possession of large tracts of land, and then leasing them out in small parcels to the poor; a practice which anciently prevailed, and does to this day, in the East. It was another law of Moses, that the vender of a piece of land, or his nearest relative, had a right to redeem the land sold, whenever they chose, by paying the amount of profits up to the year of jubilee, Ruth iv. 4; Jer. xxxii. 7. Another law enacted by Moses on this subject was, that the Hebrews, as was the case among the Egyptians after the time of Joseph (Gen. xxxvii. 18, et seq.), should pay a tax of two-tenths of their income to God, whose servants they were to consider themselves, and whom they were to obey as their king, Lev. xxvii. 30; Deut. xii. 17—19; xiv. 22—29; comp. Gen. xxviii. 22. The custom of marking the boundaries of lands by stones, although it prevailed a long time before (Job xxiv. 2), was confirmed and perpetuated, in

the time of Moses, by an express law; and a curse was pronounced against him who without authority removed them. These regulations having been made in respect to the tenure, incumbrances, &c., of landed property, Joshua divided the whole country, which he had occupied, *first*, among the respective tribes, and, *then*, among individual Hebrews, running it out with the aid of a measuring line, Josh. xvii. 5, 14; comp. Amos vii. 17; Micah ii. 5; Ps. lxxviii. 55; Ezek. xl. 3. The word *מִדָּה*, *a line*, is accordingly used by a figure of speech for the heritage itself, Ps. xi. 6; Josh. xvii. 5, 14; xix. 9.

4. The occupation of the husbandman was held in honour, not only for the profits which it brought, but from the circumstance, that it was supported and protected by the fundamental laws of the state. All who were not set apart for religious duties, such as the *priests* and the *Levites*, whether inhabitants of the country, or of towns and cities, were considered by the laws, and were in fact, agriculturists. The rich and the noble, it is true, in the cultivation of the soil, did not always put themselves on a level with their servants; but none were so rich or so noble, as to disdain to put their hand to the plough, 1 Sam. xi. 7; 1 Kings xix. 19; comp. 2 Chron. xxvi. 10. The priests and Levites were indeed engaged in other employments, yet they could not withhold their honour from an occupation which supplied them with their income. The esteem in which agriculture was held diminished as luxury increased; but it never wholly came to an end. Even after the *captivity*, when many of the Jews had become merchants and mechanics, the esteem and honour attached to this occupation still continued, especially under the dynasty of the Persians, who were agriculturists from motives of religion.

5. The soil of Palestine, as we have stated in a previous section, is very fruitful, if the dews and vernal and autumnal rains are not withheld. The country, in opposition to Egypt, is eulogized for its rains in Deut. xi. 10; but the Hebrews, notwithstanding the richness of the soil, endeavoured to increase its fertility in various ways. They not only divested it of stones, but watered it by means of canals, communicating with the rivers or brooks; and thereby imparted to their fields the richness of gardens, Ps. i. 3, lxx. 10; Prov. xxi. 1; Isai. xxx. 25, xxxii. 2, 20; Hos. xii. 11. Springs, therefore, fountains, and rivulets, were held in as much honour and worth by husbandmen as by shepherds (Josh. xv. 9; Judg. i. 15); and we accordingly find that the land of Canaan was extolled for those fountains of water, of which Egypt was destitute. The soil was enriched also, in addition to the method just mentioned, by means

* See Xenophon's *Οἰκονομ.*, l. v., sects. i.—xx., pp. 299—305. T. iv., ed. Thiemé.

† This section is from Jahn's *Biblical Archaeologia*, chap. iv.

of ashes; to which the straw, the stubble, the husks, the brambles, and the grass, that overspread the land during the sabbatical year, were reduced by fire. The burning over the surface of the land had also another good effect, viz., that of destroying the seeds of the noxious herbs, Isai. vii. 23, xxxii. 13; Prov. xxiv. 31. Finally, the soil was manured with dung, Ps. lxxxiii. 10; 2 Kings ix. 37; Isai. xxv. 10; Jer. viii. 2, ix. 22, xvi. 4, xxv. 33; Luke xiv. 34, 35.

6. The culture of the soil was at first very simple, being performed by no other instruments than sharp sticks. By these the ground was loosened, until spades and shovels, and not long after ploughs, were invented. All these implements were well known in the time of Moses, Deut. xxiii. 13; Gen. xlv. 6; Job i. 14. The first plough was doubtless nothing more than a stout limb of a tree, from which projected another shortened and pointed limb. This being turned into the ground made the furrows; while at the further end of the longer branch was fastened a transverse yoke, to which the oxen were harnessed. At last a handle was added, by which the plough might be guided. So that the plough was composed of four parts; the beam, the yoke which was attached to the beam, the handle, and what we should call the coulter, 1 Sam. xiii. 20, 21; Micah iv. 3.* It was necessary for the ploughman constantly and firmly to hold the handle of the plough, which had no wheels; and, that no spot might remain untouched, to lean forward and fix his eyes steadily upon it, Luke ix. 62.† The staff by which the coulter was cleared, served for an ox-goad. In the east, at the present day, they use a pole about eight feet in length; at the largest end of which is fixed a flat piece of iron for clearing the plough, and at the other end a spike (רֶרֶךְ, *rérekh*) for spurring the oxen. Hence it appears that a goad might answer the purpose of a spear, which indeed had the same name רֶרֶךְ, 1 Sam. xiii. 21; Judg. iii. 31. Sometimes a scourge was applied to the oxen, Isai. x. 26; Nah. iii. 2. There seems to have been no other harrow than a thick clump of wood, borne down by a weight, or a man sitting upon it, and drawn over the ploughed field by oxen; the same which the Egyptians use at the present time. In this way the turfs were broken in pieces, and the field levelled; an operation which the word שָׁרַר seems properly to signify, viz., *to level*, since, in Isai. xxviii. 24, 25, it is interchanged with שָׁח. At a

later period wicker-drags came into use, which Pliny mentions.‡ The modern Orientals, except in India, are unacquainted with the cart; but formerly not only wagons (Gen. xlv. 19, 27; Numb. vii. 3, 6, 7; 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8, 10, 11, 14; Amos ii. 13; Isai. v. 18, xxviii. 28), and warlike chariots, but also pleasure carriages, were used, Gen. xli. 43, xlv. 19, 21; 2 Kings v. 9; 2 Sam. xv. 1; Acts viii. 28. All the ancient vehicles were moved upon two wheels only. Covered coaches are known to have been used by ladies of distinction; though this circumstance is not mentioned in the Bible.

7. The beasts of burden that endured the toils of agriculture, were bulls and cows, he-asses and she-asses, Job i. 14; 1 Sam. vi. 7; Isai. xxx. 24, xxxii. 20. But it was forbidden to yoke an ass with an ox, Deut. xxii. 10. Those animals, which in the Scriptures are called oxen, were bulls, for the Hebrews were prohibited from castrating, although the law was sometimes violated, Mal. i. 14. Bulls in the warmer climates, especially if they are not greatly pampered, are not so ungovernable, but that they may be harnessed to the plough. If, indeed, any became obstinate by rich pasturage, their nostrils were perforated, and a ring, made of iron or twisted corn, was thrust through, to which was fastened a rope, which impeded his respiration to such a degree, that the most turbulent one might easily be managed, 2 Kings xix. 28; Isai. xxxvii. 29; Ezek. xix. 4; Job xl. 24. By this ring also camels, elephants, and lions, taken alive, were rendered manageable. When bulls became old, their flesh was unsuitable for aliment; for which reason they were left to die a natural death; for the old age of these animals, which had been their companions in labour, was treated by the Hebrews with kindness. Whence it is said, that, in the golden age, the slaughter of an ox will be equally criminal with the slaughter of a man, Isai. lxvi. 3. || Hence, too, among the Hebrews, bulls possessed their appropriate dignity, so that tropes were drawn from them, by no means destitute of elegance, Numb. xxii. 4; Deut. xxiii. 17.

8. Sowing commenced in the latter part of October; at which time, as well as in the months of November and December following, the wheat was committed to the earth. Barley was sown in January and February. The land was ploughed, and the quantity which was ploughed by a yoke of oxen, in one day, was called a yoke, or an acre, 1 Sam. xiv. 14. The yoke, was laid upon the

* Pliny, N. H., xviii. 47, speaks of ploughs constructed with wheels, which in his day were of recent invention.

† Ibid., xviii. 49, No. 2.

‡ Ibid., xviii. 43.

|| Ibid., vii. 45, 56.

necks and shoulders of the labouring animals, and with ropes, was made fast to the beam of the plough. The ox beneath the yoke afforded metaphors expressive of subjugation, Hos. x. 11; Isai. ix. 4, x. 27; Jer. v. 5, xxvii. 2, 8—12, xxx. 8; Nah. i. 13; Ps. cxxix. 3, 4; Matt. xi. 29, 30. The Syrians, according to Pliny, xviii. 3, ploughed shallow. The furrows, and the ridges between them, were harrowed and levelled, Job xxxix. 10; Isai. xxviii. 24, 25; Hos. x. 11. The seed was most probably committed to the soil in the harrowing, as Pliny relates. Yet it seems to have been customary in some cases, formerly, as it is at present, to scatter the seed upon the field once ploughed, and cover it by a cross furrow. When it was prohibited by law to sow, either in field or vineyard, seed of a mixed kind, and crops of this nature became sacred, i. e., were given to the priests, without doubt the seed-grain was carefully cleansed from all mixture of tares so often spoken of, and which we find denominated in the New Testament *ζῆλον*, and in Hebrew *טא* and *טו*. This law by no means referred to a poorer sort of grain, as the Talmudic writers suppose, but what may be called the intoxicating tare, from which the bread and the water in which it was boiled received an inebriating quality, and became very injurious to soundness of mind. The beverage formed by boiling tares and water, was called water of tares, also poison-water, Deut. xxix. 18, 19; Ps. lxxix. 21; Jer. viii. 14, xxiii. 15; Hos. x. 4. The tares, then, such were their injurious qualities, are very properly said to have been sown by an enemy, while the labourers were indulging sleep at noon, Matt. xiii. 25—40. Consult, in reference to the law here mentioned, Lev. xix. 19; and Deut. xxii. 9.

9. In Palestine, the crops are as far advanced in the month of February, as they are in this country in the month of May. At that time, when the grain has reached about a cubit in height, it is frequently so injured by cold winds and frost, that it does not ear. The effect thus produced upon the grain is called *blasting*, Gen. xli. 6; Deut. xxviii. 22; 2 Kings xix. 26. Sometimes, even in November, the crops are so annoyed by easterly winds, as to turn yellow, and never to come to maturity. This calamity is denominated *mildew* (Deut. xxviii. 22; Amos iv. 9; Hag. ii. 17; 1 Kings viii. 37; 2 Chron. vi. 28); but whether the opinion of the Orientals, that these effects are occasioned by the winds, is founded in truth, cannot, as it seems, be determined. The crops, in the southern parts of Palestine and in the plains, come to maturity about the middle of April; but in the northern and the mountainous sections,

they do not become ripe, till three weeks after, or even later. The cultivated fields are guarded by watchmen, who sit upon a seat hung in a tree, or on a watch-tower made of planks, and keep off birds, quadrupeds, and thieves, Jer. iv. 16, 17; Isai. xxiv. 20. It was lawful for travellers, Deut. xxiii. 25, to strip ears from another's field, and to eat; but they were not to use a sickle. The second day of the passover, i. e., the sixteenth from the first new moon of April, the first handful of ripe barley was carried to the altar, and then the harvest commenced, comp. Jon. iv. 35. The barley was first gathered; then the wheat, spelt, millet, &c., Exod. ix. 31, 32; Ruth i. 22, ii. 23. The time of harvest was a festival, which continued from the passover until Pentecost, *seven weeks*; Deut. xvi. 9—12; Jer. v. 24. The reapers were masters, children, men-servants, maidens and mercenaries, Ruth ii. 4, 8, 21, 23; John iv. 36; James v. 4. Merry and cheerful, they were intent upon their labour, and the song of joy might be heard on every side, Isai. ix. 3, lxi. 7; Ps. cxxvi. 6. Travellers congratulated them on the *rich harvest*; which was attributed to the beneficence of the Deity, and considered a great honour; while, on the other hand, sterility of the soil was supposed to be a divine punishment, and a disgrace, Lev. xxvi. 4; Deut. xi. 14, xxviii. 12—24; Isai. iv. 2; Hag. i. 5—11; Mal. iii. 10, 11. Anciently the ears were plucked off, or the stalks pulled up by the roots, which is still the custom in some eastern countries. It was esteemed servile labour by the Pharisees, and a profanation of the sabbath, when done on that day, Matt. xii. 1—5. The Hebrews used the sickle (Deut. xvi. 9; Joel iii. 13; Jer. l. 16); so that the stubble remained in the earth. The crops when reaped were gathered up by the arms, and bound in bundles, Gen. xxxvii. 7; Lev. xxiii. 10—15; Job xxiv. 10; Ruth ii. 7, 15, 16; Amos ii. 13; Mic. iv. 12; Jer. ix. 21, 22. At length the bundles were collected into a heap, or conveyed away on a wagon, Amos ii. 13; Ps. cxxvi. 6. But the corners of the field, and the gleanings, were required to be left for the poor, Lev. xix. 9; Deut. xxiv. 19; Ruth ii. 2, 23. The land in the East generally yields ten-fold; rarely, twenty or thirty; but Matt. xiii. 8 says, the land yielded thirty, sixty, and an hundred-fold, and Gen. xxvi. 12 says, an hundred-fold. Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny mentioned the increase of crops at the rate of one hundred and fifty, two hundred, and even three hundred-fold. This great increase is owing to the circumstance of the kernels being put into the soil at a distance from each other, so as to send out several stalks (Gen. xli. 5, 47). some of which,

according to Pliny,* have from three to four hundred ears; and in Africa, at the present time, they bear at least ten and fifteen.

10. The bundles were transported into the threshing-floor either by hand, or by beasts of burden, or in wagons, Amos ii. 13; and piled in a heap, Exod. xxii. 6; Judg. xv. 5. A bundle left in the field, even though discovered, was not to be taken up, but left to the poor, Deut. xxiv. 19. The threshing-floor was in the field, in some elevated part of it; it was destitute of walls and covering; and, indeed, was nothing more than a circular space thirty or forty paces in diameter, where the ground had been levelled and beaten down, Gen. i. 10; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 24; Judg. vi. 37, &c. The assemblage of bundles in the floor for threshing, was used figuratively to denote reservation for future destruction, Mic. iv. 13; Isai. xxi. 10; Jer. li. 33. We have already spoken of the mode of threshing out the corn, and also of its preparation for food.†

12. Among other objects of agriculture, the vine may justly be considered worthy of particular attention. In some parts of the East, for instance, on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, these trees grow *spontaneously*, producing grapes of a pleasant taste, which, in the very first ages of the world, could not but have invited the attention of men to their cultivation. Hence mention is made of wine at an early period, Gen. ix. 21; xiv. 18; xix. 32—35; xxvii. 25; xlix. 11, 12. The Hebrews were no less diligent in the culture of vineyards, than of fields for grain; and the soil of Palestine yielded in great quantities the best of wine. The mountains of Engedi in particular, the valley of salt-pits, and the valleys of Eahcol and Sorek, were celebrated for their grapes. Sorek, indeed, was not only the proper name of a *valley*, but also of a very fruitful *vine*, which bore *small* but uncommonly sweet and pleasant grapes. In the kingdom of *Morocco*, at the present time, the same vine is called *Serki*, the name being slightly altered.‡ In a few instances, the wine of Mount Libanus and Helbon is extolled in the Scriptures, Hos. xiv. 7; Ezek. xxvii. 18. In Palestine, even at the present day, the clusters of the vine grow to the weight of twelve pounds; they have large grapes, and cannot be carried far by one man without being injured, Numb. xiii. 24, 25. The grapes of Palestine are mostly red or black; whence originated the phrase, "*blood of grapes*," רֵם עֲנָבוֹת, Gen. xlix. 11; Deut. xxxii. 14; Isai. xxvii. 2. Some vines in eastern countries, when

supported by trees, grow to a great height and magnitude; of such are made the staves and sceptres of kings. The vine growing spontaneously, of which we have spoken, is not that which in 2 Kings iv. 39 is called the "wild vine," for that (as the Vulgate rightly translates) is the *colocynthis*, or wild gourd, which in Jer. ii. 21 is called the *degenerate* or *strange vine*. The vine of Sodom is the *solanum melangenæ*, the fruit of which, as was said above, is called the *poisonous clusters*.

13. Vineyards were generally planted on the declivity of hills and mountains, sometimes in places where the soil had been heaped by art upon the naked rocks, being supported there merely by a wall, Isa. v. 1; Jer. xxxi. 5; Joel iii. 18; Amos ix. 13; Micah i. 6. According to Strabo and Pliny, there were also very fine vineyards in moors and wet lands, in which the vines grew to a very great height. Of the vines that grew upon such a kind of soil were fabricated the sceptre, &c., spoken of above; whilst the branches of other vines were destined to be fuel for the flames, Ezek. xvii. 1—8; xix. 10, 11, 12; xv. 1—5. Vines were commonly propagated by means of *suckers*. Pliny|| says, vines were of four kinds, viz., those that ran on the ground; those that grew upright of themselves; those that adhered to a single prop; and those that covered a square frame. It is not our design to treat of all these: it may suffice merely to mention, that Pliny is by no means correct, when he says, the custom prevailed in Syria and all Asia, of letting the vines run on the ground. This, indeed, accords with Ezekiel xvii. 6, 7; but that vines frequently grew to a great height, being supported by trees and props, or standing upright of themselves, the proverbial phrase, which so often occurs, of sitting under one's own vine and fig-tree, i. e., enjoying a prosperous and happy life, is sufficient proof, Jer. v. 17, viii. 13; Hos. ii. 12; Micah iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10. The prohibition (Deut. xxii. 9) to sow vineyards with divers seeds, and the command, that what was thus sown should be given to the priests, are not to be understood of the vines, but of herbs, which were sown in the intervals between them. Vineyards were defended by a hedge or wall (Numb. xxii. 24; Ps. lxxxviii. 12; Prov. xxiv. 31; Isa. v. 5; xxvii. 2, 3; Jer. xlix. 3; Neh. iv. 3; Matt. xxi. 33), and in them were erected towers (Isa. v. 2; Matt. xxi. 33), which, at the present time in eastern countries, are thirty feet square, and eighty feet high. These towers were for keepers, who defended the vineyards from thieves, and from animals, especially

* N. H. xviii. 21, 55.

† See page 536, *ante*.

‡ See Pliny, xvii. 35, No. 5.

|| N. H. xvii. 36, No. 6.

dogs and foxes, Cant. i. 6; ii. 15. By the law in Deut. xxiii. 25, the keeper was commanded not to prohibit the passing traveller from plucking the grapes, which he wished to eat on his way, provided he did not carry them off in a vessel.

14. The manner of trimming the vine, and also the singular instrument of the vine-dresser, were well known even in the time of Moses, Lev. xxv. 3, 4; compare Isa. ii. 4, v. 6, xviii. 5; Micah iv. 3; Joel iii. 10. A vintage from new vineyards was forbidden for the first three years (Exod. xxxiv. 26, and Numb. xviii. 11), and the grapes also of the fourth year were consecrated to sacred purposes; the vines, therefore, without doubt, during these first years, were so pruned as that few sprouts remained. On the fifth year, when they were first profaned, i. e., put to common use, they had become sturdy and exuberant. Pruning at three several times, viz., in March, April, and May, is mentioned not only by Bochart, but by Pliny; and Homer speaks of it as a thing well known.* The Hebrews dug their vineyards, and gathered out the stones. The young vines, unless trees were at hand, were wound around stakes; and around those vines which ran on the ground were dug narrow trenches in a circular form, to prevent the wandering shoots from mingling with each other. These practices in the cultivation of the vine are to be duly considered in those allegories which are drawn from vineyards, Isa. v. 1—7; xxvii. 2—6; Ps. lxxx. 9—13; Matt. xxi. 33—46.

15. The vintage in Syria commences about the middle of September, and continues till the middle of November. But grapes, we are informed, were ripe sometimes even in June and July; which arose, perhaps, from a triple pruning; in which case there was also a third vintage. The first vintage was in August, the second in September, and the third in October. The grapes, when not gathered, were sometimes found on the vines until November and December. The Hebrews were required to leave gleanings for the poor, Lev. xix. 10. The season of vintage was a joyful one, Judges ix. 27; Isa. xvi. 10; Jer. xxv. 30; xlviii. 33. With shoutings on all sides, the grapes were plucked off, and carried to the wine-press, which was in the vineyard, Isa. v. 2; Zech. xiv. 10; Hag. ii. 16; Matt. xxi. 33; Rev. xiv. 19, 20. The presses consisted of two receptacles, which were either built of stones and covered with plaster, or hewn out of a large rock. The upper receptacle, called גַּת *gath*, as it is constructed at the present time in Persia, is nearly eight feet square and four feet high. Into *this* the grapes are thrown, and trodden out by five men. The

juice flows out into the lower receptacle, called יֶקֶב *ikeb*, through a grated aperture, which is made in the side near the bottom of the upper one. The treading of the wine-press was laborious, and not very favourable to cleanliness; the garments of the persons thus employed were stained with red juice, and yet the employment was a joyful one. It was performed with singing, accompanied with musical instruments; and the treaders, as they jumped, exclaimed, רוּרִי (*ho up*), Isa. xvi. 9, 10; Jer. xxv. 30; xlviii. 32, 33. *Figuratively*, vintage, gleanings, and treading the wine-press, signified battles and great slaughters, Isa. xvii. 6; lxiii. 1—3; Jer. xlix. 9; Lam. i. 15.

16. Culinary plants and fruit-trees were among the first objects of agriculture. Gardens, accordingly, were very ancient, and have always been numerous. By the Hebrews they were called גַּן, גִּנָּה, גִּנִּים; afterwards, the Persian name פָּרַדִּיז, *paradise*, was introduced. The later Hebrews were invited the more to the cultivation of gardens by the example of the Syrians, whom Pliny extols for this species of agriculture, above all other nations. Trees were multiplied by seeds and shoots; they were transplanted, dug around, manured, and pruned, Job viii. 16; Isai. xvii. 10. *Grafting* occurs figuratively in Rom. xi. 17, 24. The gardens in Persia, at the present day, are disposed in good order; those in the Ottoman empire are very rude, displaying hardly any indications of art, except a fountain or receptacle of waters, which is never wanting. In the Scriptures, gardens are denominated from the prevalence of certain trees; as the garden of nuts, גִּנַּת אֲבִיבִים, and the garden of Carthaginian apples or pomegranates, פָּרַדִּיז רִמּוֹנִים, Cant. vi. 11. The forest of palms, also, in the plain of Jericho, was only a large garden, in which other trees were interspersed among the palms.† The modern Orientals are no less fond of gardens than were the ancient Hebrews; not only because they yield the richest fruits, but because the shade is very refreshing, and the air is cooled by the waters, of which their gardens are never allowed to be destitute, 1 Kings xxi. 2; 2 Kings xxv. 4; Hos. ix. 13; Cant. iv. 13, vi. 11; Eccles. ii. 5; John xviii. 1, xix. 41, xx. 15. The Hebrews had an attachment to gardens as a place of burial; hence they frequently built sepulchres in them, 2 Kings ix. 27, xxi. 11; Mark xv. 46; Matt. xxvi. 36; John xviii. 1, 2. A pleasant region is called “a garden of God,” i. e., a region extremely pleasant. The trees which the gardens constantly displayed are often used figuratively for men. Those which are flourishing and fruitful denote *good* men; the

† Strabo, p. 768.

unfruitful and barren, *wicked* men, and lofty cedars in particular are the emblems of *kings*, Job xxix. 19; Ps. i. 3, xcii. 12—14; Hos. xiv. 6, 7; Jer. xvii. 8; Dan iv. 10—16; Luke xxiii. 31; Matt. iii. 10, vii. 17—20, xii. 33; Ezek. xvii. 3, 4, xxxi. 3, 13. Indeed, an assembly of men is compared to a *forest*, and a multitude of wicked men to *briars*, Isai. ix. 10, x. 19, 33, 34, xi. 1. Several trees, which are often mentioned in the Scriptures, but not very well known, we shall now describe in a few words.

17. Agriculture on every seventh year came to an end. Nothing was sown, and nothing reaped;

the vines and the olives were not pruned; there was no vintage, and no gathering of fruits, even of what grew wild; but whatever spontaneous productions there were, were left to the poor, the traveller, and the wild beast, Lev. xxv. 1—7; Deut. xv. 1—10. The object of this regulation seems to have been, to secure the preservation of wild beasts, to let the ground recover its strength, and to teach the Hebrews to be provident of their income, and to look out for the future. It is true, that extraordinary fruitfulness was promised on the sixth year, but in such a way as not to exclude care and foresight, Lev. xxv. 20—24.

CHAPTER II.

PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICAL SCIENCE.

Errors relative to the learning of the Hebrews—Teachers of Religion—Philosophy of the Hebrews—Wise men, or Teachers—State of the Sciences among the Hebrews.

1. Different writers have been guilty of great exaggeration, in opposite ways, in their estimates of the state of science amongst the ancient Hebrews. While some, in the spirit of Apollonarius, have pronounced them to be "the most stupid barbarians, and the only people who never produced a single invention," others have exhibited them as profoundly learned in all philosophy, and as equal in the extent and diversity of their knowledge to the wise men of Greece and Rome. A better or more certain judgment concerning the wisdom of the ancient Hebrews cannot be formed, as Dr. Enfield suggests,* than from the monuments which they themselves, or their descendants, have left in the sacred Scriptures. Much greater credit, particularly in this instance, is due to domestic than to foreign testimony. For the Jewish historians had their information concerning the ancient state of their nation, from records preserved with the utmost care by their ancestors; whereas other writers, in speaking of a people who had little intercourse with their neighbours, for want of a better guide than vague report, must necessarily have given a precipitate, and often an erroneous, judgment.

2. We learn from the Scriptures, that amongst the ancient Hebrews there were many eminent men, who made use of the clear light of divine

truth as their guide in the conduct of life. In practical and moral wisdom, it cannot be doubted that they held a place of high distinction. Their wisdom, however, must not be confounded with philosophy, in the strict acceptation of the term. Blessed with a divine revelation, they have transmitted to posterity rays of sacred truth, which have been spread through the world; and they have hence obtained an immortal name in an order of higher dignity than that of philosophers. Under the direction of genuine principles of religion, they pursued the plain path of simple virtue, without being led astray by vain curiosity into fruitless speculations. Among the Hebrews, we are therefore to look for prudent statesmen, upright judges, and priests learned in the law; but not for philosophers, in the limited sense in which we understand that term.†

3. Traces of philosophy, strictly so called, i. e. the system of prevailing moral opinions, may be found in the book of Job, in the 37th, 39th, and 73rd Psalms; also in the books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; but chiefly in the Apocryphal book of Wisdom, and the writings of the Son of Sirach. During the captivity, the Jews acquired many new notions, particularly from the Mehetani, and appropriated them, as occasion offered, to their own purposes. They at length became acquainted with the philosophy of the Greeks, which makes its appearance abundantly in the book of Wisdom. After the captivity, the lan-

* Hist. of Philosophy, vol. i., chap. 2.

† Enfield, vol. i., p. 38.

guage in which the sacred books were written was no longer vernacular. Hence arose the need of interpreters, in order to make the people understand what was read. These interpreters learnt the Hebrew language at the schools. The teachers of these schools, who for the two generations preceding the birth of Christ had maintained some acquaintance with the Greek philosophy, were not satisfied with a simple interpretation of the Hebrew idiom, as it stood, but shaped the interpretation so as to render it conformable to their philosophy. Thus arose contentions, which gave occasion for the various sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. In the time of our Saviour, divisions had arisen among the Pharisees themselves. No less than eighteen nice questions, if we may believe the Jewish rabbins, were contested at that period between the schools of Hillel and of Shammai.

4. Anciently, learned men among the Hebrews were denominated חכמים *chachemim*, as among the Greeks they were called σοφοί; i. e., *wise men*. In the time of Christ, the common appellation for men of that description was γραμματεῖς, in the Hebrew סופר, *a scribe*. They were addressed by the honorary title of *Rabbi*; *great*, or *master*. The Jews, in imitation of the Greeks, had their seven wise men, who were *Rabboni*. Gamaliel was one of the number. They called *themselves* the children of Wisdom; an expression which corresponds very nearly to the Greek φιλόσοφος, Matt. xi. 19; Luke vii. 35. The heads of sects were called *Fathers*, Matt. xii. 27, xxiii. 1—9. The disciples were denominated *sons*, or *children*. The Jewish teachers, at least some of them, had private lecture-rooms, but they also taught and disputed in synagogues, in temples, and, in fact, wherever they could find an audience. The method of these teachers was the same with that which prevailed among the Greeks. Any disciple who chose might propose questions, upon which it was the duty of the teachers to remark and give their opinions, Luke ii. 46. The teachers were not invested with their functions by any formal act of the church, or of the civil authority; they were self-constituted. They received no other salary than some voluntary present from the disciples, which was called 'an honorary,' τιμή, HONORARIUM, 1 Tim. v. 17. They acquired a subsistence, in the main, by the exercise of some art or handicraft. That they took a higher seat than their auditors, although it was probably the case, does not follow, as is sometimes supposed, from Luke ii. 46. According to the Talmudists, they were bound to hold no conversation with women, and to refuse to sit at table with the lower classes of the people, John iv. 27; Matt. ix. 11. The

subjects on which they taught were numerous, commonly intricate, and of no great consequence; of which there are abundant examples in the Talmud.*

5. Upon the authority of Philo, and other Jewish writers, it has been asserted by Clemens Alexandrinus, Justin Martyr, and other of the Christian Fathers, that Moses reached the summit of human learning; and he is represented as having been a perfect master of astronomy, geometry, music, medicine, occult philosophy, and, in short, of the whole circle of the arts and sciences, which were at that time known. Similar claims are made for Solomon and Daniel, and, in a lower degree, for several of the Hebrew judges and prophets. The proofs adduced for these claims, however, are fallacious and unsatisfactory, resolving themselves either into the mere opinions of some of the Fathers, and especially of Philo the Jew, or into facts and circumstances that will not bear out the conclusion.† It is admitted that the Hebrews became renowned for their intellectual culture in the time of David, and especially of Solomon, who is said to have surpassed all others in wisdom (see 1 Kings v. 9—14); but their literature was limited chiefly to ethica, religion, the history of their nation, and natural history. After this time, the Hebrews made little progress in science and literature.‡ The elements of arithmetic, mathematics, geography, and astronomy, formed, as we have already intimated, the boundaries of their scientific knowledge.

SECTION I.

ARITHMETIC, MATHEMATICS, AND ASTROLOGY.

1. THE more simple methods of arithmetical calculation are spoken of in the Pentateuch, as if they were well known. The merchants of that early period must, for their own convenience, have been possessed of some method of operating by numbers. And that they were able to do it, to some considerable extent, may be argued from the fact, that they had separate words, viz., רכבה, רכבו, for so large a number as 10,000, Gen. xxiv. 60; Lev. xxvi. 8; Deut. xxxii. 30. Among the leading terms arithmetically employed, there are particularly these: *sapher*, which simply denotes the act of cyphering or calculation; *chezib*, a reckoning, or finished computation (Lev. xxv. 2); *kas*, to count, to make a contrasted account (Exod. xii. 4); and *mene*, a distribution or division (Gen. xiii.

* Jahn, *Archæol. Bib.*, § 106, Upham's Trans.

† They may be seen in Enfield's *Hist. of Phil.*, vol. i., pp. 38, 39.

‡ Jahn, *Archæol.* § 98.

16); besides one Greek word, *arithmos*, number. May these probably express the fundamental rules of arithmetic?*

2. By mathematics we understand geometry, mensuration, navigation, &c. As far as a knowledge of them was absolutely required by the condition and employments of the people, we may well suppose that knowledge to have actually existed; although no express mention is made of them.

3. Of the astronomical knowledge of the Hebrews, and the biblical references to the science, we have already treated in Part IV., chap. 1.

SECTION II.

GEOGRAPHY.

Limited Extent of Geographical Knowledge among the Hebrews
—Cosmological Notions of the Hebrews.

1. We have already seen† that a geographical division of the land of promise amongst the twelve tribes was made by Joshua soon after they had obtained a footing in the country; and the accuracy with which this division is described shows that at least the writer had made some attainments in geographical science. See Josh. xviii. It is not to be pretended, however, that the Hebrews possessed any very enlarged or accurate knowledge of the earth and its various countries. Their institutions were designedly calculated to discourage an intercourse with strangers. The brilliant commercial enterprises in which Solomon engaged were discontinued by his successors, and even the fleets of that prince were navigated by the servants of the king of Tyre. This restricted intercourse with foreign nations rendered it, of course, impossible to acquire any enlarged or correct knowledge of the earth; and we do not find in the prophetic writings any trace of geographical information much exceeding that which was possessed by Moses, who has left us a precious record of the manner in which the knowledge of the earth was enlarged by the dispersion of the human species. See Gen. x.

2. It is impossible to fix, with precision, the eastern limit of Moses' geographical knowledge. "The dwellings of the sons of Joktan," he says, "were from *Mesha*, as thou goest unto *Sephar*, a mount of the East." This *Sephar* may possibly be the first range of the snowy mountains of *Paropamisus*, called also *Sepyrus* by the ancients. But that the accurate knowledge of Moses did not extend to the confines of India is evident from

the gloss which he adds, "A mountain of the *East*," which is, in fact, the signification of the word.‡ *Sephar* is applied in general to the East, while *Ophir*, on the other hand, means the West, or Africa. Some, indeed, have imagined the *Ophir* of Scripture to mean Peru; and the *Tarshish* from which the fleets of Solomon returned every three years, "bringing gold, and silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks," has given rise to innumerable learned disquisitions. Tarsus in Cilicia (which by the way was not a sea-port), as well as Tartessus in Spain, are out of the question; for the ships of Solomon were launched from Eziongeber, in the Red Sea, and ivory, apes, and peacocks are obviously Indian produce. The most ingenious of the conjectures, offered to clear up the difficulties in the way of most of the hypotheses, is that which explains the name *Tarshish* as an epithet derived from the Sanscrit language, in which *Tar-déva*, signifies "the silver-country." The languages of India, owing to the great trade and civilization of the people who spoke them, are known to have contributed many terms to the Arabic and Hebrew tongues; and as the Indian legends make frequent mention of a *silver country* beyond the sea, it is not very improbable, that the Arabians adopted from them this vague and wandering appellation. *Tarshish*, then, to the Phœnicians (who received the language as well as merchandise of the East through the Arabians) was an expression of extreme latitude, and applicable with equal justice to opposite quarters of the globe.||

3. Towards the north, the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews never extended beyond the Caucasus; and in the north-east it was confined within equally narrow limits. The Chaldeans, who appear to have descended from the further shores of the Caspian Sea, are described by the prophet Jeremiah as coming from the ends of the north, and the sides of the earth. With Egypt and Arabia the early Hebrews were well acquainted; but towards the West, their knowledge hardly reached so far as the shores of Greece.

4. The cosmological ideas scattered through the Scriptures are few in number, and of extreme

† It has been thought that by the 𐤍𐤑𐤍 *sinim* of Isaiah, xlii. 12, the Chinese are intended; and the opinion was adopted and defended by the late eminent Chinese scholar, Dr. Morrison. The verbal opposition of the text requires that as the land of the *Sinim* is geographically opposed to the 𐤍𐤑𐤍 *gann*, "west," it must lie very far east; and this agrees perfectly with the situation of China, at the eastern extremity of Asia.—See *Critica Biblica*, vol. ii., p. 115.

|| Maritime Discoveries, vol. i., p. 7. Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopaedia.

* *Critica Biblica*, vol. iii., p. 201.

† Part IV., chap. iv., sect. 1, § 4.

simplicity. In the prophetic writings many traces may be found of an opinion that "heaven," or "the mount of the Lord," was in the north (Isai. xiv.). The earth was evidently considered to be a plain, surrounded, perhaps, by the ocean, which was again inclosed by the clouds of heaven. Such are the opinions expressed by Job, the sublimest of all poets: "He hath compassed the waters with bounds, until [in the places where] the day and night come to an end." And again he says: "Whereupon are the foundations of the earth fostered? or who laid the corner-stone thereof? or who shut up the sea with doors [boundaries]

when it brake forth, as if it had issued out of the womb; when I made the cloud the garment thereof?" chap. xxvi., xxxviii. The general allusions which occur in Scripture to the earth and its creation are not more remarkable for the sublime language in which they are conveyed, than for their perfect freedom from fanciful and subtle speculations.* At the same time, it may be thought probable that Isai. xl. 22, and Job xxii. 14, hint at the globular form of our world.

* Maritime Discovery, vol. i., pp. 7, 8.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

WE have already had occasion to notice the permanency of eastern customs; and hence the assistance which may be derived from an acquaintance with the various manners and characters of the Orientals, as they at present exist, in the illustration of the sacred Scriptures. This has been noticed by many writers, and has engaged the attention of some of our most intelligent travellers. "The manners of the East," says Mr. Morier, "amidst all the changes of government and religion, are still the same: they are living impressions from an original mould; and at every step some object, some idiom, some dress, or some custom of common life, reminds the traveller of ancient times, and confirms, above all, the beauty, the accuracy, and the propriety of the language and the history of the Bible.* In the following sections we shall notice such of these usages, customs, or habits, as bear upon the illustration of the Bible.

SECTION I.

CLOTHING AND PERSONAL ORNAMENTS.

Materials used for Clothing—Coloured Clothes—Various parts of the Oriental Dress: the Upper Garment; Head-dress; Tunic; Girdles; Shirts; Veils; Painting of the Eyes;—Treatment of the Hair and Beard—Phylacteries—Nose-rings and Ear-rings—Bracelets, &c

1. THE earliest improvement upon the employment of the mere skins of animals as an article of

dress, was, in all likelihood, a sort of felt-cloth, manufactured out of these materials. Later still, the art of weaving was discovered, and a web was formed by combining the hair of animals with threads drawn from wool, cotton, or flax. (See Gen. xiv. 23, xxxi. 18, 19, xxxvii. 3, xxxviii. 28, xli. 42, xlv. 22; Job vii. 6, xxxi. 20.) The Egyptians were very celebrated for such manufactures. The Israelites, while living among them, learned the art, and even excelled their teachers. (1 Chron. iv. 21.) While wandering in the Arabian wilderness, they prepared the materials for covering the tabernacle, and wrought some of them with embroidery. Cotton cloth was esteemed most valuable; next to that, woollen and linen. That which was manufactured from the hair of animals was esteemed of least value. Of *silk* there is no mention made at a very early period, unless, perchance, it be in Ezek. xvi. 10, 13, under the word כִּשְׂמִית. This, however, is clear, that Alexander found silks in Persia; and it is more than probable, that the Median dress, which we find was adopted by the Persians under Cyrus, was silk.

2. White was esteemed the most appropriate colour for cotton cloth, and purple for the others. The fullers, who had discovered the art of communicating a very splendid white to cloth, by the aid of alkali and urine, lived out of the city (Isai. vii. 3), lest their shops should communicate a foetidness to the atmosphere. The purple cotton cloth, which was essentially the same with the celebrated Tyrian purple, was highly esteemed. (See Luke xvi. 19; Rev. xviii. 12.) It was called אֵרֶמֶן, and רִקְמָה, and was produced by the blood taken from a vein in the throat of a certain

* Preface to Second Journey, &c., Lond. 1818.

shell-fish.* The scarlet colour, first mentioned in Gen. xxxviii. 28, and occurring frequently afterwards, was very much admired. It was a different colour from the shell-fish purple, and was extracted from the insects, or their eggs, found on a species of oak; and thence in Hebrew it is called *תולע*, which means a worm or insect. The cotton cloth was dipped into this colour twice; hence the application of the Hebrew words *שני*, and *חלשת שני*, *twice-dyed*. This colour is sometimes called *כרמיל* (2 Chron. ii. 14). The hyacinth or dark blue colour was extracted from the cuttle-fish, which bears in Hebrew the same name with the colour itself, and was highly esteemed, especially among the Assyrians. (Ezek. xxiii. 6.) Black colour was used for common wear, and particularly on occasions of mourning. Party-coloured cloths were highly esteemed. (Gen. xxxvii. 3, 23; 2 Sam. xiii. 18.) As far back as the time of Moses we find that cloths were embroidered, sometimes with the coloured threads of cotton and linen, and sometimes with threads of gold. When the work was embroidered on both sides, the Hebrew word for fabrics of that kind appears in the dual form; viz., *אֶמְתִּיתִי*. Some of the passages in relation to embroiderers and embroidery are as follows: Exod. xxxv. 36, xxxv. 35; Judg. v. 30; Ps. xlv. 9; Ezek. xvi. 10.†

3. In describing the several parts of the Israelites' dress, we cannot do better than give Dr. Shaw's account of the Oriental costume, which occurs in his description of the manufactories of Barbary.

(1) The *hyke*, or blankets, as we should call them, are of different sizes, and of different qualities and degrees of fineness. The usual size of them is six yards long, and five or six feet broad, serving the Arab for a complete dress in the day, and, as "they sleep in their raiment," as the Israelites did of old (Deut. xxiv. 13), it serves also for his bed and covering by night. It is a loose, but troublesome garment, being frequently disconcerted and falling upon the ground; so that the person who wears it is every moment obliged to tuck it up, and fold it about his body. This shows the great use of a girdle, whenever those wearing the *hyke* are concerned in any active employment; and in consequence thereof, the force of the Scripture injunction, "of having our loins girded," in order to set about it. See Luke xvii. 8; Acts xii. 8; Eph. vi. 14; Rev. i. 13, and xv. 6. The method of wearing these garments, with the use they are at other times put to, in serving

for coverlids to the beds, should induce us to take the finer sorts of them at least, such as are worn by the ladies and persons of distinction, to be the peplus of the ancients. Ruth's veil, which held six measures of barley (Ruth iii. 15), might be of the like fashion, and have served, extraordinarily, for the same use; as were also the clothes (the upper garments) of the Israelites (Exod. xii. 34), in which they folded up their kneading-troughs, and other cumbrous things; as the Moors, Arabs, and Kabyles do to this day. Instead of the fibula, used by the Romans, the Arabs join together either by thread or by a wooden bodkin, the two upper corners of this garment; and after having placed these over one of their shoulders, they fold the rest of it about their bodies. The outer fold serves instead of an apron; in which they carry herbs, loaves, corn, &c., and may illustrate several allusions in Scripture; as, gathering the lap full of wild gourds (2 Kings iv. 39); rendering sevenfold; giving good measure into the bosom (Ps. lxxix. 12; Luke vi. 38); "shaking the lap," Neh. v. 13, &c. The burnoose, which answers to our cloak, is often, for warmth, worn over the hyke. It is woven in one piece straight about the neck, with a cape or Hippocrates' sleeve, for a cover to the head, and wide below, like a cloak. Some of them are fringed round the bottom, like Parthenaspa's and Trajan's garment upon the basso-reliefs of Constantine's arch. The burnoose, without the cape, seems to answer to the Roman pallium; and, with it, to the bardocucullus.

(2) If we except the cape of the burnoose, which is only occasionally used during a shower of rain, or in very cold weather, several Arabs and Kabyles go bare-headed, binding their temples only with a narrow fillet, to prevent their locks from being troublesome. The turban, as they call a long narrow web of linen, silk, or muslin, is folded round the bottom of these caps, and very properly distinguishes, by the number and fashion of the folds, the several orders and degrees of soldiers, and sometimes of citizens. We find the same dress and ornament of the head, the tiara as it was called, upon a number of medals, statues, and basso-reliefs of the ancients.

3. Under the hyke, some wear a close-bodied frock or tunic (a *jillebba* they call it), with or without sleeves, which differs little, probably, from the coat of our Saviour, which "was woven without seam from the top throughout" (John xix. 23), and with which he is said to have been clothed, when he is said to lay aside his garments (*ametic*, burnoose and hyke, John xiii. 4), and to take a towel and gird himself. The fisher's coat (John xxi. 7) which Peter girded about him, when he is said to be naked: or what he, at the command

* See Harris's Natural History of the Bible, art. *purple*.

† Jahn, Archæol. § 119.

of the angel (Acts xii. 8), might have girded upon him, before he is enjoined to cast his garment about him was, no doubt, the same thing. The hyke, or burnoose, or both, being at that time, as now, the proper dress or habit of the eastern nations, when a person laid them aside, or appeared without one or the other, he might very properly be said to be undressed, or naked, according to the eastern manner of expression. Dr. Harwood very properly remarks, that a passage in the Acts of the Apostles clearly fixes the difference between the *upper garment* and the *tunic*. During Peter's stay at Joppa, one Dorcas, a Christian, who is recorded to be a person of a truly amiable and beneficent disposition, fell sick and died. The Christians, in Joppa having received information that Peter was at Lydda, dispatched two messengers to him, entreating he would come to them without delay. On Peter's arrival, they took him into an upper room, where the corpse lay, and around which a number of indigent widows stood bathed in tears, deploring the irreparable loss they had sustained, and showing Peter a variety of *under* and *upper* garments, which Dorcas had charitably made to clothe the poor necessitous objects. It was these *imatia*, or upper garments, consisting of a loose square piece of cloth wrapped round the body, which that vast multitude who escorted Jesus in the triumphant procession into the capitol, spread in the public road by way of carpet. Plutarch informs us that the same affectionate respect and reverence was paid to Cato. When Jesus was seized, we read that a young man, excited by the tumult and disturbance that was made in the dead of night, hastily threw about him a linen garment, issued from the house to learn the occasion of this confusion, and followed the crowd for some time. But the officers who apprehended Jesus, thinking him one of his companions, immediately seized him: upon which he left his garment in their hands, fled away naked, and thus narrowly made his escape from them.* The convenient and uniform shape of the garments made to fit all persons may illustrate a variety of expressions and occurrences in Scripture, which, to persons misled by our own fashions, are difficult. Thus we read that the goodly raiment of Esau was put upon Jacob; that Jonathan stripped himself of his garments; that the best robe was brought out, and put upon the prodigal son; and that raiment, and changes of raiment, were often given, and immediately put on (as they still continue to be in eastern nations) without such previous and

occasional alterations, as would be required amongst us.

(4) The girdles are usually of worsted, very artfully woven into a variety of figures, such as the rich girdles of the virtuous virgins may be supposed to have been, Prov. xxxi. 24. They are made to fold several times about the body; and one end, being doubled back, and sewed along the edges, serves for a purse, agreeably to the acceptation of the *zone* in the Scriptures. The Turks make a further use of these girdles, by tucking in them their knives and poniards;† whilst the *hojias*, i. e., the writers and secretaries, suspend in them their inkhorns; a custom as old as the prophet Ezekiel. See chap. ix. 2.

(5) It is customary for the Turks and Moors to wear shirts of linen, or cotton, or gauze, underneath the tunic; but the Arabs wear nothing but woollen. The sleeves of these shirts are wide and open, without folds at the neck or wrist, as ours have.‡ Those of the women are oftentimes of the richest gauze, adorned with different coloured ribbons, interchangeably sewed to each other.

(6) The virgins are distinguished from the matrons, by having their drawers made of needlework, striped silk, or linen, just as Tamar's garment is described, 2 Sam. xiii. 18. But when the women are at home and in private, then their hykes are laid aside, and sometimes their tunics; and instead of drawers, they bind only a towel about their loins. A Barbary matron, in her undress, appears like Silanus in the *Admiranda*.

(7) When these ladies appear in public, they

† The poniard of the Arab is made crooked, like the *copia* or harp of the ancients.

‡ The figure in Isaiah (lii. 10), "The Lord hath made bare his holy arm," is most lively: for the loose sleeve of the Arab shirt, as well as that of the outer garment, leaves the arm so completely free, that, in an instant, the left hand passing up the right arm makes it bare; and this is done when a person—a soldier, for example, about to strike with his sword—intends to give his right arm full play. The image represents Jehovah as suddenly prepared to inflict some tremendous yet righteous judgment—so effectual, that 'all the ends of the world shall see the salvation of God.'—Jowett's *Christian Researches* in Syria, p. 282. To the same effect writes Mr. Roberts: "The right arm or shoulder is always alluded to as the place of strength: with that the warrior wields his sword, and slays his foes. The metaphor appears to allude to a man who is preparing for the battle; he takes the robe from his right arm, that, being thus uncovered, 'made bare,' it may the more easily perform its office. 'Tell your boasting master to get ready his army, for our king has shown his shoulder,' i. e., uncovered it. 'Alas! I have heard that the mighty sovereign of the neighbouring kingdom has pointed to his shoulder,' i. e., he is ready to come against us. See two men disputing; should one of them point to his right arm and shoulder, the other will immediately fall into a rage, as he knows it amounts to a challenge, and says, in effect, 'I am thy superior.' Thus may be seen men at a distance, when defying each other, slapping each his right hand or shoulder."—*Oriental Illustrations*, p. 448.

* Harwood's *Introduction*, vol. ii., p. 97.

'always fold themselves up so closely in their hykes, that even without their veils we could discover very little of their faces. But in the summer months, when they retire to their country seats, they walk abroad with less caution; though even then, upon the approach of a stranger, they always drop their veils, as Rebecca did upon the sight of Isaac, Gen. xxiv. 65. They all affect to have their hair, the instrument of their pride (Isai. xxii. 12), hang down to the ground, which, after they have collected into one lock, they bind and plait with ribbons; a piece of finery disapproved of by the apostle, 1 Pet. iii. 3. Where nature has been less liberal in this ornament, the defect is supplied by art, and foreign hair is procured to be interwoven with the natural. Absalom's hair, which was sold (2 Sam. xiv. 26) for two hundred shekels, might have been applied to this use. After the hair is thus plaited, they proceed to dress their heads, by tying above the lock, just described, a triangular piece of linen, adorned with various figures in needle-work. Among persons of fashion, this is covered with a surmah, as they call it (of the like sound with the moon-like ornaments of Isai. iii. 18), which is made in the same triangular shape, of thin flexible plates of gold and silver, artfully cut through, and engraved in imitation of lace. A handkerchief of crape, gauze, silk, or painted linen, bound close over the sarmah, and falling afterwards carelessly upon the favourite lock of hair, completes the head-dress of the Moorish female.

(8) But none of these ladies think themselves completely dressed, till they have tinged their eyelids with Al-ka-hol, i. e., the powder of lead ore. And as this is performed by first dipping into the powder a small wooden bodkin, of the thickness of a quill, and then drawing it through the eyelids, over the ball of the eye, we have a lively image of what the prophet (Jer. iv. 30) may be supposed to mean, by renting the eyes (not, as we render it, with painting, but) with *pouk*—lead ore. The sooty colour which is thus communicated to the eyes is thought to add much gracefulness to persons of all complexions; and the practice is no doubt of the greatest antiquity. Besides the instance already noticed, we find that where Jezebel is said (2 Kings ix. 30) to have painted her face, the original is, "she adjusted (or set off) her eyes with the powder of *pouk*," or lead ore. So Ezekiel (chap. xxiii. 40) is to be understood. Karahpuc, i. e., the horn of *pouk*, or lead ore, the name of Job's youngest daughter, was allusive to this custom and practice.*

(9) We have seen that the women wore their hair long. On this they lavished all their art, disposing it in various forms, and embellishing it with divers ornaments. In the ancient medals, statues, and *basso relievo*s, we behold those plaited tresses which the apostles Paul and Peter condemn, and see those expensive and fantastic decorations which the ladies of those times bestowed upon their head-dress. This pride of braided and plaited tresses, this ostentation of jewels, this vain display of finery, the apostles interdict as proofs of a light and little mind, and inconsistent with the modesty and decorum of Christian women. St. Paul, in his First Epistle to Timothy (chap. ii. 9), in the passage where he condemns it, shows us in what the pride of female dress then consisted. "I enjoin that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shame-facedness and sobriety: not with brodered hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; but (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works." St. Peter, in like manner, ordains that the adorning of the fair sex should not be so much that "outward adorning of plaiting the hair, and of wearing of gold, or of putting on of apparel; but let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible, even the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price." The men, on the contrary, wore their hair short; and this circumstance formed a principal distinction in dress between the sexes, and happily illustrates 1 Cor. xi. 14, 15: "Doth not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair, it is a shame to him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering."

(10) As the Jewish and Grecian ladies never appeared in public without a veil, Paul severely censures the Corinthian women for throwing off the decency and modesty of the sex, and exposing themselves and their religion to the satire and calumny of the heathen. The whole passage beautifully and clearly exhibits the distinguishing customs which then prevailed in the different

the powder is prepared: "Upon the principle of strengthening the sight, as well as an ornament, it is become a general practice among the women to black the inside of their eyelids, by applying a powder called *Imed*, which appears to be a rich lead ore, prepared by roasting it in a quince, apple, or tuffe, and then levigated with oil of sweet almonds on a marble stone. Their method of applying the powder is by a cylindrical piece of silver, steel, or ivory, about two inches long, made very smooth, and about the size of a common probe: this they wet with water, in order that the powder may stick to it; and applying the middle part horizontally to the eye, they shut the eyelids upon it; and so drawing it through between them, it blacks the inside, leaving a narrow black ring all round the edge."—Hist. of Aleppo, p. 102.

* Travels, vol. i., pp. 403—413. Dr. Russell gives the following account of this operation, and of the manner in which

dress and appearance of the sexes, 1 Cor. xi. 4: "I desire you to observe, that of every man the head is Christ; of every woman, the man; and of Christ, the Deity. Now every man who prays or speaks in public with his head covered, derogates from the dignity of Christ, his head. On the contrary, every woman who prays or speaks in public with her head uncovered, degrades the dignity of the man, who is her head; for this is a singularity as uncharacteristical of the sex, as to have the hair entirely cut off. But if a woman will not consent to wear her veil, let her even have her hair cut short like the man: but if it be to the last degree scandalous and indecent for a woman to have her hair cut short or shaved off, let her, for the same reason, be veiled. A man, indeed, ought not to have his head veiled, as he is the glorious image of God; but the woman is only the glorious image of the man. For the man was not formed posterior to the woman, but the woman was formed out of the man. Nor was the man formed for the woman, but the woman for the man. In your assemblies, therefore, the woman ought to wear a veil, on account of the heathen spies who are purposely sent to inspect your conduct. I appeal to you, is it decent for a woman to address the Deity without a veil? Doth not the universal prevalence of modern custom itself teach you, that for a man to wear long flowing tresses, dressed in the manner of women, is the highest indecency and disgrace? But the long and flowing hair of the fair sex is their distinguishing grace and ornament: for this was lavished upon them by the hand of nature for a covering. But if any person appear disposed to litigate and raise disputes on this topic, let him be assured, that neither we the apostles urge, nor the churches of God practice, any such custom."†

(11) Of the veneration in which the beard was held by the Jewish people, we have several examples in Scripture. Thus it was considered the highest insult, when Hanun, king of the Ammonites, cut off the beards of David's ambassadors, 2 Sam. x. 4, 5. And from ch. xx. 9, we see it was the custom for particular friends to salute each other by kissing the beard. The Jews were not singular in these respects, for the eastern people generally held this mark of virility in the highest veneration. Thevenot says, the Turks greatly esteem a man who has a fine beard; that it is a great affront to take one by his beard, unless to kiss it; and that they swear by the beard.‡

And D'Arvieux gives a remarkable instance of an Arab, who, having received a wound in his jaw, chose to hazard his life, rather than suffer the surgeon to remove his beard.||

(12) For the feet, the common dress was shoes or sandals. The former was a piece of strong leather, or wood, fastened to the sole of the foot with strings, tied round the ankle and leg, and which are called shoe-latchets, Gen. xiv. 23, &c. When they approached God, in acts of worship, this part of the dress was laid aside: the priest always ministered barefoot.

(13) In describing the dress of the Jewish people, we must not omit their *phylacteries*, or *tephelim*, which were held in such estimation among them. These were little rolls of parchment, in which were written the following passages of the law: (1) "Sanctify unto me all the first-born: whatsoever openeth the womb among the children of Israel, both of man and beast, it is mine," &c., Exod. xiii. 2—10. (2) "And it shall be, when the Lord shall bring thee into the land of the Canaanites," &c., to ver. 16. (3) From the 4th verse of the 6th chap. of Deuteronomy, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord," to ver. 9. (4) From ver. 13 of chap. xi.: "And it shall come to pass, if ye shall hearken diligently to my commandments," &c., to the end of ver. 21. They wore them upon the forehead, and the wrist of the left arm; the obligation to which they founded on Exod. xiii. 16; Deut. vi. 8; xi. 18.

(14) Nose-rings and ear-rings are very general parts of the dress of an eastern female, and they are often mentioned in Scripture. See Gen. xxiv. 47; xxxv. 4; Isa. iii. 20; Ezek. xvi. 12, &c. Sir John Chardin says, "It is the custom in almost all the East, for the women to wear rings in their noses, in the left nostril, which is bored low down in the middle. These rings are of gold, and have commonly two pearls, with one ruby between them. I never saw a girl or young woman in Arabia, or in all Persia, who did not wear a ring after this manner in her nostril."§

|| Tom. ii., p. 214.

§ Harmer's Observations, vol. ii., p. 390. Mr. Roberts says, "Nothing is more common than for heathen females to have a ring in the nose; and this has led some to suppose that the jewel alluded to in Gen. xxiv. 47, was put into that member, and not on the face. 'I put a jewel on thy forehead' (Ezek. xv. 2). The margin has, for forehead, 'nose.' It does not appear to be generally known, that there is an ornament which is worn by females in the East on the forehead. It is made of thin gold, and is studded with precious stones, and called *Pattam*, which signifies dignity. Thus, to tie on the *Pattam*, is to 'invest with high dignity.' *Patta-latera* is the name of the first lawful wife of the [king]. In the Sathur Agamethe, this ornament is called 'the ornament of the forehead.' Oriental Illustrations, p. 27.

* See Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., 1 Cor. xi. 14, and Josephus, Antiq., b. xiv., c. 3.

† Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., p. 97, &c.

‡ Tom. i., p. 57.

faucon describes a statue of a female, which was discovered at Ponto when he was at Rome, having in her ears two large pendants, on one of which was the figure of Jupiter, and on the other that of Juno. Will this circumstance help us to determine the reason for Jacob burying underground all the rings that were in the ears of his family when he came out of Shechem? * The prophet Ezekiel (xvi. 11) speaks of "chains on the neck," as does Solomon also (Cant. i. 10); and there seems to be a reference to the thread on which the precious stones forming these were hung, in Gen. xiv. 23: "I will not take from a *thread* even to a shoe-latchet," &c. The following description of the dress of a Turkish sultana will afford some idea of the nature of eastern ornaments:—"Round her neck she wore three chains, which reached to her knee; one of large pearls, at the bottom of which hung a fine coloured emerald, as big as a turkey's egg; another consisting of 200 emeralds closely joined together, of the most lively green, perfectly matched, every one as large as a half-crown piece, and as thick as three crown pieces; and another of small emeralds, perfectly round."† It is needless to say that the costliness of these ornaments would be proportionate to the condition of the wearer. Bracelets seem to have been worn on the arms by both males and females (2 Sam. i. 10; Isa. iii. 19; Ezek. xvi. 11), and by the females on the leg also, Isa. iii. 20. Chardin says, that in Persia and Arabia, "the females wear rings about the ankle, which are full of little bells." This will explain Isaiah iii. 16: "They walk, mincing as they go, and making a *tinkling* with their feet."‡ Another accompaniment of female dress was the hand-mirror, which was made of metal; for of some of these Moses made the foot of the laver (Exod. xxxviii. 8); and Dr. Lowth informs us, that he was possessed of one which had been found in the ruins of Herculaneum, not above three inches square.||

SECTION II.

MARRIAGE, AND TREATMENT OF CHILDREN.

I. MARRIAGE.—1. Espousals—2. Purchasing the Bride—3. Marriages contracted at an early Age—4. Marriage Ceremonies—5. Public Processions—6. Nuptial Entertainments

* See Calmet's Bib. Ency., art. "Ear-rings." Mr. Roberts says, "The rings of the Hindoos have a figure of their gods, or some symbol of their power, engraved on them, for the purpose of guarding them from their enemies."—*Oriental Illustrations*, p. 43.

† Lady M. W. Montagu's Letters, vol. ii., Let. 39.

‡ Much curious information relative to the eastern dress may be seen in the Fragments to Calmet, Numbers 667—672, &c.

|| Notes on Isa. viii. 1.

—7. The Parable of the Ten Virgins—8. Polygamy—9. 10. The Support of Widows—11. Laws relative to Marriage. II. TREATMENT OF CHILDREN.—1. Birth—2. Circumcision—3. Religious Instruction—4. Trades—5. The First-born—6. Adoption.

I. THERE were several things connected with the nuptials of the Hebrews so essentially different from any thing among Europeans, that a short notice of them is indispensable.

1. The first thing which merits attention was the method of contracting this sacred obligation—their espousals. It sometimes happened that several years elapsed between the espousals and the marriage of the contracting parties,§ during which period the bride remained at home with her parents, and was under the same obligations of fidelity to her spouse as if the nuptials had been solemnized. See Matt. i. 18. In general, however, only two or three months elapsed between the time of the espousals and that of the marriage.

2. It is seen, from several passages of Scripture, that the custom of purchasing the bride prevailed among the descendants of Abraham. Thus Shechem says to Jacob, whose daughter Dinah he wished to espouse, "Ask me never so much dowry and gifts," &c. See also 1 Sam. xviii. 25. The custom still exists in many parts of the East, and hence a numerous family of daughters is a source of great wealth. Where the bridegroom is not possessed of sufficient property to obtain the object of his desire by purchase, he obtains her by servitude. "They build houses, work in their rice-plantations, and do all the services that may be necessary, and this often lasts three or four years, before they can be married."¶ This will illustrate Gen. xxix. 27.

3. This sacred and important obligation was contracted at a very early age among the Jews, in compliance with eastern customs; and hence the bride calls her husband, "the guide of my youth" (Prov. ii. 17; see also ver. 18). At the age of eighteen the males could marry, and the females when they were twelve and a day; till which time they were called little maids.** Celibacy and sterility were considered great afflictions (Judges xi. 37; 1 Sam. i. 11, &c.); and large families, as peculiar marks of the providential blessing of God, Prov. xvii. 6.

4. Concerning their marriages, Dr. Brown has collected the following particulars from the Jewish writers. On the day of the marriage, the bride was as elegantly attired as her circumstances would permit; and was led by the women into

§ See Josephus, Antiq., b. xiv., c. 16.

¶ Dapper's Africa, p. 399. See also Burckhardt's Travels in Syria, &c., p. 385.

** Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., Mark v. 23.

the dressing-chamber, without her veil, and with dishevelled hair, marriage-songs being sung before her as she went. There she was placed on a beautiful seat, where they disposed her hair in ringlets (hence compared to the long curled hair of a flock of goats on Mount Gilead, in Cant. iv. 1), and ornamented it with ribbands and trinkets. They then decked her in her wedding attire, and veiled her, like Rebecca, amidst the songs and rejoicings of her attendants. Thus was she "prepared as a bride adorned for her husband," Isa. lxi. 10; Rev. xxi. 2. A virgin was married on the fourth day of the week, that, if any doubts were entertained of her virginity, they could be settled by the council of three, on the Thursday, which was a synagogue and court day; and a widow was married on the fifth day of the week. A woman who was either divorced, or a widow, neither married nor was espoused till after ninety days, that it might be ascertained whether she was *enceinte* by her former husband; and if two heathens, who had been married, became proselytes to Judaism, they lived separate for the same length of time, that it might be seen which of their children were heathens, and which were Jews.* When the hour of marriage arrived, four persons walked before the bridegroom, carrying a canopy supported by four poles, that if the bride intended to walk home to the bridegroom's house after the ceremony, she might walk under it in company with her husband; and, in the interim, it either stood before the door, or was taken into the court around which the house was built, if the marriage ceremony was to be performed there; all the bride's party exclaiming, "Blessed be he who cometh!" welcoming thus the bridegroom and his friends. During the ceremony, if the father gave away his daughter, he took her by the hand, as Raguel did Sarah, when she was married to Tobit, presented her to the bridegroom, and said, "Behold, take her after the law of Moses, and lead her away;" blessing them, taking paper, writing an instrument of covenants, and sealing it, Tobit vii. 13, 14. But if the father did not act as the celebrator, the bride stood on the right hand of the bridegroom, in allusion to Ps. xlv. 9, and the Rabbi or Hezen of the synagogue, who acted as celebrator, took the extremity of the *thelit*, which was about the bridegroom's neck, and covered with it the head of the bride, as Boaz did Ruth (ch. iii. 9); after which he consecrated a cup of wine, the by-standers joining in the ceremony; and the cup being thus blessed, it was given to the two contracting parties. The bridegroom, afterwards taking the ring

(a modern invention, instead of the sum of money anciently given as the dowry), and putting it on the finger of the bride, said, "Lo, thou art married to me with this ring, according to the form of Moses and of Israel." Two witnesses were then called, to hear the marriage contract read; and after they returned, another cup of wine was consecrated and divided among the guests.

5. Matters were next so ordered as to prepare for setting out to the house of the bridegroom; when, if there was a canopy, the bride and bridegroom walked under it (hence says the spouse, "His banner over me was love," Cant. ii. 4); but if none, the bride and her companions were veiled, she, however, far deeper than they. Sometimes, also, they used a palanquin, and were carried in state from one house to the other; and it seems to have been to this that David alludes in Ps. xlv. 13, "The king's daughter is all glorious within (the palanquin, viz.), her clothing is of wrought gold." And to this Solomon refers, when he says, of the chariot of the bridegroom, that "its wood was of cedar, its pillars of silver, its bottom of gold, its covering of purple, and the midst thereof paved with love, or poetical amorous inscriptions or devices, for the daughters of Jerusalem," Cant. iii. 9, 10. The marriage processions were commonly in the night, by torch-light; and Lightfoot says, they carried before them ten wooden staves, having each of them at top a vessel like a dish, in which was a piece of cloth or wick, dipped in oil, to give light to the company.† So that the parable of the ten virgins was evidently a delineation of national manners; since they required, in that case, not only to have oil in their lamps, but to have vessels containing a quantity of oil, in order to replenish these lamps from time to time. Indeed, we have several allusions to the same custom, in various passages of Scripture. Thus, the spouse, when speaking of the bridegroom, says, "My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand;" or, as the original expresses it, "lighted with ten thousand:" thereby meaning that he dazzled beholders as much as a bridegroom attended with ten thousand lamps, Cant. v. 10. And the bridegroom says of the spouse, that she is "terrible as an army with banners," or, literally, that she is dazzling as women shone upon with the nuptial lamps, when their rich attire reflected a dazzling lustre. As they went to the bridegroom's house, every person who met them gave place to the procession; a cup of wine was carried before them; and they were accompanied with music and dancing, Ps. xlv. 15. Hence, in

* Lightfoot, Her. Heb.; Matt. i. 18; 1 Cor. vii. 14.

† Her. Heb., Matt. xxv. 1.

one of the parables of our Lord, the children at their sport, when imitating a marriage procession, said, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced," Luke vii. 32. The praises of the bridegroom were also sung, in strains like those in Ruth iv. 11, 12; whilst the praises of the bride were celebrated in a similar manner. Money was scattered among the crowd, to remind them, if need required, that they had been present at the wedding; and barley also was sown before the newly married couple, as denoting their wishes for a numerous progeny.*

6. Having reached the house of the bridegroom, they sat down to the marriage supper, each clothed with a wedding garment, Matt. xxii. 11; and etiquette required that the bride and bridegroom should remain silent, whilst the honours of the table were done by the Architrictinus, or governor of the feast, Eccles. xxxi. 1, 2; John ii. 8, 9. Besides the Architrictinus, there were two other official persons, called Paranymphe, or friends of the bridegroom and the bride (John iii. 39), whose office it was to be assisting to them as man and maid, especially at their entry into the nuptial chamber.† After the feast was ended, mirth and dancing prevailed (Jer. xxxiii. 11), which made the prophet mention the want of them as a mark of desolation (chap. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10, 11); but whether the bride and bridegroom's parties remained together, or were in separate apartments, is not said: the last is most conformable with the manners of the East. When the bridegroom retired, he spread his skirt over his bride, to testify the claim which the law had given him, and sought for those signs which the Mosaic code required in such cases, Deut. xxii. 13—17.‡ In the case of young persons the marriage feast lasted seven days (Gen. xxix. 27; Judg. xiv. 12, 17; Job xi. 19), and the bride retained the appellation for thirty days after the ceremony; but in the case of a widow or a widower, the feast lasted only three days. It was the custom for the father to give his daughter, when leaving his house, a female slave, as a companion, as Laban did to each of his daughters; hence Solomon accounts those extremely poor who had none, Prov. xii. 9.|| In noticing the military affairs of the Jews, we remarked the exemption from military service for twelve months, which marrying a wife conferred :

the reasons for which law were then stated, and therefore need not be repeated here.

7. We have already glanced at the allusions to some parts of the nuptial ceremonies in the beautiful parable of the ten virgins. But we cannot close these remarks without extracting the following illustration of that and another touching passage of holy writ, from the pen of Dr. Harwood, whose intimate acquaintance with the classic writers, to whom these ceremonies were well known, has enabled him to place many passages of Scripture in a very clear and beautiful light:—"The ten virgins," he observes, "went in a company to meet the bridegroom: five of them were endued with prudence and discretion; the other five were thoughtless and inconsiderate. The thoughtless took indeed their lamps, but had not the precaution to replenish them with oil (rather, perhaps, not to carry the vessel of additional oil with them; thinking the present supply would be sufficient). But the prudent, mindful of futurity, took oil with them in vessels. Having waited a long time for the bridegroom, and he not appearing, they all, fatigued with tedious expectation, sunk in profound repose. But lo! at midnight, they were suddenly alarmed with a cry—The bridegroom! the bridegroom is coming! Hasten to meet and congratulate him. Roused with this unexpected proclamation, they all got up and trimmed their lamps. The thoughtless then began to solicit the others to impart to them some of their oil, telling them that their lamps were entirely extinguished. To these entreaties the prudent answered, that they had only provided a sufficient quantity for their own use, and therefore advised them to go and purchase oil of those who sold it. They departed accordingly; but during their absence the bridegroom came, and the prudent virgins, being prepared for his reception, went along with him to the nuptial entertainment. The doors were then immediately shut. After some time the others came to the door, and supplicated earnestly for admission. But the bridegroom repulsed them, telling them he did not know them, and would not admit any strangers."§ From another para-

* Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, John ii. 1.

† *Idem*, *Ibid*.

‡ See Harmer's *Outlines on Sol. Song*, p. 11; Russell's *Nat. Hist. of Aleppo*, p. 113, note; Savary's *Letters on Egypt*, vol. iii., p. 38, &c.

|| Brown's *Jewish Antiquities*, b. ix. sect. 2.

§ *Introd. to the New Test.*, vol. ii., pp. 120—122. The following account of a marriage procession, as seen by Mr. Ward at Serampore, some few years since, will show the conformity which exists between the customs of the East in the present day, and those of ancient times:—"The bridegroom came from a distance, and the bride lived at Serampore, to which place the bridegroom was to come by water. After waiting two or three hours, at length, near midnight, it was announced, as if in the very words of Scripture, 'Behold! the bridegroom cometh: go ye out to meet him!' All the persons employed now lighted their lamps, and ran with them in their hands to fill up their stations in the procession; some of them had lost their lights.

ble, in which a great king is represented as making a most magnificent entertainment at the marriage of his son, we learn (observes the same author), that all the guests who were invited to the entertainment were expected to be dressed in a manner suitable to the splendour of such an occasion, and as a token of just respect to the newly-married couple; and that, after the procession in the evening from the bride's house was concluded, the guests, before they were admitted into the hall, where the entertainment was served up, were taken into an apart-viewed, that it might be known if any stranger had intruded, or if any of the company were apparelled in raiment unsuitable to the genial solemnity they were going to celebrate; and such, if found, were expelled the house with every mark of ignominy and disgrace. From the knowledge of this custom, the following passage receives great light and lustre:—"When the king came in to see the guests, he discovered among them a person who had not on a wedding garment. He called him, and said, 'Friend, how came you to intrude into my palace in a dress so unsuitable to this occasion?' The man was struck dumb—he had no apology to offer for the disrespectful neglect. The king then called to his servants, and bade them bind him hand and foot—to drag him out of the room—and thrust him out into midnight darkness."*

8. In consequence of the universal prevalence of polygamy in the East, we find the practice, from prudential motives, tolerated, under certain restrictions, by the Mosaic code of laws. See Deut. xxi. 15–17; Exod. xxi. 9, 10, &c. The secondary wives of a man were termed *concubines*, and they differed from the first wife, who was the principal, in two things—(1) Where they had been bond-slaves, they still continued under subjection, and were at the disposal of their proprietors so long as the husband continued to pay their matrimonial duty. If deprived of this, they obtained their freedom, Exod. xxi. 7–11. (2) Their children did not inherit, if we may judge from the cases of

Keturah and Hagar, † Gen. xxv. 5, 6. The same distinction prevails to this day in the East.

9. Upon the same ground that polygamy was tolerated by the Mosaic law, divorce was also allowed (Deut. xxiv. 1–4; Matt. xix. 8), but was to be effected in such a manner as gave an opportunity for the reform of many of those evils that were its necessary attendants where these provisions were not known. It will be seen, upon reference to the law above cited, that the husband had the power of dissolving the marriage without any legal aid or recognition—"If a man have taken a woman to wife, and she please him not, because he findeth a defect in her, he shall write her a bill of divorce," &c. It is easy to conceive what abuses and disputes might ensue from such a dissolution of marriages; and to prevent these to the utmost extent, Moses ordained—(1) That there should be some *written* evidence of the transaction, actually delivered to the wife, by which she might be able to certify, on all occasions, the truth of her riddance from her first marriage, together with her right to enter into a second. This process, no doubt, caused many hinderances, as but few Israelites understood the art of writing; so that it became necessary to resort to some judge, or literary person, in order to have the bill of divorce written: but this delay was probably intended by the legislator. For in this way a marriage could never be dissolved in the first heat of passion, and the husband might perhaps change his mind; and the person employed to write the divorce, probably a priest or a Levite, was perhaps a man of principle, and would previously admonish the husband on the subject. A copy of the bill of divorce may be seen in Lightfoot.‡ (2) But even the delivery of the bill of divorce did not render the dissolution of the marriage altogether complete. Thereto, by the Mosaic statute, this further circumstance was requisite, that the wife had actually left the husband's house; which, if we may judge from the nature of the case, and the manners of the Arabs, must have occasioned a delay of several months; and that man must know nothing of the human mind, nor think how often the quarrels of married persons are made up on cool reflection, who can entertain a doubt, whether, by means of these delays, a multitude of intended divorces must not have been prevented. (3) Even after the dissolution of the marriage was complete, if both parties were satisfied to renew the connexion, Moses put no obstacle in the way,

and were unprepared, but it was then too late to seek them, and the cavalcade moved forward to the house of the bride, at which place the company entered a large and splendidly illuminated area, before the house, covered with an awning, where a great multitude of friends, dressed in their best apparel, were seated upon mats. The bridegroom was carried in the arms of a friend, and placed in a superb seat in the midst of the company, where he sat a short time, and then went into the house, the door of which was immediately shut, and guarded by sepoys. I and others expostulated with the door-keeper, but in vain. Never was I so struck with our Lord's beautiful parable as at this moment—and the door was shut!"—View of the History, &c., of the Hindoos, vol. iii., pp. 171, 172.

* Harwood's Introd., vol. ii., p. 122. See also Macknight's Harmony, p. 481, 2nd edition.

† For an elaborate disquisition on the marriage laws of the Hebrews, see Michaëlis on the laws of Moses, vol. ii., pp. 1–122.

‡ Hor. Heb., Matt. v. 31.

if only the wife had not married another husband. For the maintenance of a divorced wife the law makes no provision. This may seem to us a case of great hardship; but in a country where polygamy made females scarce, and where slavery was tolerated, it would not be so severely felt. We must not omit to notice, that the husband forfeited his right to give a divorce, however, if he had seduced a young woman, and been obliged, in obedience to the law, to marry her; as also, if he had falsely accused his wife of not having had the *signa virginitalis* on the wedding-night, Deut. xxii. 19, 29. These provisions had a most beneficial effect.* The wife was also allowed to sue, if she thought herself aggrieved; and especially if she disliked the person to whom she had been espoused at an early age by her parents.† Josephus mentions three instances of divorce by wives; viz., Salome, Herodias, and Drusilla.

10. The support of the wife after the husband's death was uniformly provided for, without the aid of any express regulations. If she had children, that natural duty, which no statute needs to name, obliged them to maintain her. If she had not, the nearest relation of her deceased husband was obliged to marry her, or, if he declined so to do, to resign her to the next more remote; and *that* so peremptorily, that, as we see from Ruth iv. 5, he could not inherit the land of the deceased without taking his childless widow along with it. If she were too old for marriage, still it would seem to have been an incumbent duty on the heir of the land to support her just as fully as if she was his wife,‡ Deut. xxv. 5, 10; Matt. xxii. 25. It is evident that this law was far more ancient than the Jewish law (Gen. xxxviii. 8), but it was under this law that it became doubly binding; for it connected the love of preserving a brother's name with the preservation of property in the several families and tribes. In this case no betrothing was required, nor were there any ceremonies, as at ordinary marriages. The husband's brother acquired his sister-in-law by a divine right, three months after the husband's death.||

11. No regard is paid to equality of rank in marriages among the Orientals, and the meanest slave may be, not only the wife, but even the mother, of a king. Hence we find no law prohibiting an Israelite from marrying out of his rank, and still less one that made marriages with per-

sons of a very inferior station nugatory. To the priests alone has Moses laid down any special rule with respect to their marriages; and even these rules relate, not to what we call rank, but to other things. The statutes that contain them are found in Lev. xxi. 7, 13, 44. Amidst all the restrictions there laid down, however, there was nothing to hinder a priest, and even the high-priest, from marrying an Israelitess of the lowest rank, even one that had from poverty been sold as a slave. It has been a generally prevailing notion, that an Israelite might not marry out of his tribe; but this, as Michaëlis has shown, is a mistake, directly confuted by the Mosaic writings. It was only in the single case of a daughter being the heiress of her father's land, that she was prohibited from marrying out of her tribe, in order that the inheritance might not pass to another tribe, Numb. xxxvi. This is placed beyond doubt in the case of Mary and Elizabeth, who were relations, but who had married into different tribes. It was even in the power of an Israelite to marry a woman born a heathen, provided she renounced idolatry, as is evident from Deut. xxi. 10—14; but all marriage with Canaanitish women was expressly prohibited, Exod. xxxiv. 16.§

II. Among the Jews, children were much coveted; both because the inheritances in the tribes were dependant on it, and because each one, especially of the house of David, was anxious to participate in the honour of being the progenitor of the Messiah.

1. From Ezek. xvi. 4—9, it is evident that infants newly born were washed in water, anointed with oil, rubbed with salt, swaddled with a long bandage, and then wrapped in comfortable clothing.¶ The ingenious writer referred to below, explains Exod. i. 16, with reference to this custom.

2. On the eighth day from the birth of the child the rite of circumcision was performed. Of the design of this ceremony we have spoken in treating of the ceremonial law. It was the initiatory sign and seal of the covenant of peculiarity. It only remains to notice the manner of its performance. The sponsors being chosen, and the company assembled, either in the synagogue or in the house, the female employed by the mother, brought the child to the door, and gave it to the person who was appointed to hold it during the operation. On entering with the child, he was hailed with "Blessed be he who comes!" He then sat down, and the circumciser effected the operation, blessed the child, and gave him the

* See Michaëlis on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii., pp. 127—154.

† Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., 1 Cor. vii. 10.

‡ Michaëlis, Laws of Moses, vol. ii., p. 154; and Calmet's Bib. Encyclop., "Levirate."

|| Ibid., *ubi sup.*, pp. 21—23.

§ Michaëlis, Laws of Moses, pp. 36, 37.

¶ See Fragments to Calmet, No. ccviii., &c.

name appointed (if it had not been already given, see Ruth iv. 17; 1 Sam. iv. 21), at the same time repeating Ezek. xvi. 6, "I said unto thee, when thou wast in thy blood, Live!" After this the company repeats Psalm cxxviii. If the child died before the eighth day, he was circumcised in the cemetery, for the purpose of securing his recognition at the resurrection of the just. The girls were carried to the synagogue, generally, to be named. In both cases it was a time of festivity and rejoicing, though less so in the case of girls than in that of boys. Necessary, however, as circumcision was while the ceremonial law continued obligatory, it became an indifferent thing after the death of Christ; and was totally abrogated, with the rest of the Mosaic ritual, at the destruction of the temple. Till that time the apostles allowed the Jews converted to Christianity the use of it; but they expressly forbade that this yoke should be put upon the necks of the Gentile converts.

3. As soon as the children had arrived at a proper age to receive instruction, they were taught select sentences from the law by their parents, in conformity with Deut. iv. 9, vi. 7, &c.

4. It was a universal custom among the Jews to teach their children some trade, as appears from the following passage from the Talmud, "What is a father commanded to do to his son? To circumcise him; to redeem him; to teach him the law; to teach him a trade; and to take him a wife. Rabbi Judah saith, He who teacheth not his son a trade, does as if he taught him to be a thief. And Rabban Gamael saith, He who hath a trade in his hand is like a vineyard that is fenced."*

5. Among the Hebrews, as indeed among most other nations, the *first-born* enjoyed particular privileges; and wherever polygamy existed it was necessary to fix them. See Deut. xxi. 15—17. These privileges consisted (1) in a right to the priesthood, which before the law was in the eldest of the family; and (2) in a double portion of the father's property. The double portion is explained two ways: some believe that half the entire inheritance was given to the elder brother, the other half being shared in equal parts among the rest. But the rabbins inform us, that the first-born took for his share twice as much as any of his brethren. If the first-born died before the division of the father's inheritance, and left any children, his right devolved to his heirs. First-born daughters were not, however, invested with these privileges. The rights of the first-born could be transferred to any other branch of the family, upon certain grounds;

as in the case of Jacob and Esau, Reuben and Joseph, Adonijah and Solomon.†

6. Adoption, strictly speaking, does not appear to have been practised by the ancient Hebrews. Moses says nothing of it in his laws; and Jacob's adoption of his two grandsons, Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. xlviii. 1), is rather a kind of substitution, by which he intended that they should have each his lot in Israel, as if they had been his own sons—"Ephraim and Manasseh are mine; as Reuben and Simeon, they shall be mine." But as he gives no inheritance to their father Joseph, the effect of this adoption extended only to their increase of fortune and inheritance; that is, instead, of one part, giving them, or Joseph, whom they represented, two parts. From Esther ii. 15, however, it is evident that adoption, strictly so called, was not unknown among the Jews; though we are uncertain how far the privileges of it extended. It is supposed they were much like those of the Roman laws; that adopted children shared the parent's estate with his natural descendants; that they assumed the name of the person who adopted them, and became subject to his paternal power. Another kind of adoption, among the Israelites, consisted in the obligation of a surviving brother to marry the widow of his brother, who had died without issue (Deut. xxv. 5, &c.); so that the children of this connexion were considered as belonging to the deceased brother, and went by his name. Among the Mahometans the ceremony of adoption is performed by causing the adopted to pass through the shirt of the person who adopts him. Something like this appears among the Hebrews. Elijah adopted Elisha by throwing his mantle over him (1 Kings xix. 19); and when he was carried up in a fiery chariot, his mantle, which he let fall, was taken up by Elisha, his spiritual son and adopted successor in the office of prophet, 2 Kings ii. 13, 15. It should be remarked, that Elisha asks not merely to be adopted (for that he had been already), but to be treated as the elder son; to have a double portion of the spirit conferred upon him. Did the gift of the mantle imply this also? It would seem so, by the conduct of Moses, who clothed Eleazar in Aaron's sacred vestments, when that high-priest was about to be gathered to his fathers (Numb. xx. 26); intimating thereby, that Eleazar succeeded in the functions of the priesthood, and was, as it were, adopted to exercise that dignity. The Lord told Shebna, captain of the temple, that he would deprive him of his honourable station, and substitute Eliakim, son of Hilkiah: "I will clothe him with thy robe,

* Lightfoot, Har. of the New Test., Acts xviii.

† Calmet's Bib. Encyclop., art. "Birth-right."

saith the Lord, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand," Isai. xxii. 21. Paul, in several parts of his writings, exhorts Christians to put on the Lord Jesus, and to put on the new man, to denote their adoption as sons of God.*

SECTION III.

MODES OF TRAVELLING.

1. Travelling Provisions, &c.—2. Hospitality shown to Travellers—3. Eastern Caravans—4. Illustration of the Exodus—5. Preparations for the Journeyings of Eastern Monarchs.

1. When any of the Jews were going to travel to a distance, they carried their provisions with them, in a scrip slung over the shoulder; and also provided themselves with a change of raiment, and sometimes with a bottle of water. Thus provided, they commenced their journey, taking a staff in their hand. It was not customary to travel in the heat of the day, unless in cases of urgent necessity; neither did they, when in haste, salute any one by the way, 2 Kings iv. 29. The first thing to which they attended, after reaching their place of rest, was the washing of the feet, which in eastern countries is a very great refreshment. In the houses of the superior classes this is always performed by a servant, and is considered as a mark of honour and respect. The beasts upon which the Jews generally rode were asses, of which white ones were in the greatest request, and were used by the more honourable ranks of society, Judg. v. 10.

2. We must not omit to notice here, the hospitality usually shown to travellers in eastern countries, and to which there are so many scriptural allusions. When a traveller had no friend to resort to on his arrival at a town or village, he took his station at the city gate, or in the street, whence he was soon invited to enter some tent or house, and partake of the provisions of the table and the comforts of the bedchamber, Gen. xix. 2; Judg. xix. 15—21.

3. In Gen. xxv. 2, there is mention of one of those commercial caravans, by which so much of the traffic of the East is still carried on. The following description of one of these large companies, from Colonel Campbell's Travels to India, has furnished the late ingenious editor of Calmet with the materials for illustrating some circumstances in the history of the exodus, which have been a source of much embarrassment to commentators, both ancient and modern.

4. A caravan is an assemblage of travellers, partly pilgrims, partly merchants, who collect together in order to consolidate a sufficient force to protect them, in travelling through the hideous wilds and burning deserts over which they are constrained to pass, for commercial and other purposes; those wilds being infested with Arabs, who make a profession of pillage, and rob in most formidable bodies, some almost as large as small armies. As the collection of such a number (i. e., to form the caravan) requires time, and the embodying of them is a serious concern, it is concerted with great care and preparation, and is never attempted without the permission of the prince in whose dominions it is formed, and of those also, whose dominions it is to pass, expressed *in writing*. The exact number of men and carriages, mules, horses, and other beasts of burden, is specified in the license; and the merchants to whom the caravan belongs regulate and direct every thing pertaining to its government and police, during the journey, and appoint the various *officers* necessary for conducting it. Each caravan has four principal officers: the *first*, the *caravan bachi*, or head of the caravan; the *second*, the captain of the march; the *third*, the captain of the stop, or rest; and the *fourth*, the captain of the distribution. The *first* has the UNCONTROLLABLE AUTHORITY and *command* over all the others, and gives them his orders; the *second* is ABSOLUTE during the march, but his authority immediately *ceases* on the stopping or encamping of the caravan, when the *third* assumes his share of the authority, and exerts it during the time of its remaining at rest; the *fourth* orders the disposition of every part of the caravan, in case of an attack or battle. This last officer has, also, during the march, the inspection and direction of the distribution of provisions, which is conducted, under his management, by several inferior officers, who are obliged to give security to the master of the caravan; each of them having the care of a certain number of men, elephants, dromedaries, camels, &c., which they undertake to conduct, and to furnish with provisions, at their own risk, according to an agreement stipulated between them. A *fifth* officer of the caravan is, the PAYMASTER or TREASURER, who has under him a great many clerks and interpreters, *appointed to keep accurate journals of all the material incidents which may occur on the journey*; it is by these journals, signed by the superior officers, that the owners of the caravan judge whether they have been well or ill served or conducted. Another kind of officers are mathematicians, without whom no caravan will presume to set out. There are commonly three of them attached to a caravan of a large

* Calmet's Bib. Ency. art. "Adoption."

size; and they perform the offices both of quartermaster and aid-de-camp, leading the troops when the caravan is attacked, and assigning the quarters where the caravan is appointed to encamp. There are no less than five distinct kinds of caravans: *First*, the heavy caravans, which are composed of elephants, dromedaries, camels, and horses; *secondly*, the light caravans, which have but few elephants; *thirdly*, the common caravans, which have none of those animals; *fourthly*, the horse caravans, where are neither dromedaries nor camels; and, *lastly*, sea caravans, consisting of vessels; from whence we may observe, that the word *caravan* is not confined to the land, but extends to the water also.

5. The proportion observed in the heavy caravan is as follows: When there are 500 elephants, they add 1000 dromedaries, and 2000 horses, at the least; and the escort is composed of 4000 men on horseback. Two men are required for leading one elephant; five, for three dromedaries; and seven, for eleven camels. This multitude of servants, together with the officers and passengers, whose number is uncertain, serve to support the escort in case of a fight; and render the caravan more formidable and secure. The passengers are not absolutely obliged to fight; but, according to the laws and usages of the caravan, if they refuse to do so, they are not entitled to any provisions whatever from the caravan, even though they should agree to pay an extravagant price for them. The day of the caravan setting out, being once fixed, is never altered or postponed; so that no disappointment can possibly ensue to any one. Even these powerful and well-armed bodies are way-laid and robbed by the Arabian princes, who keep spies in all parts to give notice when a caravan sets out: sometimes they plunder them, sometimes they make slaves of the whole convoy.*

6. This account will greatly assist in illustrating the history of the exodus. In order to apply it to that event, we must premise, that the manners of the East, because resulting from the nature and the peculiarities of the countries, have ever been so permanent, that what was anciently adopted into a custom, as appears by the earliest relations which have reached us, is still conformed to, with scarcely any variation.

(1) The officers of a caravan appear to be *FIVE*. This may explain the nature and use of the word, which signifies *five* in Exod. xiii. 18, and which has embarrassed commentators, ancient and modern. Our translation renders it *harnessed*, i. e., in arms; but puts in the margin, *five in a rank*.

Other Versions have the same difference. Mr. Harmer has some very ingenious thoughts on it; and Mr. Taylor said he had once acquiesced so far in the idea, as to think they might be illustrated by a print in Niebuhr, where *four* camels follow in a train led by one man, apparently as the common mode of conducting them. If Moses had ordered that each man, instead of conducting *four*, should conduct *five*, or that the usual number of drivers necessary to conduct the cattle of four families should conduct those of *five*, it might have afforded a sense, notwithstanding Mr. Harmer abandons the passage as much too difficult. But the Hebrew word (*chemoshim*) occurs where that sense is inapplicable, as Josh. i. 14, "Pass over before your brethren *armed*;" chap. iv. 12, "passed over *armed*;" Judg. vii. 11, "Gideon went down to the outside of the *armed* men." It should appear that the margin, which in all these places reads, *five in a rank*, errs; because we have no account of such a formation of any military body; and, in the case of Gideon, *five in a rank* can never describe an advanced guard, or a corps-de-garde, or any other; but if we accept the idea of *embodied under the FIVE*, i. e., the officers established by the ordinary laws and usages of encampments, of military service, and of caravans, as conducted by *five* chiefs, then every place where the word occurs agrees to this sense of it. That the Israelites were armed *generally*, is incredible; because (1) It would have been absolute folly in Pharaoh to trust them with arms, while under servitude; (2) nor could they *generally* have procured them subsequently; (3) nor could Pharaoh, with his forces, expect to subdue so great a multitude, just escaped into liberty, had they been armed to the extent some have supposed. But the sense of the passage in Exodus, according to Mr. Taylor, is, that Moses arranged the Israelites while in Egypt, and conducted them out of it in the most orderly, regular, and even military manner; appointing proper officers over the caravan generally, and over every division or party, even to the least numerous party, composing it.

(2) A caravan is too serious a concern to be attempted without the permission of the king in whose dominions it is formed; and of those powers, also, through whose dominions it is to pass. This explains the urgency of Moses to obtain permission from Pharaoh, and the power of Pharaoh to prevent the assemblage necessary for the purpose of Israel's deliverance; it accounts, also, for the attack made by Amalek (Exod. xvii.); which tribe, not having granted a free passage, intended revenge and plunder for this omission, in a "formidable body, as large as an army;" but Moses could not have previously negotiated for

* Campbell's Travels, p. ii., p. 40.

their consent, without alarming Pharaoh too highly, as to the extent of his proposed excursion with *the people*.

(3) The nature of the "mixed multitude" which accompanied the caravan of Israel, clearly appears in this extract.

(4) The exact number of men, carriages, mules, &c. This, we find, was the custom also, in the time of Moses, as the returns made and registered in the book of Numbers sufficiently demonstrate.

(5) The time necessary for the formation of a caravan justifies the inference that the Israelites did not leave Egypt in that violent hurry which has been sometimes supposed; they must have had time to assemble; many, no doubt, from distant parts, which would require several days: they might be expelled in haste from the royal city; but to collect them all together at the place of rendezvous, must have been a work of time.

(6) Another consideration, not unimportant, arises from the nature, the departments, and the powers of these officers. It appears from various passages of Scripture, that the LORD, or JEHOVAH, was considered as the chief guide, conductor, or commander of the Israelites, at the time of their exodus from Egypt. He therefore was understood to be—(1) *Caravan Backs* to this people: in his name Moses acted, being at the same time (2) *Captain of the March*; (3) Hur might be *Captain while resting*; (4) Joshua, *Captain of the Distribution*; and (5) Aaron, *Treasurer or Paymaster*. This distribution of offices appears further probable from Joshua being ordered (chap. xvii.) to go and fight Amalek, who attacked Israel while encamped. Now fighting appears to be part of the duty of (4); and who fitter for this than Joshua? That Hur should be *captain of the resting* seems likely, from his being left in authority in conjunction with Aaron (chap. xxiv. 14), while Moses and Joshua went up into the mount: to what more proper person, or officer, could this charge be intrusted? As Hur's office was suspended while the people were fighting under Joshua, he could be well spared, with Aaron, to hold up the hands of Moses. It remains, that Aaron could only fill a secondary and subordinate, but equally important, office: he, like others while on the march, was under the authority and orders of the captain of the march; while at rest, he was under the authority and orders of the captain of the resting. If this be the fact, then we may fairly presume that he acted but a subordinate part in the transactions of the camp; and, by consequence, in that famous one of the golden calf, in which the people

seem to have *forced* him. If the authority of the captain of the rest, or that of the captain of the march, though now not on duty, supported the request of the people, how could Aaron, their treasurer only, not as, *afterwards*, the high-priest, suppress it? Whence was he to get powers against "a people set on mischief?" Besides, if Aaron were concerned no further than by his office of treasurer, i. e., taking the money, the materials, and giving them to the workmen, some other *principal* officer might *promote* the making of the image, might direct and expedite it, and, in short, might get it completed, before Aaron saw it, as appears credible from the order of the narrative, which stands thus (Exod. xxxii. 3, 4): He took the ear-rings, &c., bound them in a bag, or bags (or valued, and placed them as purses, according to the present Turkish phrase); then he made that into a calf by fusion (comp. ver. 35, "THEY made the calf"); then "THEY said, These be thy gods;—and when Aaron saw it," &c. Now had Aaron made it himself, personally, he must have seen it *before* the people saw it. It should seem, therefore, that Aaron had given the gold, of which he had the custody, to a workman appointed by the people; that he followed the people throughout this transaction; and that he endeavoured to guide (perhaps even to control) their opinion, in varying and appointing to the honour of JEHOVAH, what many, at least "the mixed multitude," would refer to the honour of the gods they had seen in Egypt. In this view, his expression deserves notice: "To-morrow is a solemnity to JEHOVAH;" not to Apis, or to any other god, but to JEHOVAH. Aaron then was less a principal in this crime than has been supposed; consequently, in one sense he was less unfit for the office of priest, *afterwards* conferred upon him. Moreover, if he were treasurer, then part of his duty was to keep *accurate JOURNALS of all material incidents*; and it is not unlikely that he assisted his brother in writing some parts of the books now bearing the name of Moses; or, at least, that as he also kept journals of public transactions, these were made use of by Moses in compiling his history. If this be admissible, then we can account at once for what difference of style appears in these books, and for such smaller variations in different places, as would naturally arise from two persons recording the same facts. It accounts, also, for the third person being sometimes used, especially in the early books, when speaking of Moses: perhaps, too, for some of the praise and commendation bestowed upon Moses, which is most remarkable where Aaron is most in fault.

7. The reader will observe other particulars for himself: those here suggested are offered but as

hints to lead the inquiry. The remark, however, is obvious, that the most intricate transactions appear perfectly easy when set in their proper light; and that what we now find obscure, is evidently not from any real obscurity in the original narration, but from our want of acquaintance with proper accompaniments, which might conduct our judgments. How greatly this applies to establish the authenticity and authority of Scripture, must be obvious to every reflecting mind.*

5. We may not close this section without noticing the preparations which were made for the journeyings of eastern monarchs. Whenever they entered upon an expedition, or took a journey, especially through desert and unfrequented countries, harbingers were sent before them, to prepare all things for their passage; and pioneers to open the passes, to level the ways, and to remove all impediments. In allusion to this practice, John Baptist is represented as "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make his paths straight. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight, and the rough places plain," Isai. xl. 3, 4; Matt. iii. 3. The account which Diodorus has given of the march of Semiramis into India and Persia will give us a clear notion of the preparation of the way for a royal expedition: "In her march to Ecbatana, she came to the Zarcean mountain; which, extending many furlongs, and being full of craggy precipices and deep hollows, could not be passed without taking a great compass about. Being, therefore, desirous of leaving an everlasting memorial of herself, as well as of shortening the way, she ordered the precipices to be dug down, and the hollows to be filled up; and, at a great expense, she made a shorter and more expeditious road, which is still called *the road of Semiramis*. Afterwards, she went into Persia and all the other countries of Asia subject to her dominion; and wherever she went, she ordered the mountains and precipices to be levelled, raised causeways in the plain country, and, at great expense, made the ways passable."†

SECTION IV.

FUNERAL RITES.

Jewish Notion of Death—Embalming—Public Mourning—
Coffins or Biers—Funeral Entertainments—Jewish Cemeteries—
Jewish Notions of a Future State.

1. The Hebrews regarded life as a journey, as a pilgrimage, on the face of the earth. The traveller, as they supposed, when he arrived at the end of his journey, which happened when he died, was received into the company of his ancestors, who had gone before him. See Gen. xv. 8, xxxv. 29, xxxviii. 35; Ps. xxxix. 12; comp. Heb. xi. 13, 15; Eccles. xii. 7. Reception into the *presence of God* at death, is asserted in only two passages of the Old Testament, viz.; Hag. ii. 23, and Eccles. xii. 7.‡

2. When the principle of life was extinguished, and the eyes were closed in death, the first funeral office among the Jews was the ablution of the corpse, with a warm infusion of camomile-flowers and dried roses. See Acts ix. 37. After washing the corpse they embalmed it, by laying all around it a large quantity of costly spices and aromatic drugs, in order to imbibe and absorb the humours, and by their inherent virtues to preserve it as long as possible from putrefaction and decay. Thus Nicodemus brought a mixture of myrrh and aloes, about 100 pounds weight, to perform the customary office to the deceased Saviour. This embalming was usually repeated for several days together (Gen. i. 2, 3), that the drugs and spices thus applied might have all their efficacy in the exsiccation of the moisture and the future conservation of the body. They then swathed the corpse in linen rolls or bandages, closely enfolding and enwrapping it in that bed of aromatic drugs with which they had surrounded it. So Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus took the body of Jesus, and wrapt in linen clothes with the spices, as the manner of the Jews is to bury, John xix. 40. Thus, when our Lord had cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth!" it is said, the dead came forth, bound hand and foot, in grave clothes! John xi. 44. We learn also from this place, that about the head and face of the corpse was folded a napkin, which was a separate thing, and did not communicate with the other bandages in which the body was swathed; for the face of Lazarus was bound about with a napkin; and when our Lord was risen, Peter, who went into the sepulchre, saw the linen clothes lie, and the napkin that had been folded round his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but in a place by itself, and at some distance from them, John xx. 7. Josephus informs us of the method by which they preserved bodies from putrefaction, till they could be buried in the family vaults to which they belonged; stating that the dead body of Aristobulus, who had been poisoned by one of Pompey's party, lay

* Calmet's Bib. Ency., art. "Aaron," and Fragments, No. 1.

† Dr. A. Clarke on Matt. iii. 3; Critica Biblica, vol. i., pp. 460. 461; Fragments to Calmet, No. 171.

‡ Jahn, Archaeol., § 203.

above ground, preserved in honey, till it was sent to the Jews by Antony, in order to be buried in the royal sepulchres.*

3. It was usual among the Jews to make very great and public lamentations for their departed friends. This we see in the case of Sarah, and especially in that of Jacob, Gen. l. 7—13. On the loss of near and dear relatives, and of amiable and affectionate friends, the grief of this people was violent and frantic. Tearing their hair, rending their clothes, and uttering doleful shrieks and piercing cries, were some of the expressions of it. Suetonius marks this distinguished vehemence of the Jews in the expressions of their grief. In that great and public mourning, at the funeral of Julius Cæsar, a multitude of foreign nations, says the historian, expressed their sorrow according to their respective customs; but the mourning and lamentation of the Jewish people exceeded all the rest—they continued about the funeral pile whole nights together. It appears, also, that upon the demise of their friends they hired persons whose profession it was to superintend and conduct their public and private sorrows, who, in funeral odes, mournful songs, and doleful ejaculations, deplored the instability of human condition, celebrated the virtues of the deceased, and excited the grief and lamentations of the survivors. This we learn from the following passages of the prophets: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, consider ye, and call for the MOURNING WOMEN, that they may come; and let them make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that *our eyes* may run down with tears, and our eyelids gush out with waters," Jer. ix. 17, 18. "Both the great and the small shall die in this land: they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them. Neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead, neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink for their father or their mother," chap. xvi. 6, 7. See also chap. xlviii. 36, 37; Ezek. xxiv. 16—18. In the time of our Saviour, these mournful songs had musical accompaniments. The soft and plaintive melody of the flute was employed to heighten the doleful lamentations and dirges. Thus, on the death of the daughter of Jairus, a company of mourners, with players on the flute, according to the Jewish custom, attended upon this sorrowful occasion. When Jesus entered the governor's house, he saw the minstrels and the people wailing greatly, Matt. ix. 23.† This custom still obtains

among the Moors. At all their principal entertainments, says Dr. Shaw, and to show mirth and gladness on other occasions, the women welcome the arrival of each guest by squalling out, for several times together, *Loo, Loo, Loo*, a corruption, as it seems to be, of Hallelujah. *Αλαλη*, a word of the like sound, was used by an army, either before they gave the onset, or when they had obtained the victory. The Turks, to this day, call out *Allah, Allah, Allah*, upon like occasions. At their funerals, also, and upon other melancholy occasions, they repeat the same noise (*Loo*), only they make it more deep and hollow, and end each period with some ventriloquous sighs. The *railing greatly*, as our Version expresses it (Mark v. 38), upon the death of Jairus' daughter, was probably performed in this manner; for there are several women hired to act upon these lugubrious occasions, who, like the *præfices*, or mourning women of old, are *skilful in lamentation* (Amos v. 16), and great mistresses of these melancholy expressions.‡ It should be stated, that the ordinary mourning for the dead was divided into two periods; the first, between the time of the death and the burial, which was called The Mourning, by way of eminence; and the second, for thirty days after the funeral, Numb. xx. 29; Deut. xxxiv. 8.||

4. When the time of the burial arrived, which was commonly within twenty-four hours after death, the relations and friends were the attendants; but if the person deceased had been a highly beloved character, the company was very numerous. The widow of Nain had much people of the city at the funeral of her son, Luke vii. 12.

5. Coffins were not in general use in Judea: nor are they, at present, in the East. Dr. Henderson witnessed a funeral in the Crimea, and he observes, "It [the body] had not been put in a coffin, according to the manner of burials conferred upon even the poorest person in Europe. but was simply wrapped round with a white cloth, laid upon a bier or board, and borne by four men to the grave. This mode of performing the funeral obsequies obtains equally among the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, in these parts, with the exception of the European families, who naturally conform to the rites of their ancestors. Such appears to have been the manner in which Abner was interred (2 Sam. iii. 31); for it is said that David followed *the bier*, in Hebrew *metek*, a 'bed or board,' and not *arum*, 'an ark or coffin,' such as that in which the body of Joseph was

* Jewish Wars, b. i., c. 9.

† See also Josephus, Wars, b. iii., c. 10.

‡ Travels, p. 306, first edit., 1738.

|| Brown's Jewish Antiquities, vol. ii., part ix., a. 14.

laid, Gen. i. 26. It has been supposed that what was done to Joseph was designed as a mark of distinction by the Egyptians; but there is no proof from the text of Scripture, that the rite was performed by the Egyptians at all; and it seems more natural to conclude that his body was thus deposited in order to its being preserved till such time as it could be conveyed to the land of Canaan. The *soros*, or *bier*, on which the widow of Nain's son was carried, and which commentators general interpret *arca relecta et aperta*, was most probably nothing more than what we saw in the Crimea.*

6. At the burial of a Rabbi, some books were commonly laid upon the bier; and it was reckoned honourable for a warrior to be buried in armour (Ezek. xxxii. 27); but a person dying under the sentence of excommunication had a stone upon the bier, or a stone thrown into the grave, to show that he was worthy of death, because he applied not to have the sentence removed. When arrived at the sepulchre, they addressed a short prayer to God, as the giver and restorer of life, placed the bier on the ground, walked round it seven times, repeated another prayer; after which the relations threw a handful of earth on it, and then filled up the grave.

7. The entertainment of the company invited to a funeral, did not precede, but followed the solemnity. Among the heathen, it was either over or around the grave (Ecclus. xxx. 18; Tobit iv. 17; Jer. xvi. 7†); but the Jews had it at home. This entertainment was commonly liberal: they drank two cups of wine before it, five while eating, and three afterwards; at least, they had the offer of so many.‡ But as this implied greater abundance than was in the power of many to give, the want was supplied by the liberality of their neighbours, both as a mark of sympathy, and in the expectation that they would return the compliment, when themselves should be visited with a similar affliction, Jer. xvi. 7, 8; Ezek. xxiv. 17, 20.

8. The Jewish cemeteries were without the walls of the cities; at least, the only exception was in favour of the city of Jerusalem, within whose walls the kings of the house of David, and

the bodies of Jehoiada the high-priest, and of Huldah the prophetess, were laid, 2 Chron. xxiv. 16.

The sepulchres were in gardens, in fields, and in the sides of mountains; and they were generally in solitary and unfrequented places. Thus the demoniac of Gadara wore no clothes, and abode not in any house, but had his dwelling among the tombs (Mark v. 2, 3, 5), delighting in these gloomy and melancholy recesses, as most friendly and congenial to the wretched state of his mind. Josephus also informs us that these sepulchres were the haunts and lurking-places of those numerous and desperate bands of robbers with which Judæa was at that time infested.||

9. Sometimes they buried their dead in the open fields, over whom the opulent and families of distinction raised superb and ostentatious monuments, which they religiously maintained from time to time in their pristine splendour and magnificence.§ To this custom our Saviour alludes in his address to the Pharisees, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye are like unto *whited sepulchres*, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also *outwardly* appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity," Matt. xxiii. 27. The following extract from Dr. Shaw forcibly illustrates these passages. "If we except a few persons, who are buried within the precincts of the sanctuaries of their Marabutta, the rest are carried out to a small distance from their cities and villages, where a great extent of ground is allotted for the purpose. Each family has a particular part of it walled in, like a garden, where the bones of their ancestors have remained for many generations. For in these inclosures the graves are all distinct and separate, each of them having a stone placed upright, both at the head and feet, inscribed with the name and title (2 Kings xxiii. 17) of the deceased, whilst the intermediate space is either planted with flowers, bordered round with stones, or paved with tiles. The graves of the principal citizens are further distinguished by having cupolas or vaulted chambers, of three, four, or more square yards, built over them; and as these very frequently lie open, and occasionally shelter us from the inclemency of the weather, the demoniac might with propriety enough have had his dwelling among the tombs: and others are said to 'remain among the graves, and to lodge in the monuments,' Isa. lx. 4. And as all these different sorts of tombs and sepulchres, with the very walls

* Biblical Researches and Travels in Russia, p. 304.

† Mr. Roberts, speaking of the Hindoo customs, says, "After the corpse has been consumed on the funeral pile, or buried, the relations of the deceased prepare and send a fine kind of gruel (made of the Palmirah killunga) to the funeral house. At the anniversary of a funeral, the relations of the deceased meet to eat together, and give food to the poor. Hence great numbers on these occasions get plenty of provisions."—Oriental Illustrations, p. 475.

‡ Lightfoot, Hor. Heb., Matt. ix. 23.

|| See Macknight on Mark v. 3.

§ For a description of the various kinds of tombs among the Jews, see Fragments to Calmet, Nos. 210, 575, &c.

likewise of their respective cupolas and inclosures, are constantly kept clean, *whitewashed* and *beautified*, they continue to illustrate those expressions of our Saviour, where he mentions the garnishing of sepulchres, and compares the Scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites, to '*whited* sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but within were full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness.'* The Jews call a cemetery "the house of the living," to show their belief in the immortality of the soul, and of the resurrection of the body; and when they come thither bearing a corpse, they address themselves to those who lie there, saying, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath created you, fed you, brought you up, and at last, in his justice, taken you out of the world. He knows the number of you all, and will in time revive you. Blessed be the Lord, who causeth death and restoreth life." They hold that it is not lawful to demolish tombs, nor to disturb the repose of the dead by burying another corpse in the same grave, even after a long time; nor to carry an aqueduct across the common place of burial; or a highway; nor to go and gather wood, or suffer cattle to feed there.†

10. The Jewish idea of a future state seems to have been as follows:—(1) They believed in the existence of heaven, or the heaven of heavens, the place of God's peculiar residence, the dwelling of good angels, and the everlasting abode of the blessed, after the resurrection. (2) They believed in the existence of hell, which they metaphorically styled "Gehenna," from the fires which were kept constantly burning in the valley of Hinnom (*Giahonem*); and "Tophet," from the tophs, or drums, which were there employed to drown the cries of the children who were sacrificed to Moloch. This they considered as the residence of the devil and his angels, and the destined abode of the wicked, after the general judgment. (3) They believed in an intermediate state, where the souls of all who died had their residence till the resurrection, in a state of comparative happiness, or misery, according to their previous characters, Isa. xiv. 8—20; Ezek. xxxii. 23—30. This was named *Shaul* in the Old Testament; and *Hades* in the New Testament, in the LXX., and in Josephus.‡ Accordingly, while the body was committed to the grave, the soul went to *Shaul*, to be rewarded or punished, in an inferior degree, between death and

the resurrection. But in what particular place that state was, has been differently explained: some making it an immense cavern in the centre of the earth; some, the state of the dead in general; and some, an intermediate *state*, rather than an intermediate *place*, where the saints, though in heaven, are less happy; and the wicked, although in hell, are less wretched, than they will respectively be after the resurrection. This last seems to have been the belief of the best informed among the Jews. Accordingly, it was a saying of theirs, that "Abraham and Moses, and all the righteous, when they die, are laid up under the very throne of God:"|| implying, that those who are lying under the throne, between death and the resurrection, will, after that, stand before the throne, more exalted and more happy. Towards the end of the Mosaic economy, when the Jews became acquainted with the philosophical opinions of the Greeks and Romans, they began to describe the intermediate state, by expressions somewhat corresponding to the *infernus* of their heathen neighbours, with its *Elysium*, *Tartarus*, and intersecting rivers.§ For they supposed it to have had a place which contained the good, called Paradise, and Abraham's bosom (Luke xxiii. 43; Rev. ii. 7; Luke xvi. 23); a place which contained the wicked, called Tartarus (2 Pet. ii. 4); and a great gulf which divided between them, Luke xvi. 26.

11. From the representation of Josephus,¶ Dr. Campbell is inclined to conclude, that in the time of that writer a resurrection and a future judgment (in the sense in which they were understood by the primitive Christians) were not universally the doctrines even of the Pharisees; but that the prevalent and distinguishing opinion was, that the soul survived the body; that vicious souls would suffer an everlasting imprisonment in Hades, and that the souls of the virtuous would not only be happy there, but in process of time would obtain the privilege of transmigrating into other bodies: in other words, that the immortality of human souls, and the transmigration of the good, were all that they comprehended in the resurrection of the dead. Several allusions to this doctrine of transmigration, however ridiculous it may appear to us, seem to be made in the New Testament; for the question put by the disciples to our Lord, "Who sinned, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?" and some popular notions concerning Jesus, whom they knew to have been

* Travels, p. 315, first edit. 1738.

† Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 126—142; and Calmet Bib. Eoc., art. "Burial."

‡ In the common English Version of the Scriptures, the words are translated, *hell*, *the pit*, and *the grave*; but the Jews, and many of the Christian commentators, explain them uniformly of the intermediate state.

|| Lightfoot, Sermon on Luke xxiii. 42, 43.

§ See, particularly, an extract from Josephus's Discourse to the Greeks concerning Hades, in Whiston's translation, vol. iv., p. 353, &c.

¶ Jewish Wars, b. ii., c. 12.

born and brought up among themselves, that he was Elijah, Jeremiah, or one of the prophets, evidently presuppose it, Matt. xvi. 14; John ix. 2. There is reason to believe, however, that this strange doctrine was not universal; and that afterwards, when the doctrines of the Gospel concerning a future state became better known, the opinions of the Talmudists had a much greater conformity to them, than the opinions of some of their predecessors in and before the days of our Saviour. Thus were life and immortality more clearly brought to light by the Gospel.*

12. In the Miscellaneous Works of Mr. Harmer (8vo. London, 1823), there is a most valuable and interesting account of the Jewish doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. That this fact was admitted among the descendants of Abraham, Mr. Harmer satisfactorily proves, both from the sacred Scriptures, and some of the most celebrated Jewish writers. But although they agree upon the *fact*, they differ materially as to the *subjects* of it. From a treatise, by Manasseh-ben-Israel, an eminent Jew of Amsterdam, and from another, by Dassovius, a later German Jew, it appears to be the general opinion of this people, that the resurrection will not extend to *all dead men*: but they find it difficult to decide upon the persons who will be excluded. Some of them have supposed that only *the just* of the Jewish nation will arise: the famous Rabbi David Kimchi was of this opinion. Rabbi Bechai, on the contrary, thought that the wicked as well as the good were to arise: but still he limits the resurrection to the Israelites. Others, among whom is the great Maimonides, differ from both these classes, as they do not exclude the Gentiles from the resurrection, but suppose that some good people among them shall partake of their honour: among these they reckon Plato and Socrates. But neither of these collections will enable us to determine, with sufficient clearness and precision, what was the opinion of the Jews in the time of our Lord, as to the extent of the resurrection. This is only to be known by carefully comparing the sentiments of the modern Jews with the hints given by Paul of the opinions of those in his time.†

SECTION V.

DOMESTIC ECONOMY AND REPASTS.

1. Bread—2. Wines—3. Milk, Butter, Butter-milk, &c.—4. Meals, and Repasts of the Jews—5. Manner of Eating—6. Posture at Table—7. Portions sent to the absent—8. Grace at Meals.

1. THE Jewish people generally lived upon food of the plainest description. Boaz complimented Ruth, who was much his inferior in rank, by permitting her to partake of his meal, of the nature of which we may judge from the passage: "At meal-time come thou hither, and eat of the bread, and dip thy morsel in the vinegar. And she sat beside the reapers: and he reached her parched corn, and she did eat, and was sufficed, and left." (Ruth ii. 14.) Of as plain and simple a description was the supply of food brought to David and his companions in arms, when he had been obliged to fly from Jerusalem. "Two hundred loaves of bread, and an hundred bunches of raisins, and an hundred of summer-fruits, and a bottle of wine," 2 Sam. xvi. 1:—also chap. xvii. 28, 29, "And they brought beds, and basons, and earthen vessels, and wheat, and barley, and flour, and parched corn, and beans, and lentiles, and parched pulse, and honey, and butter, and sheep, and cheese of kine, for David, and for the people that were with him to eat." The simplest and most ordinary diet of the Jews, prepared by themselves, was bread,‡ which was commonly baked in a wooden bowl, or kneading-trough (Exod. viii. 3), in which the dough is mixed with leaven, or suffered to stand and ferment until it becomes sour.¶ Sometimes their bread was baked on the hearth (Gen. xviii. 6), which is still a common method in the East.§ Another kind of bread was baked in a shallow earthen vessel, like a frying-pan (Lev. ii. 7), and some round the outside of a great stone pitcher, properly heated, on which was poured a thin paste of meal and water. Parkhurst thinks this is alluded to in Exod. xvi. 31. Sometimes they bake it in an oven in the ground, four or five feet deep, well plastered with mortar, against the sides of which they place the bread, where it is instantly done.

2. Wine appears to have been a beverage much in request amongst the Hebrews, and it was sometimes drank to such an extent as to cause ebriety—a circumstance which has furnished the prophets with many tropes. (See Isai. v. 11—22, xxviii. 1—11, xlix. 26; Jer. viii. 14, ix. 14, xvi. 48; Deut. xxxii. 42.)

(1) Wine was prescribed as part of the daily offering to God, under the law, (Exod. xxix. 40; Numb. xxviii. 7), and it was also used by our Saviour at the institution of the Last Supper. (Mark xiv. 35.) That wine was drunk on sacra-

* Brown's Jewish Antiq., p. ix., sect. 14.

† Harmer, *ubi supra*, pp. 223—226.

‡ See Shaw, p. 236; Niebuhr, tom. i., p. 198.

¶ Harmer's Observations, iv., Ob. 16.

§ See Harmer, vol. i., p. 232, &c.

mental occasions by the disciples of Christ, at a subsequent period, appears from 1 Cor. xi. 21, where the apostle sharply reproves some of the Corinthian professors of Christianity, because they intoxicated themselves at the holy supper. In Deut. xiv. 22—26, the Hebrews are commanded to tithe all their increase or productions, and to eat of this tithe before the Lord, in the place where he shall appoint. If the place where they lived should be too distant, however, to permit them to carry up their tithe with them, then they were to sell it, to carry the money with them, and to purchase "oxen or sheep, or wine, or strong drink, or whatsoever their soul desireth;" and to eat and rejoice before the Lord. At the wedding-feast, in Cana of Galilee (John ii. 2, 11), Jesus turned water into wine, for the accommodation of the guests who were present; and Paul directs Timothy to drink a little wine, on account of his frequent infirmities, 1 Tim. v. 23. On special occasions of feasting, such as weddings, thanksgivings, and the like, the Jews were accustomed to drink wine, and the Scriptures nowhere speak of the custom with disapprobation. When wisdom invites her guests to a feast (Prov. ix. 2—5), she furnishes her table, and, "mingles her wine," and cries, "Come, eat of my bread, and drink of the wine which I have mingled." The wise man directs that "strong drink" should be "given to him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy hearts," Prov. xxxi. 6.

(2) Professor Stuart, to whom biblical literature is so much indebted, has recently devoted his attention to the subject of wines and strong drinks, as mentioned and approved of in the Bible, and has laboured to prove that the description of wine, the use of which was prescribed and sanctioned by the Almighty and his people, was the unfermented juice of the grape, and not wine produced by the process of fermentation. The inquiry is one that merits all the attention that can be given to it; but it would be out of place to enter upon it here. We will only remark, therefore, that the attempt to show that the approved wine is always called *תירוש* *tirosh*, while the fermented, intoxicating, and denounced liquor is as uniformly called *אין* *ayin*, fails in its object; because in Prov. xxxi. 6, among other places, it is directed that wine (*אין* *ayin*) should be given to those who are heavy of heart, or bitter of soul.

(3) Although the wine used in eastern countries is in general very rich in quality, it is at times mixed with spices, especially myrrh; and this mixture was sometimes denominated by the Hebrews from a word which signifies mixed. But the word in question (*מחול*), for the most

part, means a wine diluted with water, which was given to the buyer instead of good wine, and was consequently used tropically for any kind of adulteration, Isai. l. 22; 2 Cor. ii. 17. Wine was frequently diluted after it was bought. There is a sort of wine called *שכר* *shakar*, or "strong drink." It was made of dates, and of various sorts of seeds and roots, and was sufficiently powerful at any time to occasion intoxication. It was drunk mixed with water, and from this was made an artificial beverage (*חמר*) which was taken at meals, with vegetables and bread, Ruth ii. 14. It was also a common drink (Numb. vi. 3), and was used by the Roman soldiers, Matt. xxvii. 48. Further, there is a wine called by the Talmudists *vinegar*, whence the passage in Matt. xxvii. 34, may be explained.

(4) The vessels used for drinking were, at first, *horns*; but the Hebrews used horns only for the purpose of performing the ceremony of anointing. The other drinking vessels were, a *cup of brass*, covered with tin, in form resembling a lily (1 Kings vii. 26); and the *basin*, resembling a lily also (Exod. xxv. 33), although it seems to have varied in form, for it had many names, as *כוס* *kos*, *כטר* *katr*, and *כבת* *kabth*.

3. In eastern countries, every preparation of milk is in general request. Coagulated sour milk which is a most refreshing beverage, is prepared by the infusion of a certain herb, which causes fermentation. Butter is generally procured by putting the milk into a goat's skin, which is so tied up as to prevent the milk from running out, and then hung between the poles of a tent or house, where it is agitated in one uniform direction, till a separation is caused between the butter and the milk. Butter-milk is a luxury, and the chief dessert among the Moors; and when they speak of the extraordinary agreeableness of any thing, they compare it to butter-milk. It is no wonder, then, that Jael gave it to Sisera (Judg. v. 25).

4. The Orientals are in the habit of rising early, commonly with the dawn, that they may have leisure to rest or sleep in the middle of the day. As soon as they are up, they take breakfast, which consists of bread, fried eggs, cheese, honey, and leban, or coagulated sour milk;* but sometimes they begin with grapes and other fruits fresh gathered, and then have for breakfast, bread, coffee, and good wines, particularly one of an exquisite flavour, called muscadell.† About eleven o'clock in the forenoon, in winter, they dine, and

* Russel, vol. i., p. 166; D'Arvieux, p. 24; Pococke, vol. i., p. 57; Clarke, vol. iii., p. 419, &c.

† Chandler, p. 18.

rather earlier in summer. A piece of red cloth, cut in a round form, is spread upon the divan under the table, to prevent it from being soiled, and a long piece of cloth is laid round, to cover the knees of such as sit at table; but the table itself has no covering except the victuals. The dishes, &c. are disposed in proper order around the edges, and in the centre. Among the great, the dishes are brought in one by one, and after each person has eaten a little, they are changed.* The pottage of which we read in Scripture, was made by cutting boiled meat into small pieces, with rice, flour, and parsley; but sometimes of meal and herbs alone, for they eat but little animal food in the East.† When they intend to honour any person at table, the master sends him a larger portion, as Joseph did to Benjamin, Gen. xliii. 34. In general, they sup about five o'clock in winter, and about six in summer.‡ As this much resembles their dinner, it is unnecessary to describe it.

5. Their mode of eating must not be overlooked. The thick meats they take up with the thumb and the two fore-fingers; and their milk and pottage is eaten by dipping bread into it. When they drink water at table, it is usually out of shells, horns, or cups; but if from a river, they take it from the palm of the hands; or if from a pitcher, or the ground, they suck it through their sleeve, for fear of leeches. Wines were formerly very common among the Jews, being kept in leather bottles (Matt. ix. 17), and cooled by the snow of Lebanon.

6. Sitting at meals (till near the end of the times of the Old Testament) appears to have been universal, Gen. xliii. 33; Exod. xxxii. 6; 1 Sam. xx. 5; Prov. xxiii. 1; Ezek. xlv. 3, &c. We have the first indications of the change of posture from sitting to lying, in Amos vi. 4, and Judith xii. 15, *Greek*. In our Saviour's days the reclining posture at meals had become universal; and every time that sitting at meat is mentioned in the New Testament, it ought to have been rendered "lying," to make it accord with the universal practice.|| For want of proper discrimination and description, with regard to this attitude at table, several passages in the Gospels are not merely injured in our translation, but are rendered unintelligible. Thus, "A woman in the city, who was a sinner, when she knew that Jesus SAT at meat in the Pharisee's house, brought an alabaster-box of ointment, and stood at his feet BEHIND HIM, weeping; and began to wash his feet

with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head; and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment," Luke vii. 36. According to our notions, a person *sitting* at meat would, of necessity, have his feet on the floor under the table, and consequently BEFORE him, not *behind* him: and the impossibility of one *standing* at his feet *behind* him—standing, and while standing, kissing his feet, wiping them, &c., is glaring. By this explanation, however, the narration becomes intelligible: the feet of the person recumbent, being *outermost*, are most exposed to salutation, or to any other treatment, from one standing behind him. The same observations apply to John xii. 3: "Lazarus was one who reclined at table with Jesus; and Mary anointed the feet of Jesus," &c.§ It is only necessary to add, that at these times the people commonly throw off their sandals, and are therefore barefoot.

7. In former times, portions were sent to those who were absent, Neh. viii. 10, 12; Esth. ix. 22. It should ever be recollected, too, that the men and the women in higher life had separate tables (Esth. i. 9), as is the case in the East at the present day.¶ The custom of the Arabs, also, who never preserve fragments of their meals, but invite the poor to partake of them, may explain the reason why Tobit sent for the poor to partake of his dinner (chap. ii. 2); and why the poor, the maimed, and the blind, were invited to the rich man's supper, in Luke xiv. 21.

8. From the Mishna it appears that the Jews had forms of thanksgiving, not only at the eating of the passover, but before and after ordinary meals, and even on the introduction of many of the dishes. The duty of Christians on this subject is enforced, not only by the reason of the thing, and the practice of the Greeks, Romans, and Jews, but by the example of our Saviour, in Mark viii. 6; John vi. 11, 23; and of Paul, in Acts xxvii. 35. In the end of the fifth book of the Apostolical Constitutions, is a form of grace or prayer for Christians.**

SECTION VI.

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

I. FORMS OF POLITENESS: 1. Salutations—2. Prostration—3. Presents made to Superiors—4. Manner of conducting visits. II. MARKS OF HONOUR: Presentation of raiment. III. MARKS OF DISGRACE: 1. Cutting the beard—2. Clapping the hands and hissing.—3. Refusing the rites of sepulture—4. Disinterment of the dead, &c.

§ Fragments to Calmet, No. 104; and Critica Biblica, vol. ii., pp. 481—487.

¶ Murray's Account of Discov. and Trav. in Asia, book ii., ch. 8; Burckhardt's Trav. in Syria, &c., pp. 484—488.

** Brown's Jewish Antiq., pt. ix., sect. 5.

* Russel, vol. i., p. 172. † La Roque, p. 199.

‡ Russel, vol. i., p. 166.

|| Campbell on the Gospels, Diss. viii., p. 3.

I. The modes of address and politeness, which custom has established in different nations, are various. In Judea, as in the East generally, they were very ceremonious and exact in their outward decorum; and in their mutual behaviour they scrupulously observed all the rules and forms in which civility was usually expressed.

1. We collect from several passages in the Old Testament, that their salutations and expressions of affection, on meeting each other, were extremely tedious and tiresome, containing many particular inquiries after the person's welfare, and the welfare of his family and friends; and, when they parted, concluding with many reciprocal wishes of happiness and benediction on each other. Much time was spent in the rigid observance of these ceremonious forms: when our Lord, therefore, in his commission to the Seventy, whom he dispatched into the towns and villages of Judea to publish the gospel, strictly ordered them to "salute no man by the way" (Luke x. 4), he designed only, by this prohibition, that they should suffer nothing to retard and impede them in their progress from one place to another; and that they should not lavish those precious moments, which ought to be devoted to the sacred and arduous duties of their office, in observing the irksome and unmeaning modes of life. Not that our Lord intended his disciples should studiously violate all common civility and decency, and industriously offend against the rules of courteousness and decorum; on the contrary, he commanded them, upon their entrance into any house, to salute it (Matt. x. 12), and observe the customary form of civility in wishing it peace, or universal happiness, Luke x. 5. This injunction, to salute no one on the road, means only that they should urge their course with speed, and advert to nothing so much as the duties of their commission. There is a parallel passage in the Old Testament, and which beautifully illustrates this. Elisha, dispatching his servant Gehazi to recover the son of the Shunamite, strictly enjoins him to make all the expedition possible: "Gird up thy loins, and take my staff in thine hand, and go thy way. If thou meet any man, salute him not; and if any salute thee, answer him not again," 2 Kings iv. 29.* Though the terms of these modes of address and politeness are expressive of the profoundest respect and homage, they soon degenerate, through constant use and frequency of repetition, into mere verbal forms and words of course, in which the heart has no share. To those empty, insignificant forms which men mechanically repeat at meeting or taking

leave of each other, there is a beautiful allusion in the following expression of our Lord, in his last and consolatory discourse with his disciples, when he assured them he would soon leave them and go to the Father: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give unto you: *not as the world giveth* give I unto you," John xiv. 27.—Since I must shortly be torn from you, I now bid you adieu, sincerely wishing you every happiness: not as the world giveth give I unto you—not in the unmeaning, ceremonial manner the world repeats this salutation: for my wishes of peace and happiness to you are sincere, and my blessing and benediction will devolve upon you every substantial felicity. This throws light upon one of the most beautiful pieces of imagery which the genius and judgment of a writer ever created. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. xi.), the author informs us with what warm, anticipating hopes of the Messiah's future kingdom those great and good men, who adorn the annals of former ages, were animated. *These all*, says he, *died in faith*—they closed their eyes upon the world, but they closed them in the transporting assurance that God would accomplish his promises. They had the firmest persuasion that the Messiah would bless the world. By faith they antedated these happy times, and placed themselves, in idea, in the midst of all their fancied blessedness. They hailed this most auspicious period—*saluted* it, as one salutes a friend whose person we recognize, *at a distance*. *They all died in faith*—died in the firm persuasion that God would accomplish these magnificent promises, though they themselves had not *enjoyed* them, but only had seen them *afar off*. God had only blessed them with a *remote prospect of them*. *They were therefore persuaded of them*—they had the strongest conviction of their *reality*—*they embraced them*—with transport *saluted*† them *at a distance*—confessing that they were but *strangers* and *pilgrims* upon earth, but were all travelling towards a city which had foundations, whose builder and maker is God!

2. Among the eastern nations, it was ever customary for the common people, whenever they approached their prince, or any person of dignity, to prostrate themselves. This mode of address obtained also among the Jews. When honoured with admittance to their sovereign, or introduced to illustrious personages, they fell down at their feet, and continued in this servile posture till they were raised. There occur many instances of this custom in the Scriptures. The wise men who

* See Fragments to Calmet, No. 40.

† The word in the original is the same as is always used in salutations.

came from the east, when they saw the child Jesus with his mother Mary, fell down and worshipped him; as did great numbers in after times. It was also customary to kiss the hand or the feet of the person approached; to kiss the hem of his garment; or to embrace his feet, Luke vii. 38, 45; Matt. xxviii. 9.

3. From time immemorial it has also been the universal custom in the East to send presents one to another. No one waits upon a prince, or any person of distinction, without a present. This is a token of respect never dispensed with. Let the present be ever so mean and inconsiderable, yet the intention of the giver is accepted. Plutarch informs us, that a peasant happening to fall in the way of Artaxerxes, the Persian monarch, in one of his excursions, having nothing to present to his sovereign, according to the oriental custom, the countryman immediately ran to an adjacent stream, filled both his hands, and offered it to his prince. The monarch smiled, and graciously received it, highly pleased with the good disposition the act manifested.* All modern books of travels into the East abound with examples of this universally prevailing custom. "It is accounted uncivil," says Maundrell, "to visit in Syria without an offering in hand. All great men expect it, as a kind of tribute to their character and authority; and look upon themselves as affronted, and even defrauded, when this compliment is omitted. Even in familiar visits among inferiors, you will seldom see them come without bringing a flower, or an orange, or some other token of respect, to the person visited; the Turks, in this point, keeping up the ancient oriental custom, as hinted, 1 Sam. ix. 7, 8: 'If we go,' says Saul, 'what shall we bring the man of God? there is not a present,' &c.: which words are unquestionably to be understood in conformity to this eastern custom, as relating to a token of respect, and not a price of divination."†

4. The same writer thus describes the mode of visiting in the East: "When you would make a visit to a person of quality, you must send one before with a present, to bespeak your admission, and to know at what hour your coming may be most seasonable. Being come to the house, the servants meet you at the outermost gate, and conduct you toward their lord's or master's apartment; other servants (I suppose of better rank) meeting you in the way, at their several stations, as you draw nearer to the person you visit. Coming into his room, you find him prepared to receive

you, either standing at the edge of the duan, or else lying down at one corner of it, according as he thinks it proper to maintain a greater or less distinction. Being come to the side of the duan, you slip off your shoes, and stepping up, take your place, which you must do, first, at some distance, and upon your knees, laying your hand very formally before you. Thus you must remain till the man of quality invites you to draw nearer, and to put yourself in an easier posture, leaning upon the bolster. Being thus fixed, he discourses with you as the occasion offers, the servants standing round all the while in a great number, and with the profoundest respect, silence, and order imaginable. When you have talked over your business, or compliments, or whatever other concern brought you thither, he makes a sign to have things brought in for the entertainment, which is generally a little sweetmeat, a dish of sherbet, and another of coffee; all which are immediately brought in by the servants, and tendered to all the guests in order, with the greatest care and awfulness imaginable. And they have reason to look well to it; for should any servant make but the least slip or mistake, either in delivering or receiving his dish, it might cost him fifty, perhaps a hundred, drubs on his bare feet, to atone for the crime. At last comes the finishing part of your entertainment, which is, perfuming the beards of the company; a ceremony which is performed in this manner. They have for this purpose a small silver chafing-dish, covered with a lid full of holes, and fixed upon a handsome plate. In this they put some fresh coals, and upon them a piece of lignum aloes, and then shutting it up, the smoke immediately ascends, with a grateful odour, through the holes of the cover. It is held under every one's chin, and offered, as it were, a sacrifice to his beard. The bristly idol soon perceives the reverence done to it, and so greedily takes in and incorporates the gummy steam, that it retains the savour of it, and may serve for a nosegay a good while after. This ceremony may, perhaps, seem ridiculous at first hearing; but it passes among the Turks for a high gratification. And I will say this, in its vindication, that its design is very wise and useful. For it is understood to give a civil dismissal to the visitants, intimating to them, that the master of the house has business to do, or some other avocation, that permits them to go away as soon as they please; and the sooner after this ceremony the better. By this means you may, at any time, without offence, deliver yourself from being detained from your affairs by tedious and unseasonable visits, and from being constrained to use that piece of hypocrisy, so common in the world, of pressing those to stay longer

* Harwood's Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 279—287.

† Journey, March 11.

with you, whom, perhaps, in your heart you wish a great way off, for having troubled you so long already.”*

II. The common method in the East of doing honour to an inferior, seems to have been by presenting him with a change of raiment. Thus Belshazzar promised Daniel that, if he could interpret the mysterious writing on the wall, he should be clothed in scarlet, have a golden chain about his neck, and be third ruler in the empire, Dan. v. 16. Alexander, the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, when he appointed Jonathan Maccabæus high-priest, and declared him the king's friend, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold (1 Macc. x. 20); and he afterwards did him more signal honour, by sending him a buckle of gold, to wear on the shoulder, and to fasten his purple robe; as the use was to be given to such as were of the king's blood, ver. 89. See also chap. xi. 57, 58; 1 Esd. iii. 6. The princes of the East, even at the present day, have many changes of raiment ready, both as an article of wealth, and to suit the occasion. This accounts for the ease with which Jehu's mandate was obeyed, when he ordered 400 vestments for the priests of Baal, that none might escape, 2 Kings x. 22. For a superior to give his own garment to an inferior, was esteemed a high mark of regard. Hence Jonathan gave his to David, 1 Sam. xviii. 4. And the following extract from Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia may serve to throw some light on Elisha's request to have the mantle of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 13: “When the Khalifa, or teacher of the Sooffees, dies, he bequeaths his patched garment, which is all his worldly wealth, to the disciple whom he esteems the most worthy to become his successor; and the moment the latter puts on the holy mantle, he is vested with the power of his predecessor.”

III. The chief of the marks of disgrace noticed in the Scriptures are, subjecting men to the employment of women (Lam. v. 13); cutting off the beard, and plucking off the hair (2 Sam. x. 5; Isai. l. 6); spitting in the face (Isai. l. 6); clapping the hands, hissing, and making significant gestures, Ezek. xxv. 6; Job xxvii. 23; Lam. ii. 15; Isai. lvii. 4. But marks of disgrace were not confined to the living. They often extended to the dead, by refusing them the rites of sepulture (Rev. xi. 1—12); raising them after they had been interred (Jer. viii. 1); forbidding them to be publicly lamented; allowing them to become the prey of ravenous beasts (Jer. xvi. 5—7, xix. 7, xxii. 18, 19; 2 Macc. v. 10); casting them into the

common burial-ground (Jer. xxvi. 23), and burning their bones into lime, Amos ii. 1.

SECTION VII.

COMMERCE.

Early Commerce—Caravans—Commerce of the Phœnicians—Arabian Merchants—Commerce of the Hebrews—Exchange or Barter—Money—Measures of Capacity and Length, mentioned in Scripture—Hebrew Weights.

1. COMMERCE is coeval with society. The division of labour, which is one of the first things that take place in a social state, necessarily gives rise to the interchange of commodities, which increases with the progress of a people in civilization and refinement. In the East, merchandise, in its various branches, was carried on at the earliest period of which we have any account. Frequent mention is made of public roads, fording places, bridges, and beasts of burden; also of ships for the transportation of property, of weights, measures, and coin, both in the oldest parts of the Bible, and in the most ancient profane histories. See Gen. x. 4, 5, xii. 5, xxiii. 16, xxxvii. 25, 26, xlii. 1—5; Judg. v. 17; Exod. xx. 23, xxv. 4; Deut. iii. 14, xix. 3; Josh. xiii. 2, xii. 5, xiii. 13; 1 Sam. xxvii. 8—10; 2 Sam. iii. 3, xiii. 37, xv. 8.

2. Camels were formerly, as now, much used in the East for the transportation of merchandise; and persons engaged in commerce usually travelled in large companies, called caravans, each of which consisted of a certain number of camels, officers, &c., marshalled under proper leaders, whose business, under the direction of the chief, was to direct the march, and every other thing pertaining to the expedition.† See Gen. xxxvii. 25; Isai. xxi. 13, &c. Sometimes these caravans lodge in cities; but when they do not, they pitch their tents so as to form an encampment. In the cities there are public inns, called *khanes* and *caravansaries*, in which the caravans are lodged without expense. See Gen. xli. 17; Luke ii. 7, x. 34.

3. The Phœnicians, who possessed the knowledge of the Egyptians, free from the superstitious reluctance of the latter to venture upon the sea, and who had a most favourable local position along the coast of the Mediterranean, naturally engaged in commercial enterprise. “The border of the Canaanites was from Sidon, as thou goest to Gerar unto Gaza;” and though the Canaanites, properly speaking, and the Phœnicians, were

† The late editor of Calmet has very ingeniously and satisfactorily illustrated the account of the exode from Egypt, by a reference to the manners in which a caravan is arranged and managed. See art. “Caravan,” in the 8vo. edition of Calmet's Dictionary.

parated from each other by Mount Carmel, they may, in a general sense, be considered as one people. The chief cities of the Phœnicians, Tyre and Sidon, had reached the highest degree of commercial opulence when the first dawn of social polity was only commencing in Greece. Their great superiority over the Hebrews, in the time of Moses, is clearly shown in the language of holy writ. When Joshua and the other chiefs, who were sent by the prophet to observe and report on the land of Canaan, returned, they said, "We came unto the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey. Nevertheless, the people be strong that dwell in the land, and the cities are walled and very great." In fine, they conclude, "We are not able to go up against this people, for they are very great." While the Canaanites inhabited walled and populous cities, the Hebrews dwelt in tents like the brethren of Joseph, who declared to Pharaoh, "Thy servants are shepherds, both we and our fathers." It is unfortunate that the Phœnicians have not transmitted to us any historical records whatever. We know of their enterprises only from Scripture, and from the scattered notices of Greek and Latin authors. We have seen, in noticing the geographical knowledge of the Hebrews, that they were the pilots of Solomon's fleet; and as often as Egyptian ships are mentioned by ancient authors, we are sure to find them guided and manned by Phœnicians. This people were, in fact, the merchants of the Egyptians, whose laws and religion were at all times unfavourable to maritime adventure; they were the foreign merchants of Egypt in the flourishing days of the hundred-gated Thebes: and the astonishing monuments which remain to prove the ancient wealth and grandeur of that kingdom, may render us less incredulous with respect to the naval proficiency of a kindred people. The survey of Egypt made by Joseph, the storing of corn in the several districts to meet the exigencies of impending famine, and the general use of money in that country, all bespeak a degree of social order and economy, and a familiarity with the routine of commercial dealing, which is truly astonishing at so early an age. Seven hundred years later, at the siege of Troy, the Greeks were unacquainted with the use of money.

4. The Phœnicians participated in the civilization of the Egyptians; they profited by supplying that luxurious and wealthy nation with foreign commodities; and, uniting to the knowledge which flourished in Thebes and Memphis a disposition to naval enterprise, we may easily conceive that they soon attained a considerable proficiency in all the arts of navigation. The numerous colonies which they planted on the shores of the Euxine, the

Mediterranean, and the Atlantic, beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, attest the extent of their early voyages. This enterprising nation may, in like manner, have occasionally reached India from the Red Sea. Phœnicians piloted the ships of Solomon in their three years' voyages to Tarshish. The great length of time required for these voyages betrays the timid progress of early navigation, and may, perhaps, have prevented their frequent repetition; but the regular communication with India was certainly maintained through the Arabs, who, when they saw strange nations circumnavigating their peninsula, were not slow to learn the advantages of their intermediate position. The fleets of the Ptolemies sailed to the ports of *Arabia Felix*, where they met the Arabian ships laden with the precious cargoes of the East.

5. It is no wonder that the Arabian merchants, possessing the lucrative monopoly of the Indian trade, should be distinguished in antiquity by their luxury and enormous wealth; they are spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers nearly in the language applied by the prophet Isaiah to the inhabitants of Tyre, "whose merchants are princes, and whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth" (Isai. xxiii. 8). All the precious commodities, the gold, the gums, and the spices, imported to the West from the southern parts of Arabia, were once supposed to be the produce of that country. The delusion, however, was beginning to vanish in the time of Pliny, who questions the right of *Arabia Felix* to bear that title. Cassia and cinnamon were imported into Egypt and Tyre in very early ages; they are distinctly and repeatedly named by Moses, Exod. xxx. 23. In the time of Ezekiel, "the men of Dan and Javan (the eastern Javan) going to and fro, brought cassia [the pipe-cinnamon of modern commerce], calamus, and bright iron." The merchants of Sheba and Raameh were occupied with the chief of all spices, with gold and precious stones." Thus we see that the productions of India were brought to Tyre both by caravans from the Persian Gulf, and by Phœnician vessels, probably from the ports of *Arabia Felix*. These productions were imported by the Arabians from Malabar, whither some of them (and cinnamon among others) were probably brought from remoter countries by the Malays, or native navigators of the Indian seas.*

6. We have already had occasion to speak of the restrictions that were put upon the intercourse of the Hebrews with foreign nations. They were intended to be a peculiar people, the conservators of the true religion amidst idolatrous nations; and it was therefore the direct tendency of their polity

* Maritime Discovery, vol. i., pp. 8, 9, 125, 126.

to discourage foreign commerce, and make them dependant alone upon the productions of their own soil. They had, therefore, no commercial code; their intercourse with each other was to be regulated by the principles of kindness, and in buying and selling they were to exercise good faith and honesty towards each other. (See Lev. xix. 36, 37; Deut. xxv. 13—16.) It was not till the reign of Solomon that the Hebrews engaged largely in foreign commerce. After his death, it appears to have been in a great measure neglected; and the attempt made to restore it, by Jehoshaphat, was frustrated by his ships being wrecked, 1 Kings xxii. 48, 49; 2 Chron. xx. 36. In the age of Ezekiel, however, the commerce of Jerusalem was so great, that it excited the envy even of the Tyrians (Ezek. xxvi. 2); and after the captivity, a great number of Jews became merchants, and travelled, for the purpose of traffic, into all countries. About the year 150 B. C., Prince Surion rendered the port at Joppa more convenient than it had hitherto been; and in the time of Pompey the Great, there were so many Jews abroad upon the ocean, even in the character of pirates, that king Antigonus was accused before him of having sent them out on purpose. A new port was built by Herod at Cæsarea.*

7. In the earliest stage of society, exchanges would be confined to cases in which each of the parties engaged in the transaction desired to appropriate to his own immediate use the commodity he was to receive. For example: one man might have an excess of a bushel of wheat, over what he wanted for the consumption of his family; but he wanted a table or some other piece of household furniture, which none of his family could produce. Under these circumstances, he would look around him for some one occupied in the manufacture of the article he wanted, and, having found such a person, the two parties would mutually benefit each other by making an exchange of wheat for a piece of household furniture. The carpenter or artificer wanted the wheat, and the agriculturist wanted the piece of furniture; and the exchange, therefore, satisfied the wants of both. What was done in this case, would be done in numberless other cases. Whenever one person had an excess of any commodity, he would exchange that excess with some other person, who wanted the article, for another commodity of which he himself stood in need. This is exchange, or barter. But as society extended its limits, and the wants of its members became multiplied and diversified, great inconvenience would be found to attach to such a system of exchange.

For example: one man, having a surplus quantity of corn, might be compelled to convey it to a great distance, in order to obtain in exchange for it such commodities as he wanted in its stead. And this might be the case, even if an immediate neighbour possessed a surplus quantity of those very commodities, because his willingness to exchange would, of course, depend upon the fact of his wanting corn. If he wanted *wool*, and not *corn*, he would keep his surplus commodities until he met with some one who, wanting these, could give wool in exchange for them; and when the two parties thus wanting each other's surplus commodities had been brought together, their respective commodities might have to be transported to a great distance, at considerable expense and inconvenience to both parties.

8. The inconveniences attendant upon a system of barter would necessarily suggest the idea, that trade or commerce would be greatly facilitated by the employment of some instrument of exchange; that is, some material which, by common consent, should represent and pass current for the value of the several articles to be exchanged. Having made this discovery, traders would not be long in making another; namely, that any thing which possessed a general and undoubted value in the eyes of those who wanted to consume it, was a good payment, if offered at a proper rate; because, though the receiver might not want to consume it himself, the person could never be far off who would be willing to obtain possession of it, by giving something which the other did want to consume, in return for it. This substance, whatever it might be, would properly be denominated *the instrument of exchange*, and would introduce a decided improvement upon the method of direct barter. Inconveniences would still exist, however, until some very portable material came to be adopted as the instrument of exchange. Metals were at length invested with these functions; first, in rude pieces, the conventional or agreed value of which was ascertained by weighing them; and subsequently in coins, the value of which was authenticated by the external appearance. Such coins are properly called *money*. In the time of Abraham, the ruder sort of money was in use, for "he *weighed* to Ephron the silver which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current with the merchant," Gen. xxiii. 16. At a later period, as we see from the book of Exodus, *money was coined*, and passed current without the process of weighing. Of the various coins employed by the Hebrews we have already spoken.†

* Jahn's Archaeol., § 511.

† See Part iv., chap. 4, sect. 4.

9. Commerce could no more be carried on without a system of weights and measures, than it could be without some description of money. By the Hebrew law, measures and weights to serve as *models*, both for form and contents, were deposited in the Tabernacle; and all the duties connected with a regulation of them devolved upon the priests. When the temple was built, the standards were removed thither, and they perished in the ruins of that splendid building. While in captivity, the Hebrews adopted the Chaldean weights and measures, and appear to have retained them after the restoration. The Hebrew weights and measures, therefore, must be distinguished into those *before* and those *after* the captivity.

(1) The following were the MEASURES OF CAPACITY :—

The *bath*, or *ephah*, contained 60 English wine pints, and almost a half.

The *chomer*, or *cor*, contained ten baths; near 606 pints English measure.

The *lethech* was half the chomer; 302 English pints, and almost a half.

The *seah* was a third part of the bath; a little more than 20 English pints.

The *gomer*, *omer*, or *assar*, was the tenth part of the ephah; something more than 6 English pints.

The *cab* was the sixth part of the seah, or the eighteenth part of the ephah; something above 3 English pints, and nine twenty-fifths.

The *log*, or *rebah*, was a fourth part of the cab, or a little more than twenty-one twenty-fifths of an English pint.

The *nobel* contained 3 baths, or almost 181 English pints and a half.

The *hin* was the half seah, and the sixth part of the bath.

The *half hin* was a little above 5 English pints.

The *batzah* was the sixth part of the log, and therefore was very little above seven fiftieths of the English pint.

(2) The following were the MEASURES OF LENGTH :—

The *cubit* extended from the elbow to the wrist, or four palms, about the sixth part of the height of the human body. The Babylonian or new cubit, mentioned in Ezekiel, was five palms, or from the elbow to the knuckles. See 2 Chron. iii. 3.

A *span* was from the end of the thumb to the end of the little finger, or three palms.

A *handbreadth*, or *palm*, was four digits.

A *finger*, or *digit*, was about the breadth of a finger, or 0.912th of an English inch.

A *stadium*, or *furlong*, was a Greek measure adopted by the Jews. It was 125 geometrical paces in extent, or the 600th part of a degree, making 145 English paces, 4 feet, and 6 tenths.

A *sabbath-day's journey* was 729 English paces and 3 feet. It was a Jewish invention founded on Exod. xvi. 29.

Μίλιον, a *Roman mile*, was 8 furlongs, or 1000 geometrical paces.

(3) Of WEIGHTS we may notice the following :—

The *shekel* was equal to 10 pennyweights English troy.

The *beka* was half a shekel.

The *gerah* was one twentieth of a shekel.

The *maneh* was 60 shekels.

The *talent* was 50 manehs, or 3000 shekels.

CHAPTER IV.

CUSTOMS FOREIGN TO THE HEBREWS.

SECTION I.

THE THEATRE AND THE DRAMA.

1. Theatrical Exhibitions not adopted by the Jews—2. Allusions to the Drama—3. Allusions to combats in the Amphitheatres.

1. We have no intimation in the Scriptures that the Jews had any places of public amusement, for games and theatrical exhibitions, as was

the universal custom among the Greeks and Romans; they seem to have been satisfied with those grand and solemn festivals which the Holy Scriptures enjoined them to observe: and when we duly consider the solemnity, the magnificence, and the rejoicings which accompanied these festivals, the grandeur of the temple where they were celebrated, with the 32,000 Levites who officiated in the service, we need not feel surprise that they

should prefer them to all other entertainments. Indeed, the Talmud affirms that all kinds of games and spectacles were not only prohibited but abhorred by all good Israelites, in consequence of the mischiefs which had befallen those who ventured to be present at those of the neighbouring nations; and R. Simeon Ben Paki comments thus on Ps. i. 1: "Blessed is the man who hath not set his foot in a theatre," &c. It was reserved for Herod to introduce amusements of this description among the Jewish people; which he did on a most magnificent scale, and at a vast expense. But notwithstanding the degeneracy of the nation at this time, they were so disgusted at the attempt, that they united to put them down by compassing the death of their founder.* Such being the distaste of this people for theatrical exhibitions, we are hardly prepared to expect any allusions to the stage or its amusements in the sacred writings; and the consequence is, that we overlook the force and beauty of several passages where such allusions exist.†

2. In the writings of Paul, especially, we meet with allusions to the drama, which has furnished him with some of the most beautiful metaphors that adorn his compositions. The drama was instituted for the purpose of exhibiting a striking picture of human life; as in a faithful mirror, to hold up to the spectators' view that variety of character by which it is diversified, and those interchanges and reverses of fortune with which it is chequered. It needs hardly be remarked, though the observation is proper for the purpose of illustrating a very beautiful passage in one of Paul's epistles, that a variety of scenes are painted, and, by means of the requisite machinery, are very frequently shifting, in order to show the characters in a variety of places and fortunes. To the spectators, lively and affecting views are by turns displayed—every thing, from the beginning to the catastrophe, perpetually varying and changing according to the rules and conduct of the drama. Agreeably to this, with what elegance and propriety does Paul represent *the fashion of this world* as continually *passing away* (1 Cor. vii. 31), and all the *scenes* of this vain and visionary life as perpetually *shifting*! "The imagery," says Grotius, "is taken from the theatre, where the scenery is suddenly changed, and exhibits an appearance totally different." And as the transactions of the drama are not *real*, but *fictitious* and *imaginary*, such and such characters being assumed and per-

sonated, in whose joys or griefs, in whose domestic felicities and infelicities, in whose elevation or depression, the actor is not *really* and *personally* interested, but only supports a *character* perhaps entirely *foreign* from *his own*, and represents passions and affections in which his own heart has no share; how beautiful and expressive, when considered in this light, is that passage of Scripture in which the apostle is inculcating a Christian indifference to this world, and exhorting us not to suffer ourselves to be unduly *affected* either by the joys or sorrows of so *fugitive* and *transitory* a *scene*: "But this I say, brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as not abusing it. For the fashion of this world passeth away," 1 Cor. vii. 29—31. The following illustration of this passage cannot fail to gratify the reader: "If we keep in mind the supposed allusion in the text (*the fashion of this world passeth away*), we shall discern a peculiar beauty and force in his language and sentiment. For the actors in a play, whether it be comedy or tragedy, do not act their own proper and personal concerns, but only personate and mimic the characters and conditions of other men. And so when they *weep*, in acting some tragical part, it is *as though they wept not*; and there is more show and appearance, than truth and reality, of grief and sorrow in the case. On the other hand, if they *rejoice* in acting some brighter scene, it is *as though they rejoiced not*; it is but a mere semblance of joy, and forced air of mirth and gaiety, which they exhibit to the spectators,—no real inward gladness of heart. If they seem to contract *marriages*, or act the *merchant*, or personate a *gentleman of fortune*, still it is nothing but *fiction*. And so when the play is over, they have no *wives*, no *possessions* or goods, no *enjoyments of the world*, in consequence of such representations. In like manner, by this apt comparison, I imagine the apostle would teach us to moderate our desires and affections towards every thing in this world; and rather as it were to *personate* such things, as matters of a foreign nature, than to incorporate ourselves with them, as our own proper and personal concerns." ‡

The theatre is also furnished with dresses suitable to every age, and adapted to every circumstance and change of fortune. The persons of the drama, in one and the same representation.

* See Josephus, Antiq., b. xv., c. 8.

† The remaining part of this section is derived from Dr. Harwood.

‡ Brecknell's Discourses, p. 318.

frequently support a variety of characters, the prince and the beggar, the young and the old—change their dress according to the characters in which they respectively appear, by turns laying aside one habit and assuming another, agreeably to every condition and age. The apostle seems to allude to this custom; and his expressions, regarded in this light, have a peculiar beauty and energy, when he exhorts Christians to “*put off the old man*, with his deeds,” and to “*put on the new man*” (Coloss. iii. 9, 10); to “*put off* concerning the former conversation the *old man*, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts; and be renewed in the spirit of your minds, and *put on the new man*, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness,” Eph. iv. 22—24.

3. It is also well known that, in the Roman theatres and amphitheatres, malefactors and criminals were condemned to fight with lions, bears, elephants, and tigers, for which all parts of the Roman dominions were industriously ransacked, to afford this very polite and elegant amusement to this most refined and civilized people! The wretched miscreant was brought upon the stage, regarded with the last ignominy and contempt by the assembled multitudes, *made a gazing-stock to the world*, as the apostle expresses it; and a wild beast, instigated to madness by the shouts and light missive darts of the spectators, was let loose upon him, to tear and worry him in a miserable manner. To this sanguinary and brutal custom the following expressions allude:—“Ye endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilst you were made a gazing-stock, both by reproaches and afflictions,” Heb. x. 32, 33. The original is very emphatic: *being openly exposed, as on a public theatre*, to ignominious insults and to the last cruelties. In another passage, also, Paul, speaking of the determined fierceness and bigotry with which the citizens of Ephesus opposed him, uses a strong metaphorical expression taken from the theatre. “If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus,” 1 Cor. xv. 32. Not that the apostle appears to have been actually condemned by his enemies to combat with wild beasts in the theatre: he seems only to have employed this strong phraseology to denote the violence and ferocity of his adversaries, which resembled the rage and fury of beasts; and to compare his contention with these fierce pagan zealots and fanatics, to the common theatrical conflicts of men with wild beasts.*

Let it be further observed, for the elucidation of a very striking passage in 1 Cor. iv. 9, that in the Roman amphitheatre the *bestiarii*, who in the morning combated with wild beasts, had armour with which to defend themselves, and to annoy and slay their antagonist. But the *LAST* who were brought upon the stage, which was about noon, were a miserable number, quite naked, without any weapons to assail their adversary, with immediate and inevitable death before them in all its horrors, and destined to be mangled and butchered in the direst manner. In allusion to this custom, with what sublimity and energy are the apostles represented to be *brought out LAST upon the stage*, as being devoted to certain death, and *being made a PUBLIC SPECTACLE to the world*, to angels and men!—“For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were, appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle to the world, to angels and men.” Dr. Whitby’s illustration of this distinguished passage is accurate and judicious. “Here the apostle seems to allude to the Roman spectacles, that of the *bestiarii* and the *gladiators*, where in the morning men were brought upon the theatre to fight with wild beasts, and to them was allowed armour to defend themselves, and smite the beasts that assailed them: but in the meridian spectacle were brought forth the gladiators naked, and without any thing to defend them from the sword of the assailant, and he that then escaped was only reserved for slaughter another day; so that these men might well be called, *men appointed for death*; and this being the *last* appearance on the theatre for that day, they are said here to be set forth *the last*.”†

and mercenary preachers are styled wolves, that will enter and ravage the fold, Acts xx. 29. The apostle uses a harsh metaphor to denote the malice and rage of his adversaries. “Beware of dogs,” Phil. iii. 2. Had Paul been thus engaged, says Dr. Ward, it is difficult to apprehend how he could have escaped without a miracle. For those who conquered the beasts were afterwards obliged to fight with men, till they were killed themselves.—It seems most reasonable, therefore, to understand the expression as metaphorical, and that he alludes to the tumult raised by Demetrius. He uses the like metaphor, and with respect to the same thing, 1 Cor. iv. 9, and again, ver. 13, alluding to another custom. As to the expression, *after the manner of men*, the sense seems to be, *speaking after the manner of men*.—Dissertations on Scripture, Diss. xlix. pp. 200, 201. The very same word which the apostle here employs, to denote the fury and violence of his adversaries, is used by Ignatius in the like metaphorical sense.—“All the way from Syria to Rome, by sea and by land, by night and by day, do I fight with wild beasts.”—“I advise you to beware of beasts in the shape of men.” So also the Psalmist, “My soul is among lions, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows,” Ps. lviii. 4. “Break their teeth, O God, in their mouths: break out the great teeth of the young lions, O Lord,” lviii. 6.

† Comment. *in loc.*—Harwood’s Introduction, vol. ii., pp. 36—46.

* The same metaphors are of frequent occurrence in the New Testament; Herod is called a fox, Luke xiii. 32. Hypocrites are called wolves in sheep’s clothing, Matt. vii. 15. Rapacious

SECTION II.

THE GRECIAN GAMES.

1. Various Exercises in the Olympic Games—2. Qualifications of the Candidates—3. Preparatory Discipline—4. Introduction into the Stadium—5. The Foot-race—6. Boxing—7. Manner of contending—8. Rewards of the Victors—9. Record of the Victors—10. Allusions to these Games in the New Testament.*

THE most splendid and celebrated solemnities which ancient history has transmitted to us, were the Olympic games. Historians, orators, and poets abound with references to them, and their sublimest imagery is borrowed from these celebrated exercises. They were celebrated every fifth year by a great concourse of people from almost all parts of the world, with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Elis was a scene of universal festivity and joy, and hecatombs of victims were slain in honour of the immortal gods. We find that the most formidable and opulent sovereigns of those times were competitors for the Olympic crown: judging their felicity completed, and the career of all human greatness and glory happily terminated, if they could but interweave the Olympic garland with the laurels they had purchased in fields of blood. Hence Horace says, Ode 1:—

In clouds the Olympic dust to roll,
To turn with kindling wheels the goal,
And gain the palm, victorious prize,
Exalt a mortal to the skies. FRANCIS.

1. The Olympic exercises principally consisted in running, wrestling, and the chariot-race; for leaping, throwing the dart and discus, were parts of what they called the *Pentathlon*.

2. The candidates were to be freemen, and persons of unexceptionable character. A defect in legitimacy, or in personal character, totally disqualified them. It was indispensably necessary for them previously to submit to a severe regimen, and preparatory exercises. They prescribed themselves a particular course of diet; and they were required, when they had given in their names as candidates to be enrolled in the list of competitors, to resort to Elis, and reside there thirty days before the games commenced; where their regimen and exercises were regulated and directed by a number of illustrious persons, who were appointed every day to superintend them. This form of diet was authoritatively prescribed and

religiously inspected, that the combatants might acquit themselves in the conflict in a manner worthy the Grecian name, worthy the sacred solemnity of the occasion, and worthy those crowds of illustrious spectators by whom they would be surrounded.

3. Many passages in the Greek and Roman classics mention the extreme strictness, temperance, and continence which the candidates were obliged to observe. Those who taught the gymnastic art, prescribed to their disciples the kind of meat that was proper, the quantity they were to eat, and the hours at which they were to take it. (This was called *αναγκοφαγειν*.) They prescribed to them likewise the hours of their exercise and rest. They forbade them the use of wine and women;† as Horace tells us (*Art. Poet.*, line 412).

A youth who hopes th' Olympic prize to gain,
All arts must try, and every toil sustain;
Th' extremes of heat and cold must often prove,
And shun the weak'ning joys of wine and love.

FRANCIS.

But the following passage in Epictetus is perhaps, most full and in point: "Do you wish to gain the prize at the Olympic games? Consider the requisite preparations, and the consequences, and then, if it be for your advantage, engage in the affair: you must conform to rules: observe a strict regimen; must live on food which you dislike; you must abstain from all delicacies; must exercise yourself at the necessary and prescribed times both in heat and in cold; you must drink nothing cooling; take no wine as formerly: in a word, you must put yourself under the directions of a *pugilist*, as you would under those of a *physician*; and afterwards enter the lists. Here you may dislocate your arm, put your foot out of joint, swallow abundance of dust, receive many stripes, and after all, be conquered. When you have reckoned up all this, if your inclination still holds, set about the combat."‡ Thus the body was to be purified and lightened by strict temperance, braced by exercise, and hardened by being inured to the changes of the atmosphere.

4. After this preparatory discipline, on the day appointed for the celebration of the games, a

* The materials composing this section have been derived from Harwood's *Introd.*, vol. ii., pp. 1–22; West's *Dissertation on the Olympic Games*; and Drs. A. Clarke and MacKnight on the passages cited.

† This whole course, which lasted for many years, was called *Ασκησις*, exercise. Hence the ancient monks, who imitated and even outstripped the Athletes in their rules of temperance, and in the laboriousness of their exercises, were called *Ασκηται*, *Ascetics*.

‡ Mrs. Carter's translation of *Arrian*, pp. 268, 269, Louisa 1758, 4to.

herald, or crier, publicly proclaimed the names of the combatants, and the combat in which they were to engage, agreeably to a register kept for that purpose by the judges, who were called Hellenodics. When their names were published, the combatants appeared, and were examined, whether they were free men, and Grecians, and of an unspotted character. No person who was not of respectable family and connexions was permitted to be a competitor at the Olympic games. Chrysostom, in whose time these games were still celebrated, assures us that no man was suffered to enter the lists who was either a servant or a slave. And if any such was found after he had been inserted on the military list, his name was erased, and he was expelled and punished. To prevent any person of bad character from entering the lists, the *kerux* or herald was accustomed, after the examination of the candidates, to proclaim silence, and then, laying his hand on the head of each combatant, led him in that manner along the stadium, demanding, with a loud voice, of all the assembly, "Is there any one who can accuse this man of any crime? Is he a robber, or a slave, or wicked and depraved in his life and manners?" For which Chrysostom gives this reason: "That, being free from all suspicion of being in a state of slavery (and elsewhere he says of being a thief, or of corrupt morals), he might enter the lists with credit." Having passed through this public inquiry into their life and character with honour, the combatants were led to the altar of Jupiter, and there, with their relations, sworn that they would not be guilty of any fraud, or action tending to the breach of the laws of the sacred games; but that they would observe the strictest honour in the contention.

5. Those who were to engage in the foot-race were next brought to the barrier, along which they were arranged, and waited, in all the excess of ardour and impatience, for the signal. The cord being dropped, they all at once sprang forward, fired with the love of glory, conscious that the eyes of all assembled Greece were upon them, and that the envied palm, if they won it, would secure them the highest honours and immortalize their memory. It is natural to imagine with what rapidity they would urge their course, and, emulous of glory, stretch every nerve to reach the goal. This is beautifully represented in the following epigram (translated by Mr. West) on Arius of Tarsus, victor in the stadium:

The speed of Arius, victor in the race,
Brings to thy founder, Tarsus, no disgrace;
For able in the course with him to vie,
Like him, he seems on feathered feet to fly.

The barrier when he quits the dazzled sight
In vain essays to catch him in his flight.
Lost is the racer through the whole career,
'Till victor at the goal he re-appear.

Of the manner of boxing at these games, Virgil's account of the match between *Entellus* and *Dares* (*Æneid* v. ver. 426, &c.) will give us a lively picture. We give Dryden's translation:

Both on the tiptoe stand, at full extent;
Their arms aloft, their bodies inly bent;
Their heads from aiming blows, they bear afar,
With dashing gauntlets then provoke the war.
One [*Dares*] on his youth and pliant limbs relies;
One [*Entellus*] on his sinews, and his giant-size.
The last is stiff with age, his motions slow;
He heaves for breath; he staggers to and fro.
Yet, equal in success, they ward, they strike;
Their ways are different, but their art alike.
Before, behind, the blows are dealt; around
Their hollow sides the rattling thumps resound.
A storm of strokes well meant, with fury flies,
And errs about their temples, ears, and eyes:
Nor always errs; for oft the gauntlet draws
A sweeping stroke along the crackling jaws.
Hoary with age Entellus stands his ground,
But with his warping body wards the wound;
His head and watchful eye keep even pace,
While Dares traverses and shifts his place;
And, like a captain who beleaguers round
Some strong-built castle, on a rising ground,
Views all the approaches with observing eyes,
This and that other part in vain he tries,
And more on industry than force relies.
With hands on high, Entellus threatens the foe;
But Dares watched the motion from below,
And slips aside, and shuns the long-descending blow.
Entellus wastes his forces on the wind:
And, thus deluded of the stroke designed,
Headlong and heavy fell; his ample breast,
And weighty limbs, his ancient mother pressed.
So falls a hollow pine that long has stood
On Ida's height, or Erymanthus' wood.
Dauntless he rose, and to the fight returned;
With shame his cheeks, his eyes with fury, burned:
Disdain and conscious virtue fired his breast,
And with redoubled force his foe he pressed.
He lays on loads with either hand amain,
And headlong drives the Trojan o'er the plain,
Nor stops, nor stays, nor rest nor breath allows;
But storms of strokes descend about his brows;
A rattling tempest, and a hail of blows.

No man who had not *seen* such a fight, could have given such a description of one as that we have here. It is painted from *nature*.

7. In all the athletic exercises the combatants contended naked;* and their bodies were rubbed

* Thucydides, lib. i., sect. vi., tom. i., pp. 16, 17, edit. Glasg. The Athletes at first wore a scarf round the waist; but in the xivth Olympiad, one Orsippus, a racer, happened to be thrown

over with oil, or with a certain ointment composed of a due proportion of oil, wax, and dust, mixed up together, and called *ceroma*. These unctions were, as some say, peculiar to the wrestlers and pancratiasts, whose combats were thereby rendered more toilsome and various; while each combatant endeavoured to seize upon the other, whose efforts to escape or break the hold of his antagonist were assisted by the slipperiness, as well as by the force and agility of his body. But in order to qualify a little the extreme lubricity of the skin, thus occasioned, the *Athletes* were accustomed, before they came to an engagement, either to roll themselves in the mud of the *Palæstra*, or in the sand kept for that purpose in a place called *Κωνοσπίον*, or that with which the place of combat seems to have been covered, as well for this use as to prevent the combatants from bruising or injuring themselves in falling; which, were it not for this bed or covering of sand, they would have been liable to do.

8. The victory in these contests was adjudged to him who gave his adversary three falls; as is evident from the following famous epigram upon Milo, translated by Mr. West:

When none adventured in th' Olympic sand
The might of boisterous Milo to withstand;
The unrivalled chief advanced to seize the crown,
But 'mid his triumph slipped unwary down.
The people shouted, and forbade bestow
The wreath on him who fell without a foe.
But rising, in the midst he stood and cried,
Do not three falls the victory decide?
Fortune indeed hath given me one, but who
Will undertake to throw me th' other two?

To excite the ardour and emulation of the competitors by placing in their view the object of their ambition, *the crowns*, the rewards of victory, were laid open upon a tripod or table, which during the solemnity was brought out, and placed in the middle of the *stadium*.

The crowns, whose blooming honours grace
The coursers in th' Olympic race,
Tempestuous rushing to the goal,
With rapture fill the victor's soul.

DUNKIN'S *Pindar*.

There were also branches of palm exposed, which the victors were to receive along with the crowns, and which they carried in their hands as emblems,

down by his scarf tangling about his feet, and was killed; though others say, that he only lost the victory by the fall; whichever way it was, occasion was taken from thence to make a law, that all the *Athletes* for the future should contend naked. West's *Pindar*, vol. i., p. 72, 12mo.

says Plutarch, of the insuppressible vigour of their body and minds. Near the goal was erected a tribunal, on which sat the presidents of the games, called *Hellandotics*, personages venerable for their years and characters, who were the sovereign arbiters and judges of these arduous contentions, and impartial witnesses of the respective merits and pretensions of each combatant, and with the strictest justice conferred the crown.

9. But though the conquerors, immediately on their gaining the victory, were entitled to the chaplet and the palm, yet Pet. Faber (*Agonis*, lib. i., c. 30) conjectures, from a passage of Chrysostom, that they who contended in the morning exercises, did not receive their crowns till noon; at which time it may also be inferred from the same passage that the spectators, as well as the candidates, were dismissed in order to take some refreshment before the afternoon exercises came on; the conquerors in which were, in like manner, obliged to wait for their reward till the evening. To this custom the apostle is supposed to allude, Heb. xi. 40. The following is the manner, according to Mr. West, in which this ceremony was performed: The conquerors, being summoned by proclamation, marched in order to the tribunal of the *Hellandotics*, where a *kerux*, taking the crowns of olive from the table, placed one upon the head of each of the conquerors; and giving into their hands branches of palm, led them in that equipage along the stadium, preceded by trumpets, proclaiming at the same time, with a loud voice, their names, the names of their fathers, and their countries; and specifying the particular exercise in which each of them had gained the victory. The form made use of in the proclamation seems to have been conceived in these or similar terms; viz., "*Diagoras the son of Damagetus, of Rhodes, conqueror in the cæstus in the class of men;*" and so of the rest, whether men or boys, *mutatis mutandis*.

10. That different degrees of merit were rewarded with different degrees of honour, and consequently with different crowns, is inferred from the words of Basil: "No president of the games," says he, "is so devoid of judgment, as to think a man who, for want of an adversary, hath not contended, deserves the same crown as one who hath contended and overcome."†

11. Though the chaplet seems to have been the only reward which the *Hellandotics* conferred upon the conquerors, there were many other recompences attending their victories, received as well from the spectators in general, as from their own countrymen, friends, and relations in par-

† Apud Fab. *Agon.* l. iii., cap. i.

ticular. Some of these, indeed, they received even before they were put in possession of the crown; such were the acclamations and applauses of the numerous assembly, the warm congratulations of their friends, and even the faint and extorted salutations of their maligners and opponents. As they passed along the stadium, after they had received the crown, they were again saluted with the acclamations of the spectators, accompanied with a shower of herbs and flowers poured forth from every side. It was farther customary for the friends of the conquerors to express their particular respect, by personally accosting them, and presenting them with chaplets of herbs, &c.

12. To perpetuate the glory of these victories, the Hellenodics entered in a public register the names of the conquerors; specifying the particular exercise and class, whether of men or boys, in which each had been victorious; together with the number of the Olympiad. They then set up their statues in the altis or sacred grove of Jupiter at Olympia.

13. These particulars respecting the sacred games of the Grecians, which were held in the highest renown in the days of the apostles, explain and illustrate various passages in the sacred writings, the beauty, energy, and sublimity of which consist in metaphorical allusions to the various gymnastic exercises, from which much of their elegant and expressive imagery is borrowed.

(1) In 1 Cor. ix. 24—27, the apostle asks, "Do ye not know, that they who run in the stadium, run, indeed, all, but one only receiveth the prize? So run, that ye may lay hold on the prize."—Know you not, that in the Grecian stadium great numbers run, with the utmost contention, to secure the prize, but that only one person wins and receives? With the same ardour and perseverance do you run, that you may receive the garland of celestial glory. You must observe all the rules prescribed by Christ, otherwise you cannot hope to receive the prize; "so run, that ye may lay hold on the prize." Here it is evident the apostle places the Christian race in contrast with the Grecian games; in them, one only received the prize, though all ran; in this, if all run, all will receive the prize. "Now every one who contendeth for the mastery is temperate in all things."—Every one who enters the lists as a combatant submits to the most rigid and severe regimen. "They, indeed, that they may receive a fading crown; but we, one that does not fade."—They do this to obtain a fading chaplet, that is only composed of the decaying leaves of a wild olive; but in our view is hung up the unfading wreath of immortality. The crowns for which the Greeks contended in the games were for the most part of the leaves of trees, which,

though evergreens, soon withered; and the honours of which they were the pledges, by length of time lost their agreeableness, and at last perished, being all confined to the present life. But the crown for which Christians contend, being a crown of righteousness (2 Tim. iv. 8), and a crown of life (James i. 12; Rev. ii. 10), it never fades, as the apostle observes in the next clause; that is, there shall never be any period put to the honours and advantages of which this crown is the pledge. "I therefore run, not as uncertainly."*—The reward being so great, I do not exert myself with just so much agility and strength as is sufficient to secure the prize; but I exert myself to the utmost, as one who is sensible that the object is worthy the greatest exertion, and that he is always in the view of his Judge. "So I box, as not beating the air."—I engage as a combatant, but deal not my blows in empty air. Kypke observes, that there are three ways in which persons were said to beat the air. (1) When, in practising for the combat, they throw their arms and legs about in different ways, thus practising the attitudes of offence and defence. This was termed *σκιαμαχία*, fighting with a shadow; and Virgil alludes to it when representing Dares swinging his arms about, to challenge a competitor in the boxing-match, *Æn. v., ver. 375*:—

Thus, glorying in his strength, in open view
His arms around the towering Dares threw;
Stalked high, and laid his brawny shoulders bare,
And dealt his *whistling blows* in empty air.

PITT.

(2) Sometimes boxers were to aim blows at their adversaries which they did not intend to

* "The word *ἀδελως*, which we translate *uncertainly*, has other meanings. 1. It signifies *ignorantly*. I do not run like one *ignorant* of what he is about, or of the laws of the course: I know that there is an eternal life; I know the way that leads to it; and I know and feel the power of it. 2. It signifies *without observation*; the eyes of all the spectators were fixed on those who ran in these races; and to gain the applause of the multitude, they stretched every nerve. The apostle knew that the eyes of all were fixed upon him. (1) His false brethren waited for his halting. (2) The persecuting Jews and Gentiles longed for his downfall. (3) The church of Christ looked on him with anxiety. (4) And he acted in all things as under the immediate eye of God."—Dr. A. Clarke, in loco. "The Greek adverb *ἀδελως*," says Dr. Macknight, "comes from *ἀδελφα*, a word which signifies a thing not manifest or apparent, Luke x. 44: Ye are *ὡς τὰ μνημεια τὰ ἀδελφα*, as graves which appear not." And he paraphrases the passage as follows: "'I run according to all the rules prescribed, and with the greatest activity; knowing that in no part of the course I am out of the view of my Judge, and of a great concourse of spectators.' Christ, the Judge of the world, observes how every man behaves in the station assigned to him, and *that* with as much attention as the judges and spectators observed the manner in which the athletes contended."—Dr. Macknight, in loco.

take place, and which the others were obliged to exert themselves to prevent, as much as if they had been really *intended*; and, by these means, some dexterous pugilists vanquished their adversaries by mere fatigue, without giving them a single blow.

(3) A pugilist was said to beat the air, when he contended with a nimble adversary, who, by running from side to side, stooping, and various contortions of the body, eluded his blows; and thus, by causing him to miss his aim, and frequently, perhaps, to overturn himself in attempts to strike, made him emphatically spend his strength on the wind. We have an example of this in Virgil's account of the boxing-match between Entellus and Dares, before cited, and which will give us a proper view of the subject to which the apostle alludes. Homer has the same image of missing the foe and *beating the air*, when describing Achilles attempting to kill Hector; who, by his *agility* and *skill* (*poieticē*, by Apollo), eluded the blow. Hom., l. xx., ver. 445:—

Thrice struck Pelides with indignant heart;
Thrice, in *impassive air*, he plunged the dart.

POPE.

“But I bruise my body, and lead it captive,* lest, perhaps, having proclaimed to others, I myself should be one not approved.”—I inure my body to the severest discipline, and bring all its appetites into subjection; lest when I have proclaimed † to others, I should at last be rejected as unworthy to obtain it.

(4) This representation of the Christian race must have made a strong impression upon the minds of the Corinthians, as they were so often spectators of those games, which were celebrated on the Isthmus upon which their city was situated.

* The word δουλαγωγω is applied to the *leading an enemy away captive from the field of battle*. It denotes, therefore, an absolute victory. This and the former word are very emphatical, conveying a lively idea of the apostle's activity in the battle against the animal part of his nature, and of the obstinacy of his enemy, and so heightening the victory.

† We have already noticed that it was the office of the herald, at these festivals, to proclaim the conditions of the games, display the prizes, exhort the combatants, excite the emulation of those who were to contend, declare the terms of each contest, pronounce the names of the victors, and put the crown on their heads. In allusion to that office, the apostle calls himself κηρυξ, *the herald*, in the combat for immortality; because he was one of the chief of those who were employed by Christ to introduce into the stadium such as contended for the incorruptible crown. He called them to the combat; he declared the kind of combat in which they were to engage; he proclaimed the qualifications necessary in the combatants, and the laws of the battle; withal, he encouraged the combatants, by placing the crowns and palms full in their view. See Drs. Adam Clarke and Macknight, *in loco*.

It is very properly introduced with, *KNOW YOU NOT?* for every citizen of Corinth was acquainted with the most minute circumstance of this most splendid and pompous solemnity.

(5) What has been observed concerning the spirit and ardour with which the competitors engaged in the race, and concerning the prize they had in view to reward their arduous contention, will illustrate the following sublime passage of the same writer, in his Epistle to the Philippians, iii. 12—14: “Not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect; but I follow after, if that I may apprehend that for which also I am apprehended of Christ Jesus. Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do; forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press towards the mark, for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus.”—Not that *already* I have acquired this *palm*; not that I have *already* attained perfection: but I *pursue my course*, that I may *seize* that *crown* of immortality, to the hope of which I was raised by the gracious appointment of Jesus Christ. My Christian brethren, I do not esteem myself to have obtained this glorious prize: but one thing occupies my whole attention; forgetting what I *left behind*, I *stretch every nerve* towards the *prize* before me, pressing with *eager* and *rapid steps* towards the *goal*, to *seize* the immortal *palm* ‡ which God, by Jesus Christ, *bestows*.

(6) That affecting passage, also, of the same apostle, in the *second* epistle to Timothy, written a little before his martyrdom, is beautifully allusive to the above-mentioned race, to the crown that awaited the victory, and to the Hellanodics or judges who bestowed it. “I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing,” 2 Tim. iv. 7, 8.

(7) In the Epistle to the Hebrews also—an epistle

‡ Every term here employed is agonistical. The whole passage beautifully represents that ardour which fired the combatants when engaged in the race. Their spirit and contention are in a very striking manner described in the following truly poetical lines of Appian (Pisc., lib. iv., ver. 101), which happily illustrate this passage. We give Jones's translation:—

As when the thirst of praise and conscious force
Invite the labours of the panting course,
Prone from the lists the blooming rivals strain,
And spring exulting to the distant plain;
Alternate feet with nimble measure bound,
Impetuous trip along the reluctant ground;
In every breast ambitious passions rise,
To seize the goal, and snatch th' immortal prize.

which, in point of composition, may vie with the most pure and elaborate of the Greek classics—the apostle says : “ Wherefore, seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us, looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith ; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God. For consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds. Wherefore lift up the hands that hang down, and the feeble knees ; and make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way,” Heb. xii. 1—3, 12, 13.

(8) In allusion to that prodigious assembly, from all parts of the world,* which was convened at Olympia, to be spectators of those celebrated games, the apostle places the Christian combatant in the midst of a most august and magnificent theatre, composed of all those great and illustrious characters whom in the preceding chapter he had enumerated, the fancied presence of whom should fire him with a virtuous ambition, and animate him with unconquered ardour to run the race that was set before him.—“ Wherefore, seeing we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses,” whose eyes are upon us, who expect every thing from the preparatory discipline we have received, and who long to applaud and congratulate us upon our victory ; “ let us lay aside every weight, and the sin that doth so easily beset us.”†—Let us throw off every impediment, as the competitors for the Olympic crown did, and that sin that would entangle and impede our steps, and prove the fatal cause of our losing the victory ; and “ let us run with patience the race set before us.”—Like those who ran in the Grecian stadium, let us, inflamed with the idea of glory, honour, and immortality, urge our course with unremitting ardour toward the destined happy goal, for the prize of our high calling in God our Saviour ; “ looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.”—As the candidates for the Olympic honours, during the arduous contention, had in view those illustrious and venerable personages from whose hands they

were to receive the envied palm, and who were immediate witnesses of their respective conduct and merit ; in imitation of them, let us Christians keep our eyes stedfastly fixed upon Jesus, the original introducer and perfecter of our religion, who, if victorious, will rejoice to adorn our temples with a crown of glory that will never fade ; “ who, for the joy set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is now set down at the right hand of God.”—Jesus himself, that he might seize the glorious palm which his God and Father placed full in his view, in order to inspirit him with that ardour and alacrity in the race he had set before him, cheerfully submitted to sorrows and sufferings, endured the cross, contemning the infamy of such a death, and, in consequence of perseverance and victory, is now exalted to the highest honours, and placed on the right hand of the Supreme Majesty. “ For, consider him that endured such contradiction of sinners against himself, lest ye be wearied and faint in your minds.”—Consider him who contended with such opposition ; wicked men all confederated against him ; and let reflections on his fortitude prevent your being languid and dispirited. “ Wherefore, lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees ; and make straight paths for your feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way.” Exert in the Christian race those nerves that have been relaxed, and collect those spirits which have been sunk in dejection ; make a smooth and even path for your steps, and remove every thing that would obstruct and retard your velocity.‡

SECTION III.

PHILOSOPHICAL SECTS MENTIONED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The Stoics and the Epicureans.

In treating of the several books of the New Testament, we have had occasion to notice some of those pernicious *misnamed* philosophical notions with which the Jewish and Christian churches were early infected. There are two sects, however, which demand a more specific consideration, and of which we proceed to give some account ; viz., the Stoics and the Epicureans.

1. The Stoics, mentioned in Acts xvii. 18, were a sect of heathen philosophers, of which Zeno, who flourished about 350 B. C., was the original founder. Their distinguishing tenets were—the eternity of matter, the corporeity of God, and the

* Not merely the inhabitants of Athens, of Lacedæmon, and of Nicopolis, but the inhabitants of the whole world, are convened to be spectators of the Olympic exercises. Arrianus Epictetus, lib. iii., p. 456. Upton.

† Entangle by wrapping round. An allusion to the garments of the Greeks, which were long, and would entangle and impede their steps, if not thrown off in the race. See Hallet, *in loco*.

‡ See the authorities before referred to, and Critica Biblica, vol. i., pp. 97—115.

conflagration and renovation of the world. They were most rigid necessarians, and believed that all things were subjected to an irresistible and irreversible fatality. They strenuously asserted, that man was self-sufficient to his own virtue and happiness, and stood in no need of divine assistance; that virtue was its own sufficient reward, and vice its own sufficient punishment. The grand end and aim of their severe philosophy was, to divest human nature of all passions and affections; and they made the highest attainment and perfection of virtue consist in a total apathy and insensibility to human evils. They affected great austerity in their manners, a proud singularity of dress and habit, and were distinguished above all the other sects of philosophy for their superior haughtiness and supercilious arrogance. Concerning the whole moral system of the Stoics, it must be remarked, that, although in many select passages of their writings it appears exceedingly brilliant, it is nevertheless founded in false notions of nature and of man, and is raised to a degree of refinement which is extravagant and impracticable. The piety which it teaches is nothing more than a quiet submission to irresistible fate. The self-command which it enjoins annihilates the best affections of the human heart. The indulgence which it grants to suicide is inconsistent, not only with the genuine principles of piety, but even with that constancy which was the height of Stoic perfection. Even its moral doctrine of benevolence is tinged with the fanciful principle which lay at the foundation of the whole Stoic system, that every being is a portion of one great whole, from which it would be unnatural and impious to attempt a separation. On the doctrine of Divine Providence, which was one of the chief points upon which the Stoics disputed with the Epicureans, much is written, and with great strength and elegance, by Seneca, Epictetus, and other later Stoics. But we are not to judge of the genuine and original doctrine of this sect, from the discourses of writers who had probably improved their notions, or at least corrected their language, on this subject by visiting the Christian school. The only way to form an accurate judgment of their opinions concerning Providence, is to compare their popular language upon this head with their general system, and explain the former consistently with the fundamental principles of the latter. If this be fairly done, it will appear that the agency of the Deity is, according to the Stoics, nothing more than the active motion of a celestial ether or fire, possessed of intelligence, which at first gave form to the shapeless mass of gross matter, and, being always essentially united to the visible world, by the same necessary agency preserves its order and

harmony. The Stoic idea of Providence is not that of an infinitely wise and good Being, wholly independent of matter, freely directing and governing all things; but that of a necessary chain of causes and effects, arising from the action of a power which is itself a part of the machine it regulates, and which, equally with that machine, is subject to the immutable law of necessity. Providence, in the Stoic creed, is only another name for absolute necessity or fate, to which God and matter, or the universe, which consists of both, is immutably subject. In like manner we must be careful what ideas we attach to the language which some of their writers have employed in treating of the resurrection from the dead. Seneca, who has written on this subject with much elegance and effect, says, "Death, of which we are so much afraid, and which we are so desirous to avoid, is only the interruption, not the destruction, of our existence; the day will come, which will restore us to life."* But that this doctrine of the Stoics is not to be confounded with the Christian doctrine, is evident both from the passage in the Acts of the Apostles to which we have before referred, and from a comparison of other parts of their system. According to them, men return to life, not by the voluntary appointment of a wise and merciful God, but by the law of fate; and are not renewed for the enjoyment of a better and happier condition, but draw back into their former state of imperfection and misery. Accordingly, Seneca says, "This restoration many would reject, were it not that their renovated life is accompanied with a total oblivion of past events."†

2. THE EPICUREANS, mentioned in connexion with the Stoics, in Acts xvii., were the followers of Epicurus, who flourished about 300 B. C. The principal tenets of his philosophy were, that the world was formed by a fortuitous concourse of atoms; that the government of the world was unworthy the majesty of the gods, who lived in indolence and pleasure, but who were, nevertheless, the proper objects of reverence and worship. They derided the doctrine of Providence, and denied the doctrine of future rewards and punishments. The doctrine of Epicurus concerning nature differs from that of the Stoics chiefly in these particulars: that, while the latter held God to be the soul of the world, diffused through universal nature, the former admitted no primary intelligent nature into the system, but held atoms and space to be the first principles of all things;

* Epist. 36.

† See an able and interesting account of this sect, in *Reid's Hist. of Philosophy*, vol. i., pp. 315—361.

and that, whilst the Stoics conceived the active and passive principles of nature to be connected by the chain of fate, Epicurus ascribed every appearance in nature to a fortuitous collision and combination of atoms. Death he considered as the privation of sensation, in consequence of the separation of the soul from the body. He held that, when a man dies, the soul is dispersed into the corpuscles or atoms of which it was composed, and therefore can no longer be capable of thought or perception. The *moral philosophy* of Epicurus, which is undoubtedly the least objectionable part of his system, made the ultimate good of man to consist in *pleasure*, of which there are two kinds: one consisting in a state of rest, in which both body and mind are undisturbed by any kind of pain; the other arising from an agreeable agitation of the senses, producing a correspondent emotion in the soul. Upon the former of these, Epicurus considered the enjoyment of life to depend. From this statement it is evident that this philosopher was not the preceptor of luxurious and licentious pleasures which he has been represented to be. It is true, he describes pleasure as the ultimate end of living; but pleasure is, in his

system, only another term for happiness. Of the Epicureans, then, there were two sorts: the one called the *strict* or *rigid* Epicureans, who placed all pleasure in the happiness of the mind, arising from the practice of moral virtue; the other called *loose* or *remiss* Epicureans, who understood their master in the gross sense, and placed all their happiness in the pleasure of the body, in brutal and sensual pleasure, in living voluptuously, and indulging every desire.* It was with some of this latter description that the apostle came in contact at Athens; and of whom Seneca says, they were profligates, not led into their irregularities by the doctrines of Epicurus; but, being themselves strongly addicted to vice, sought to hide their crimes in the bosom of philosophy, and had recourse to a master who encouraged the pursuit of pleasure, not because they set any value upon that sober and abstemious kind of pleasure which the doctrine of Epicurus allowed, but because they hoped in the mere name to find some pretext or apology for their debaucheries.†

* See Enfield's *Hist. of Philosophy*, vol. i., pp. 444—481.

† De Vit. Beat., c. 12.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

A VOCABULARY OF SCRIPTURE SYMBOLS.

ABADDON. This name, which is primarily given to the Devil or Satan, is also appropriated, as a symbol, to Mahomet, and the Khalifa, his successors:—"They had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name, in the Hebrew tongue, is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon," Rev. ix. 11. How appropriate the symbol is, may be seen in the following passage from Gibbon: "The sword, says Mahomet, is the key of heaven and of hell; *a drop of blood shed* in the cause of God, *a night spent in arms*, is of *more avail* than two months of fasting or prayer; *whosoever falls in battle*, his sins are forgiven; at the day of battle his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels, and of cherubim."

Abomination of desolation, the Roman armies: "But when ye shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing where it ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them that be in Judea flee to the mountains," Mark xiii. 14, compared with Luke xxi. 20, 21: "And when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with *armies*, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh; then let them which are in Judea, flee to the mountains."

Adultery, apostasy, idolatry: "And I saw, when for all the causes whereby backsliding Israel committed adultery, I had put her away, and given her a bill of divorce; yet her treacherous sister Judah feared not, but went and played the harlot also. And it came to pass, through the lightness of her whoredom, that she defiled the land, and committed adultery with stones and with stocks," Jer. iii. 8, 9. "I have seen thine adulteries, and thy neighings, the lewdness of thy whoredom, and thine abominations on the hills in the fields. Woe unto thee, O Jerusalem! wilt not thou be made clean? when shall it once be?" chap. xiii. 27; see also Ezek. xvi. 32, 33, 37, 43; Rev. ii. 22.

Adulteress, or Harlot, an apostate church: "How is the faithful city become an harlot! it was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it, but now murderers," Isai. i. 21. "But he answered and said unto them, An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given to it, but the sign of the prophet Jonas," Matt. xii. 39. See also Jer. iii. 9. See further on *Harlot*.

Air, the world, the seat of Satan, or the jurisdiction of evil spirits, Eph. ii. 2; Rev. ix. 2, xvi. 17; comp. John xii. 31. For another import of the symbol, see *Heaven*.

Angel, a messenger, or agent, sometimes an inferior ruling power. See the Book of Revelation, *passim*, especially chap. xiv. 6, ix. 14: also 2 Sam. ii. 5, xi. 19, 22, 23, 25; Prov. xiii. 17, in Hebrew: and Matt. xi. 10; Mark i. 2; Luke vii. 27; James ii. 25, in Greek.

Angel of a church, the bishop or pastor, Rev. ii. 1, &c.

Angel at the altar, an ecclesiastical minister, Rev. viii. 3, 5, &c.

Angel of the bottomless pit: the same as Abaddon, which see.

The four angels bound in the great river Euphrates, represent the four dynasties or peoples of Turks, (1) The Seljukians; (2) The Atabeks; The Kharismians; (4) The Ottomans, in possession of the prætorian Prefecture of the East; see Gibbon, vol. x., chap. lvii.; vol. xi., chap. lix.

The other angels mentioned in the Apocalypse are sufficiently characterized by the agencies in which they are employed.

Apollyon. See Abaddon.

Ark. As the temple represents the Christian church, it seems fitting to understand the ark of the testimony (Rev. xi. 19) as symbolizing Christ, whose power and grace are here predicted as becoming extraordinarily manifested.

Arm, strength, power, authority, Exod. xv. 16; Ps. lxxi. 18, xxviii. 1; Jer. xvii. 5; 1 Sam. ii. 31.

Arm, making it bare, preparing for action, or exerting great power, Isai. lii. 10.

Babylon, the Church of Rome, Rev. xiv. 8, xvi. 19, xvii. 5, xviii. 10, 21. That this is a correct interpretation of the symbol, is evident from chap. xvii. 18, where it is said that the *woman* [which is the symbol of a church] of ver. 5, there called "Babylon the Great," "reigned over the kings of the earth:"—a thing which can be affirmed of no other corrupt church.

Balance, a well-known symbol of justice and equity, Job xxxi. 6; Ps. lxii. 9; Prov. xvi. 11.

Balance, a, in connexion with the other symbols of the following passage, denotes scarcity, famine, Rev. vi. 5.

Baldness, distress, humiliation: "Baldness is come upon Gaza; Ashkelon is cut off with the remnant of their valley," Jer. xlvii. 5; comp. with Zech. ix. 5, "Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful, and Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited."

Bear. See *Beast* 1.

Beast [mild], a tyrannical, usurping power, Jer. xii. 9; Ezek. xxxiv. 28; Dan. vii. 3, comp. with ver. 17, 23. The character of the *power* may be judged of by the nature of the *beast* employed as the symbol; thus:—

1. The *bear* is a fierce, savage, and greedy animal, and was therefore employed to represent the Medo-Persian empire, Dan. vii. 5.
2. The *leopard*, being swift and ferocious, was chosen to symbolize the Macedonian or Grecian empire, Dan. vii. 6. And it is by no means improbable, that the spotted skin of this animal might have some reference to the various nations by whose aid Alexander became the conqueror of the world.
3. The *lion* is a noble and not ungenerous animal, possessed of great strength, valour, and celerity, and was therefore a fit representative of the Babylonian monarchy, Dan. vii. 4. In this passage he has the wings of an eagle, more fully to represent the swiftness of the conquests of Babylon, and the protection which it afforded to other nations, in addition to the extent of its wealth and honour.
4. A *beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly*; a compound of the worst properties of the lion, the bear, and the leopard, having "great iron teeth," tearing and rending asunder its prey, and, like a savage beast, when more than satisfied, trampling the residue under its feet, is adopted to symbolize the Roman empire, Dan. vii. 7.
5. The *beast of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns*, and upon his horns *ten crowns*, &c. (Rev. xiii. 1), is a symbol, probably, of the seven successive divisions of the universal empire. It will be seen from ver. 2, that it was composed of the symbols of the four empires of Daniel, above noticed. There can be little doubt that, as the seven churches symbolize the universal church, so this seven-headed beast symbolizes all the kingdoms of this world, which are subject

to "the prince of the power of the air," the "god of this world, that ruleth in the children of disobedience." The beast—worldly splendour and earthly glory—is "worshipped by all those whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world," Rev. xiii. 8.

Bed, to be cast into, tribulation, anguish, Ps. xli. 3; Rev. ii. 22.

Bind, to, to restrain, to subdue: "To bind his princes at his pleasure," Ps. cv. 22. "Or else how can one enter into a strong man's house, and spoil his goods, except he first bind the strong man? and then he will spoil his house," Matt. xii. 29. See also Rev. ix. 14, xx. 2.

Birds of prey, ravaging and destroying armies: "Mine heritage is unto me as a speckled bird, the birds round about are against her; come ye, assemble all the beasts of the field, come to devour," Jer. xii. 9. "Then will I leave thee upon the land, I will cast thee forth upon the open field, and will cause all the fowls of the heaven to remain upon thee, and I will fill the beasts of the whole earth with thee," Ezek. xxxii. 4. "And thou, Son of Man, thus saith the Lord God, Speak unto every feathered fowl, and to every beast of the field, assemble yourselves and come, gather yourselves on every side to my sacrifice that I do sacrifice for you, even a great sacrifice upon the mountains of Israel, that ye may eat flesh, and drink blood," chap. xxxix. 17. "And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God; that ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great," Rev. xix. 17, 18.

Bitter, Bitterness, affliction, wretchedness; Exod. i. 14; Jer. ix. 15; Rev. x. 10.

Black, Blackness, affliction, disaster, anguish: "And when he had opened the third seal, I heard the third beast say, Come and see. And I beheld, and lo, a black horse; and he that sat on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood," Rev. vi. 5, 12. See also Isa. i. 3.

Blood, slaughter, mortality; Ezek. xiv. 19; xxxii. 6; Rev. viii. 8; xi. 6; xvi. 3.

Book, a, or *Roll*, is generally employed to symbolize the order or exactitude of the divine decrees, as they affect the church and the world: "And when I looked, behold, a hand was sent unto me; and lo, a roll of a book was therein. And he spread it before me: and it was written within and without: and there was written therein lamentations, and mourning, and woe," Ezek. ii. 9, 10; see also Rev. v. 1, &c. *Being written within and without* denotes the plenitude or fulness of its details.

A sealed book denotes one the contents of which are not revealed (Dan. xii. 4; Rev. v. 1, x. 4); and *an open book* is, of course, the reverse of this, i. e., a revelation of the divine purposes, Rev. v. 2, 5, comp. with ch. vi. 1, &c.

Bow, a, power, strength: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts: Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might," Jer. xlix. 35. "And it shall come to pass at that day, that I will break the bow of Israel in the valley of Jezreel," Hos. i. 5. "And I saw, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow; and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering, and to conquer," Rev. vi. 2.

Brass, strength, stability: "For he hath broken the gates of brass, and cut the gates of iron in sunder," Ps. cvii. 16. See also Isa. xlv. 2. In Dan. ii. 39, it symbolizes the kingdom of Alexander.

Bride, the, the church of Christ; Rev. xxi. 2, 9; xxii. 17.

Brimstone, perpetual torment, utter destruction, Job xviii. 15 ; Isa. xxxiv. 9, 10

Burning, destruction. Rev. xvii. 16 ; xviii. 8, 16.

Bulls, violent and malignant enemies, Ps. xxii. 12 ; lxviii. 30 ; Isa. xxxiv. 7.

Candlestick or *Lampstand*, a church, Rev. i. 12, 20. In Zech. iv. there is an account of the splendid and significant emblem presented in vision to the prophet, which will abundantly reward an attentive examination. The principal object that met the eyes of Zechariah, was a candelabrum, a candlestick or lampbearer, entirely of gold, pure, solid, costly, precious, consisting of a tall upright shaft, surmounted by a bowl, and of a number of branches, each of which supported a lamp, springing out of it, as boughs from the trunk of a tree, but only on two sides. The image is evidently taken from the candlesticks in the tabernacle and temple, but differed widely from them. The difference is very closely examined by Dr. Stonard, in his commentary on this prophet ; and very remarkable it is. In the first place, there was a bowl or bason on the top of the shaft, intended to contain oil for the nourishment of the lights of the lamps ; "and its seven lamps upon it, seven and seven." From the bowl proceeded pipes conveying oil to the lamps ; and beside the candlestick stood two olive-trees, one on each side of it, whose branches shed their produce into spouts or gutters, from which the bowl was supplied. This is thus explained by Dr. Stonard, who has followed it at great length, with a minuteness, and often a felicity, of expression, that show the taste and admiration with which he contemplates the magnificent picture. Light, in general, is the emblem of excellence, discerned, acknowledged, and admired by the world. A material lamp is an instrument formed to yield an artificial light, which, being sustained by oil, is really nothing but oil kindled into a flame. When a lamp is taken for the emblem of spiritual and intellectual excellence, truth must be its oil, the pabulum of its light, which in reality is nothing else than truth displayed, showing itself to the world. Accordingly, the oil, which is the food of the symbolical lamp, set before us in this part of the vision, is truth ; divine, moral, religious, or saving truth. When the truth is received by any man, he has then the mystic oil in himself ; and when that oil is kindled into a flame, not only is he internally enlightened, but he conducts himself accordingly, and becomes truly good and holy. It is the property of light to diffuse itself upon all objects within its reach. He that hath in himself that spiritual light, who acts and lives according to the truth, makes it shine before men ; and gives light to the world.

A material candlestick is an instrument constructed to bear a lamp, or many lamps, for the purpose of giving light. A symbolical or spiritual candlestick, with many branches and lamps, represents a body or assemblage of persons, enlightened and shining, as before mentioned, collected into a regular society, for the purpose of dissipating the spiritual darkness of a world lying in sin, and enveloped in ignorance. Such a society is the church, which alone, containing in itself the principles of saving truth, of holiness, of solid comfort, and everlasting happiness, is the instrument constructed and appointed by God, to hold forth the light, which may guide the steps of men into the way of peace. Every true member of it is luminous, at once enlightened and enlightening ; so speaking, and so living, as to show forth to others the light that is in himself. And not only is the symbol of a candlestick well adapted to represent the church of God, but the church is actually represented by it, as we have seen, in other parts of Scripture. Since, then, a candlestick, in general, is the scriptural symbol of a church, a candlestick with seven branches and lamps, must be the symbol of the universal church (see *seven*), spread abroad through all its numerous congregations, having and giving light ; at the same time, being fixed upon branches proceeding from one shaft, they plainly imply that all those congregations are united in one body of the universal church.

The church of Israel was represented by this figure of a candlestick, in the tabernacle and temple ; and since the Gentile church was, on every account, entitled to be represented by a like symbol as the Jewish, the two great divisions of the church would be properly represented by two candlesticks of seven branches each. But since these churches have been made one, what symbol could be so apt and so consistent with scriptural doctrines and imagery, as that of a candlestick bearing fourteen lamps on as many branches, issuing in two septenaries from its opposite sides ? Such, exactly, was the candlestick exhibited in vision to Zechariah.

The candlestick must have had some base or foot, which would represent the foundation on

which the church stands. This is no other than Jesus Christ; and the base, therefore, must have been the stone with seven eyes, mentioned in this and the foregoing vision of the prophet. The shaft of a candlestick springs up immediately from the base, and is, in reality, nothing more than the elongation or elevation of it. In the one, Christ is represented as the foundation of the church; in the other, he appears as the principle of spiritual vitality to all its congregations and members. The branches of the candlestick, growing out of the shaft, intimate the closest union and absolute dependance of all of them upon him; in exact correspondence with that other figure, under which our Lord is pleased to represent himself, as the trunk of the spiritual vine, and his disciples as the branches.

On the right and left sides of the candlestick were two olive-trees, which attracted the particular attention of the prophet; and he inquired, "What are those two olive-trees?" and again, "What are the two branches of the olive-trees, which, through two oil-gutters, drain off the oil from them?" The answer of the interpreting angel seems to imply an almost culpable ignorance in the prophet. "Knowest thou not what these be? These are the two sons of oil, which stand before the Lord of the whole earth." An olive-tree is used as an emblem of the Jewish church (*see Olive*). But the church compounded of Jewish and Gentile believers is already set before us in the significant emblem of the golden candlestick. We must, therefore, find for the two olive-trees a different interpretation, which shall join the subjects represented by them in the most intimate relation to the church. Dr. Blayney presumes them to be "no other than the two dispensations of the law and the gospel, under which were communicated the precious oracles of divine truth, which illuminate the soul, and make men wise to salvation." The dispensations of God, in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, are the sole fountains of the spiritual oil, the only sources whence divine or moral, religious or saving truth, is derived to men in perfect purity. The olive-trees give out their oil by two peculiar and conspicuous branches, and of course are intended to represent some eminent and especial instruments for the propagation of true religion. These are the ministers of the law and the gospel, considered as two distinct bodies of men, following, in analogy to the candlestick, the grand division of the universal church into its two primitive and principal branches, the Jewish and the Gentile. The two branches shed forth the juice of the trees to the support of the lights on the candlestick; so do the ministers of religion convey to their congregations the sacred truths contained in the dispensations of the law and the gospel. "These," said the angel, "are the two sons of oil, which stand before the Lord of the whole earth." These two sons of oil possess abundantly, and are capable of supplying, adequately to the wants of the church, those divine and moral truths which enlighten men's minds with the knowledge, and touch their hearts with the love, of God, and of the things which are conducive to salvation. They are said to stand before the Lord of the whole earth—the whole territory of Christendom—as ministers of his presence, strengthened by his might, as stewards of his mysteries, to act the part of the wise householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasures things new and old. The flow of juice from these symbolical trees is not limited to any particular seasons, but is perennial and perpetual. This is quite suitable to the nature of the subjects represented by them, which continually send forth their sacred stream of truth, without intermission or failure, in all places, at all seasons and periods, through the hands and instruments appointed to convey the same. Again, the two branches send out the oil through two oil-gutters or spouts. These must represent the channels, as it were, through which the ministers of the divine dispensations convey the blessings of religious, saving truth; those institutions which afford to the ministry the most convenient and edifying means of making known the truth.

The bowl, which is the reservoir of all the oil poured forth from the two olive-trees, must necessarily signify something which is the recipient of the whole body of truth, made known by the two dispensations. Now, such a recipient is nowhere to be found, but in the body of the church universal. The bowl, indeed, cannot typify the church as it is known to the world in the outward and visible persons and actions of its members, but as it is discernible in contemplation only to the eye of the understanding. It represents the church at unity, having all its parts nourished by the same food, pervaded by the same circulating blood, animated by the same living spirit, according to the image repeatedly employed by Paul to represent the unity of the church. The pipes, which are the media of communication between the lamps and the bowl, answer the same purpose to the dishes and cups of the former, as the oil-gutters do to the latter. They consequently represent the same things in respect to the several congregations, as the others

do in respect to the whole body of the catholic church ; that is, the ministry of the two dispensations conveying the doctrines of truth and salvation to their respective flocks.

But it may be asked, since the lamps are supposed to be alight, and they could not light themselves, who is it that had kindled their flames? The work not being represented by any symbol, is plainly intended to be conceived, as Dr. Stonard remarks, as that of an invisible hand, of one who operates by natural secret influence. This answers precisely to the effect of the Holy Spirit upon Christians. In vain would the truth be heard by their ears, and received by their understandings, from the two dispensations, if the Holy Ghost, by his influences, did not give effect to the word and to the labours of those who publish it. All that is well pleasing in the sight of God and truly useful to man, all proceeds from the operation of the Holy Spirit, bringing the principle of truth into action, kindling the sacred oil into a bright and steady flame.

I have been thus particular in the exposition of this symbol, not only because it is in itself interesting and important, but because it will show, in a very striking light, that the shades of signification which pass upon symbols in consequence of their connexion with others, and the objects to which they refer, as well as the analogies of their minute details, can never be properly entered into by consulting a vocabulary or dictionary—though these may assist—but must be carefully and repeatedly studied, in their entire connexion, for this purpose.

Cedars of Lebanon, princes, rulers: "And Jehoash the king of Israel sent to Amaziah king of Judah, saying, The thistle that was in Lebanon, sent to the cedar that was in Lebanon, saying, Give thy daughter to my son to wife: and there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon, and trod down the thistle," 2 Kings xiv. 9. "And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up, and upon all the oaks of Bashan," Isai. ii. 13.

Chain, a, bondage, captivity: "He hath hedged me about, that I cannot get out: he hath made my chain heavy," Lam. iii. 7. "For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness, to be reserved unto judgment," 2 Pet. ii. 4. See also Jude, ver. 6; Rev. xx. 1.

City, a, a kingdom or nation, Rev. xi. 13, &c.

1. *The great city called Sodom and Egypt* (Rev. xi. 8). The Roman empire, consisting of ten kingdoms.
2. *A tenth part of the city*, Rev. xi. 13. One of the ten kingdoms.
3. *The great city Babylon*, Rev. xiv. 8. Rome.
4. *The great city the holy Jerusalem*, Rev. xi. 2, xxi. 10. The church of the saints.

Clay, fragility, instability, Dan. ii. 33, 34, 42.

Cloud, a, protecting power: "And the Lord will create upon every dwelling-place of Mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day," &c., Isai. iv. 5. This sense of the word, however, is derived from the visible token of the divine presence and protection, which accompanied the Israelites in the wilderness, and does not seem to be that which is usually attached to it. For—

Clouds generally denote multitudes, and armies: Isai. lx. 8; Jer. iv. 13; Dan. vii. 13; Matt. xxiv. 30; Rev. i. 7.

Creatures, living. Almost every reader of the Bible must have felt regret that the living creatures mentioned by John in the Apocalypse (chap. iv. 6—9) are in our English Bibles called *beasts*, a term which not only conveys to the mind a very erroneous notion, but which also creates an association of ideas extremely unfavourable to those emotions of profound reverence and religious awe with which this part of Scripture, especially, should be read and studied. The fact is, that the four living creatures described by John are the identical symbols of the cherubim described by Ezekiel (chap. i.), having (as appears from ver. 7) the parts of the lion, the calf, the man, and the eagle. The divine hymn they sing in the eighth verse is the same as the inspired Isaiah heard, when, rapt in prophetic vision, he saw the glory of the Lord fill the temple, and heard the seraphim declare the divine praise; and the seven ministering spirits, these cherubic emblems.

and the four-and-twenty elders and angels, are thus represented as encircling the throne, which is magnificently and sublimely described; a splendid exhibition of the Deity; wherein his ineffable majesty is shadowed forth by sensible and earthly images. By carefully examining these passages, as the angels, the ministering spirits, are distinctly classed, it is impossible to view the cherubic emblems as partaking of either of those existences, as many commentators have done. There can be but little doubt, that the cherubic symbols were hieroglyphics, or emblems of the *true believers in Christ*, in common, of both dispensations. Being made of gold, may denote their excellency, worth, and value (derived from their relation to Christ); under the Levitical dispensation, they were not cast in a mould, but were made of the same mass of gold with the mercy-seat, and wrought up into this form, which may denote the union of believers with Christ; being in the same mass, may signify their dependance on him, their partaking of the same gifts and graces, in the measure vouchsafed by him. If any of my readers should doubt the propriety of this application of the cherubic symbols, I would request them to attend carefully to their employment as described in the passage of the Apocalypse under consideration. They are said, in conjunction with the four-and-twenty elders, to fall down before the Lamb, and to acknowledge themselves redeemed to God by his blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and who are the persons thus literally redeemed by the blood of the Lamb, out of all the tribes of the earth? Clearly, *the whole of the faithful*; and as the cherubic creatures, and the twenty-four elders, profess *themselves* to have been thus redeemed, *therefore* they must be the symbols of the *great body of the faithful*. And as that great body is also typified by the eight members of Noah's family, floating upon the waves of the deluge in the ark; so also the eight faces of the cherubim surmounting the ark of the covenant are a type of the very same import, and each alike represents the whole body of the faithful, floating safely under the care of their divine Pilot, in the figurative ark of the church.

Crown, a, denotes the possession of sovereignty, honour, glory: "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," Rev. ii. 10. See also chap. iii. 11, iv. 4; xiv. 14, &c. It seems to be a symbol of a kingdom or sovereignty, in Rev. vi. 2.

Cup, a, sufferings, afflictions: "Awake, awake, stand up, O Jerusalem, which hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury; thou hast drunken the dregs of the cup of trembling, and wrung them out," Isai. li. 17. "For thus saith the Lord God of Israel unto me; take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them," Jer. xxv. 15, 16. "And he went a little farther, and fell on his face, and prayed, saying, O my Father, if it be possible, let this cup pass from me: nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt," Matt. xxvi. 39.

Darkness, adversity, misery: "All the bright lights of heaven will I make dark over thee, and set darkness upon thy land, saith the Lord God," Ezek. xxxii. 8. "And the fifth angel poured out his vial upon the seat of the beast; and his kingdom was full of darkness; and they gnawed their tongues for pain," Rev. xvi. 10.

2. *Darkness* is also used to represent moral evil, or sin, as in the following passages: "And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them," Eph. v. 11. "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places," chap. vi. 12. "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son," Col. i. 13.

Day, a. In prophetic scripture, a day is the symbol for a year: "After the number of the days in which ye searched the land, even forty days, each day for a year, shall ye bear your iniquities, even forty years, and ye shall know my breach of promise," Numb. xiv. 34. "And when thou hast accomplished them, lie again on thy right side, and thou shalt bear the iniquities of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year," Ezek. iv. 6.

Death, when applied to a kingdom or state, signifies, analogically, the extinction of power, or subjection to a foreign power. See Rev. xiii. 3, chap. xviii. 8, &c.

Desert, a, paganism, or a pagan, or idolatrous state: "I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the shittah-tree, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree; I will set in the desert the fir-tree, and the pine, and the box-tree together," Isai. xli. 19. See also Rev. xii. 14, comp. with chap. xvii. 3—6.

Dev, fruitfulness, good things in general, Gen. xxvii. 28; Isai. xxvi. 19.

Dragon, a, monarchical tyranny, and thence a king who is an enemy: "In that day, the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea," Isai. xxvii. 1. See also chap. li. 9; Ezek. xxix. 3. The dragon was a symbol of the old Roman empire, and has been adopted by the Turks, who possess the country and capital of the ancient Romans; and it is evidently employed to represent these powers in the book of Revelation.

In Rev. xii. 9, the *dragon* symbolizes *paganism*, generally.

Drunk, drunkenness, stupidity, infatuation; Rev. xvii. 2.

Eagle, an, a monarchy or king: "And say, Thus saith the Lord God; A great eagle with great wings, long winged, full of feathers, which had divers colours, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar. There was also another great eagle with great wings, and many feathers: and, behold, this vine did bend her roots toward him, and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantation, Ezek. xvii. 3, 7.

Earth, the, the people in a state of peace and tranquillity: "These have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophecy: and have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to smite the earth with all plagues as often as they will," Rev. xi. 6. "And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed," chap. xiii. 12.

2. *Earth*, in opposition to *sea*, Rome: "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters. And he saith unto me, the waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues. And the woman which thou sawest, is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth," Rev. xvii. 1, 15, 18. The *sea*, therefore, being the same as *waters*; that is, peoples, multitudes, nations, and tongues, the *earth* must be that great city, Rome, which sits upon or presides over those waters, Rev. vii. 1, 2, chap. viii. 7, x. 2, 8, xii. 12, 16, xiii. 11, 12, 14, xiv. 19, xvi. 2. And that the *earth* symbolizes Rome is proved by the event, the first trumpet and the first vial bringing the two most remarkable sackings of it, the one by Alaric and his Goths, the other by Bourbon and his Italians, Spaniards, and Germans, both mentioned together and compared by the historian Gibbon, vol. v., chap. xxxi.—*Addis's Heaven Opened*, p. 208.

3. *Earth*, in opposition to *heaven*; the papacy, as opposed to paganism: "And I saw a new heaven and a new earth; for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away; and there was no more sea," Rev. xxi. 1. When the dragon had been cast out of heaven to the earth (Rev. xii. 9); that is, paganism, the ostensible exaltation of the dragon, had been abolished, then the *heaven* had passed away (Rev. vi. 14); but the *earth*, or the dominion of the papacy, still remained open to him. When, then, the papacy is destroyed, and the dragon is cast from the earth to the bottomless pit, then the *earth* is passed away also. On the passing away of the heaven, it is said, every mountain and island were moved only out of their *places* (Rev. vi. 14); but when it may be imagined the earth passes away, it is said, every island fled away, and the mountains were not found, Rev. xvi. 20.—*Addis, ubi supra*.

Earthquake, an, a commotion among the people; a political revolution; the subversion of a kingdom or state: "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and, lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood," Rev. vi. 12. "And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell, and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven," chap. xi. 13. See also chap. xvi. 18, &c.

Eat, to, to meditate, to digest: "How sweet are thy words unto my taste! yea, sweeter than honey to my mouth!" Ps. cxix. 103. "Thy words were found, and I did eat them; and thy word was unto me the joy and rejoicing of mine heart: for I am called by thy name, O Lord God of Hosts," Jer. xv. 16. "But thou, son of man, hear what I say unto thee; Be not thou rebellious, like that rebellious house: open thy mouth, and eat that I give thee," Ezek. ii. 8. "So I opened my mouth, and he caused me to eat that roll," chap. iii. 2. See also Rev. x. 9.

Elders. The twenty-four elders (Rev. iv. 4, &c.) symbolize the whole body of the faithful under both economies, the Jewish and the Christian.

Euphrates, the. See *River*.

Eye, an, knowledge, understanding: "Thou shalt not wrest judgment; thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise, and pervert the words of the righteous," Deut. xvi. 19. "As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful; and their rings were full of eyes round about them four," Ezek. i. 18.

2. When superadded to a horn, which is the symbol of power, or a kingdom, *an eye* denotes a *spiritual power*, "I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things," Dan. vii. 8.

Face, presence, "Make thy face to shine upon thy servant: save me for thy mercies' sake," Ps. xxxi. 16. See also Ps. lxxx. 7; Lam. iii. 35.

Fat, rich, plentiful: "They are inclosed in their own fat: with their mouth they speak proudly," Ps. xvii. 10. "For when I shall have brought them into the land which I swore unto their fathers, that floweth with milk and honey; and they shall have eaten and filled themselves, and waxen fat; then will they turn unto other gods, and serve them, and provoke me, and break my covenant," Deut. xxxi. 20. See also chap. xxxii. 15; Prov. xi. 25, xiii. 4, xxviii. 25.

Fire, persecution, affliction, torment: "The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth: and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up," Rev. viii. 7. "And they went up on the breadth of the earth, and compassed the camp of the saints about, and the beloved city: and fire came down from God out of heaven, and devoured them," chap. xx. 9. "And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone: and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone," chap. ix. 17. "Therefore he hath poured upon him the fury of his anger, and the strength of battle: and it hath set him on fire round about, yet he knew not; and it burned him, yet he laid it not to heart," Isai. xlii. 25. "And I will bring the third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried: they shall call on my name, and I will hear them; I will say, It is my people; and they shall say, The Lord is my God," Zech. xiii. 9. See also 1 Pet. iv. 12.

2. *Fire* is also used as a symbol of the Holy Spirit: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not able to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," Matt. iii. 11. See also 1 Thess. v. 19.

Flesh, riches, possessions: "Thou brakest the heads of leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the wilderness," Ps. lxxiv. 14. "And, behold, another beast, a second, like to a bear; and it raised up itself on one side; and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh," Dan. vii. 5. "That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great. And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon

the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth: and all the fowls were filled with their flesh," Rev. xix. 18, 21. See also Isai. xvii. 4; Zech. xi. 9, 16.

Flood, a, a hostile irruption, an invasion: "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined," Dan. ix. 26. "And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant," chap. xi. 22. "And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood. And the earth helped the woman; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth," Rev. xii. 15, 16.

Forehead, the, public profession: "As an adamant, harder than flint, have I made thy forehead: fear them not, neither be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house," Ezek. iii. 9. "And the third angel followed them, saying with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand," Rev. xiv. 19. "And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS, AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH," chap. xvii. 5.

Fountain, a, a small state or kingdom: "And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp; and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters," Rev. viii. 10. "And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters; and they became blood," chap. xvi. 4.

Fornication, apostasy from the worship of the true God, idolatry: "Thou hast, moreover, multiplied thy fornication in the land of Canaan unto Chaldea, and yet thou wast not satisfied herewith," Ezek. xvi. 29. "And I gave her space to repent of her fornication, and she repented not," Rev. ii. 21. "For all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication, and the kings of the earth have committed fornication with her, and the merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies," chap. xviii. 3. See also xix. 2.

Fovls, official personages in a state, Rev. xix. 17, 21.

Fox, a, a cunning, deceitful person, Luke xiii. 32.

Furnace, a, a place of extreme affliction: "But the Lord hath taken you, and brought you forth out of the iron furnace, even out of Egypt, to be unto him a people of inheritance, as ye are this day," Deut. iv. 20.

Garments, white, victory, honour, purity: "Thou hast a few names in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white; for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels," Rev. iii. 4, 5. "And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," chap. vii. 14. See also Dan. vii. 9.

Gentiles, nominal Christians, formal worshippers in the Christian church, Rev. xi. 2.

Girdle, a, power, strength, defence: "He looseth the bonds of kings, and girdeth their loins with a girdle. He poureth contempt upon princes, and weakeneth the strength of the mighty," Job xii. 18, 21. "And I will clothe him with thy robe, and strengthen him with thy girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand," Isai. xxii. 21, in Hebrew. See also chap. xlv. 5: Rev. i. 13, xv. 6.

Gold, splendour, riches: it is therefore used to represent the Assyrian empire, in Dan. ii. 38.

2. *Gold* is also used to symbolize true faith: "I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire,

that thou mayest be rich ; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear ; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see," Rev. iii. 18.

Grass. The lower orders of the people are symbolized by the grass, when the higher orders are represented by trees ; as, "The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth : and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up," Rev. viii. 7.

Hail, the inroad and assault of enemies : "Behold, the Lord hath a mighty and strong one, which as a tempest of hail and a destroying storm, as a flood of mighty waters overflowing, shall cast down to the earth with the hand," Isai. xxviii. 2 ; comp. with chap. xxx. 31 : "For through the voice of the Lord shall the Assyrian be beaten down, which smote with a rod ;" and xxxii. 19 : "When it shall hail, coming down on the forest ; and the city shall be low in a low place." Ezek. xiii. 11—13 : "Say unto them which daub it with untempered mortar, that it shall fall : there shall be an overflowing shower ; and ye, O great hailstones, shall fall ; and a stormy wind shall rend it. Lo, when the wall is fallen, shall it not be said unto you, Where is the daubing wherewith ye have daubed it ? Therefore thus saith the Lord God ; I will even rend it with a stormy wind in my fury ; and there shall be an overflowing shower in mine anger, and great hailstones in my fury, to consume it." Rev. viii. 7 : "The first angel sounded, and there followed hail and fire mingled with blood, and they were cast upon the earth : and the third part of trees was burnt up, and all green grass was burnt up." See also chap. xi. 19, xvi. 21. It will be seen that this symbol points with great propriety to the irruptions of enemies from the north.

Hair. Among the eastern nations *hair* is employed as a symbol of honour, respect, and authority : and in conformity with this notion, cutting or shaving off the hair is, in Scripture, a symbol of poverty, affliction, or disgrace : "In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet : and it shall also consume the beard," Isai. vii. 20.

Hand, power, strength : "And the hand of the Lord was on Elijah ; and he girded up his loins, and ran before Ahab to the entrance of Jezreel," 1 Kings xviii. 46. See also Prov. iii. 27 ; John x. 28, 29.

2. *The right hand* being given in token of agreement or contract, to receive a mark in the right hand must denote agreement with, or subjection to, the person or power from whom it is received, as in Rev. xiii. 16 : "And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads."

Harlot, a, an idolatrous community of professing believers : "How is the faithful city become an harlot ! it was full of judgment ; righteousness lodged in it ; but now murderers," Isai. i. 21 ; "Wherefore, O harlot, hear the word of the Lord," Ezek. xvi. 35. "And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH," Rev. xvii. 5.

Harvest, a destroying judgment : "For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel ; the daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor, it is time to thresh her : yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come," Jer. li. 33. "Put ye in the sickle, for the harvest is ripe : come, get you down ; for the press is full, the fats overflow ; for their wickedness is great," Joel iii. 13. "And another angel came out of the temple, crying with a loud voice to him that sat on the cloud, thrust in thy sickle, and reap : for the time is come for thee to reap ; for the harvest of the earth is ripe," Rev. xiv. 15. Hence the term is also applied to the last judgment, Matt. xiii. 39, 41, 42.

Head, the, superior persons, the supreme power : "Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush, in one day. The ancient and honourable, he is the head ; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail," Isai. ix. 14, 15. "In the same day shall the Lord shave with a razor that is hired, namely, by them beyond the river, by the king

of Assyria, the head, and the hair of the feet: and it shall also consume the beard," chap. vii. 20.

2. *The head*, in Dan. ii. 38, denotes the empire of Assyria.

3. The *four* heads of the leopard in Dan. vii. 6 represent the four kingdoms, into which the Greek empire was divided—Greece and Macedon; Thrace and Bithynia—Egypt, Syria.

Heat, affliction, tribulation: "And there shall be a tabernacle for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, and for a place of refuge, and for a covert from storm and from rain," Isai. iv. 6. "They shall not hunger nor thirst; neither shall the heat nor sun smite them: for he that hath mercy on them shall lead them; even by the springs of water shall he guide them," chap. xlix. 10. "And men were scorched with great heat, and blasphemed the name of God, which hath power over these plagues: and they repented not to give him glory," Rev. xvi. 9. See also Matt. xiii. 6, comp. ver. 21.

Heaven. There is a threefold world, says Lancaster, and therefore a threefold heaven: the *invisible*, the *visible*, and the *political* among men; which last may be either *civil* or *ecclesiastical*. Wherever the *scene* is laid, *heaven* signifies, symbolically, the ruling power or government; that is, the whole assembly of the ruling powers, which, in respect of the *subjects*, or *earth*, are a *political heaven*, being over and ruling the subjects, as the natural heaven stands over and rules the earth. So that according to the subject is the term to be limited. In Matt. xxiv. 30, *heaven* is synonymous with *powers* and *glory*. And in the words of our Saviour just going before—"the powers of the heavens shall be shaken"—it is easy to conceive he meant that the kingdoms of the world should be overthrown to submit to his government.

1. Any *government* is a *world*; and therefore in Isai. li. 15, 16, heaven and earth signify a political universe, a kingdom or polity; so in chap. lxxv. 17, a new heaven and a new earth signify a new government, new kingdom, new people.

2. *A door opened in heaven*, signifies the beginning of a new kind of government.

3. *To ascend up into heaven*, signifies to be in full power, to obtain rule and dominion; and thus is the symbol to be understood in Isai. xiv. 13, 14.

4. *To descend from heaven*, signifies to act by a commission from heaven; that is, the constituted authorities, John i. 51; Rev. x. 1, ch. x. 1.

5. *To fall from heaven*, signifies to lose power and authority, Rev. ix. 1.

In an *Ecclesiastical view*,

6. *Heaven* may denote the true church; *earth*, the idolatrous. And then the *air*, as the midst of heaven, may be the symbol of such professors of Christianity, as are neither outwardly idolatrous nor inwardly Christian—such as are lukewarm, and destitute of a faith producing good works, Rev. xvi. 17.

In a *Political view*,

7. *Heaven* may represent the visible *supreme powers* of the world; the *earth*, the *common subjects* of those powers. And then the *air* will be the symbol of inferior rulers, who are placed between the supreme governors and the lower classes of subjects.

Hills. When powerful and permanently established kingdoms or states are symbolized by mountains, lesser and weaker ones are represented by hills: "And upon all the high mountains, and upon all the hills that are lifted up," Isai. ii. 14.

Horn, a power or strength: "His glory is like the firstling of his bullock, and his horns are like the horns of unicorns: with them he shall push the people together to the ends of the earth: and they are the ten thousands of Ephraim, and they are the thousands of Manasseh," Deut. xxxiii. 17. See also Ps. xviii. 2, lxxv. 10, cxxxii. 17; Jer. xlvi. 25.

2. As power leads to honour and splendour, a *horn* is sometimes used as a symbol of these: "And Hannah prayed, and said, My heart rejoiceth in the Lord; mine horn is exalted in the Lord; my mouth is enlarged over mine enemies; because I rejoice in thy salvation," 1 Sam. ii. 1. "I have sewed sackcloth upon my skin, and defiled my horn in the dust," Job xvi. 15. "I said unto the fools, Deal not foolishly: and to the wicked, Lift not up the horn," Ps. lxxv. 4.

3. *Horns* are also used to symbolize *regal* power, and also kings; and when they are distinguished by *numbers*, they signify so many monarchies or kings: "The horn of Moab is cut off, and his arm is broken, saith the Lord," Jer. xlviii. 25. "And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise; and another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings," Dan. vii. 24. "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia: and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power," chap. viii. 20—22.
4. *The ten horns* of Daniel's fourth beast (chap. vii. 7) are ten kings or kingdoms which arose out of the empire symbolized by the beast. The first beast was the Babylonian; the second, the Persian; the third, the Macedonian or Grecian; and the fourth can therefore be no other than the Roman; and the Roman empire, upon its desolation, was divided into ten kings or kingdoms. It is in the Western or Latin empire that these ten kings or kingdoms are to be sought and found; for this was properly the body of the fourth beast; the Greek or Eastern empire belonging, as Bishop Newton observes, to the body of the third beast; and out of the Western Roman empire, by the incursions of the northern nations, arose ten kings or kingdoms.
5. *The little horn* of Daniel's fourth beast (Dan. vii. 8), is without doubt the Pope of Rome. It came up among the other horns, but was diverse from them; it had eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things, and a look more stout than his fellows; it subdued and plucked up by the roots three of the first horns or kings, spoke great words against the Most High, wore out the saints of the Most High, and thought to change times and laws. Now, who is this horn or king who was to spring up among those in the Western Roman empire (see above, No. 4); who as a politico-ecclesiastical power differs from the other ten powers; who has eyes like the eyes of a man; that is, a seer, as Sir Isaac Newton says, ἐπισκοπος, or bishop, in the literal sense of the word; who has a mouth speaking great things, bulls and anathemas, interdicts and excommunications; who has a look more stout than his fellows, assuming a supremacy, not only over other bishops, but even a superiority over kings and emperors themselves; who plucked up by the roots three of the first horns, the exarchate of Ravenna, the kingdom of the Lombards, and the state of Rome, and is distinguished by the triple crown; who speaks great words against the Most High, setting up himself above all laws, divine as well as human; who wears out the saints of the Most High by wars and massacres, inquisitions and persecutions; who changes times and laws, instituting new religions, and teaching for doctrines the commandments of men;—are questions, says Bishop Newton, which cannot admit of much dispute: there is only one person in the world who can fully answer all these characters, and that is the Roman pontiff.
6. *The seven horns* of the Lamb (Rev. v. 6) are employed to denote the perfection of his power, that is, his omnipotence.
7. *The horns of the altar*, affording an asylum to those who had undesignedly committed a crime which subjected them to death (Exod. xxi. 14), they are sometimes employed to symbolize the *divine protection*. Hence, when Amos says (chap. iii. 14), "And the horns of the altar shall be cut off, and fall to the ground," the meaning is, that there shall be no more atonement made upon it—the *asylum* or *sanctuary* thereof shall no more stand.

Horse, a, or Horseman, war, speed in conquest, Jer. iv. 13; Zech. x. 3; Rev. vi. 2, 4, 5, 8, &c. The *colour* of the horse, if given, denotes the nature of the conquest; as a *white* horse (Rev. iv. 2, xix. 11, 14), spiritual conquest; a *black* horse (Rev. vi. 5), the prevalence of scarcity, or famine; a *pale* horse (Rev. vi. 8), pestilence, consumption, mortality; a *red* horse (Rev. vi. 4), wars, devastations, bloodshed.

Hunger, scarcity, affliction: in the Bible throughout.

Incense, prayer: "For from the rising of the sun, even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering; for my name shall be great among the heathen, saith the Lord of hosts,"

Mal. i. 11. "And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints," Rev. v. 8.

Iron, strength, constancy, patience: "For, behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city, and an iron pillar and brazen walls against the whole land, against the kings of Judah, against the princes thereof, against the priests thereof, and against the people of the land," Jer. i. 18. "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and subdueth all things; and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise," Dan. ii. 40.

2. *Iron* is sometimes employed to denote stubbornness, obstinacy, &c.: "Because I knew that thou art obstinate, and thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow brass," Isai. xlviii. 4. "They are all grievous revolters, walking with slanders; they are brass and iron; they are all corrupters," Jer. vi. 28.

Islands, small states or kingdoms: "And the heaven departed as a scroll when it is rolled together: and every mountain and island were moved out of their places," Rev. vi. 14. "And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found," chap. xvi. 20.

Key, a, authority, power: "And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open," Isai. xxii. 22. "I am he that liveth, and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell and of death," Rev. i. 18. "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write: These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth," chap. iii. 7.

Kill, to, when spoken of a kingdom, is to destroy its power; to kill it politically.

Lamb, a, innocence, meekness, &c., Jer. xi. 19. Hence this was a principal sacrifice under the law, and an eminent type of our Saviour, John i. 29; Rev. v. 12, xiii. 8.

Lamp, a, a governor, or government: "And unto his son will I give one tribe, that David my servant may have a light alway before me in Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen me to put my name there," 1 Kings xi. 36. See also 2 Sam. xxii. 29. Hence it is sometimes employed to denote a guide or direction: "The light shall be dark in his tabernacle, and his candle shall be put out with him," Job xviii. 6.

Lampstand or *Candlestick*, which see.

Leaves. *Sores* being symbolically used to denote *sins*, the leaves of a tree are, from their healing qualities, employed to signify the removal of guilt, or the pardon of sins, Rev. xxii. 2. Hence, also, the removal of sin is represented as the *covering* it over, Ps. xxxii. 1, lxxxv. 2, &c.

Leopard. See *Beast*.

Light, any thing which implies perfection; as purity, joy, safety, truth, knowledge, &c. See Concordance, and consult the passages.

Lion, strength, fortitude, a powerful king, Judg. xiv. 14, 18; Jer. iv. 7; Rev. v. 5. See also *Beast*.

Locusts, pillaging and destroying armies, Joel i. 6, 7, ii. 2—10. They are most particularly described in the Book of Revelation: "And there came out of the smoke locusts upon the earth: and unto them was given power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. And it was commanded them that they should not hurt the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree: but only those men which have not the seal of God in their foreheads. And to them it was given that they should not kill them, but that they should be tormented five months: and their

torment was as the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man. And in those days shall men seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them. And the shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle; and on their heads were as it were crowns like gold, and their faces were as the faces of men. And they had hair as the hair of women, and their teeth were as the teeth of lions. And they had breastplates, as it were breastplates of iron; and the sound of their wings was as the sound of chariots of many horses running to battle. And they had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails: and their power was to hurt men five months. And they had a king over them, which is the angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon," Rev. ix. 3—11. It is remarkable that similar descriptions are to be found among the Arabian writers. Thus one says that "the locusts have the thigh of a camel, the legs of an ostrich, the wings of an eagle, the breast of a lion, their tails are like a viper's, and the appearance of horses adorns their heads and countenance." Another, cited by Bochart, says, "In the meanest locust there is the face of a horse, the eyes of an elephant, the neck of a bull, the breast of a lion, the belly of a vulture, the wings of an eagle, the thighs of a camel, the feet of an ostrich, and the tail of a snake." As to their teeth, Pliny says, "nothing can resist them:" compare Joel i. 6, 7, "For a nation is come up upon my land, strong and without number, whose teeth are the teeth of a lion, and he hath the cheek teeth of a great lion. He hath laid my vine waste, and barked my fig-tree: he hath made it clean bare, and cast it away; the branches thereof are made white."

Man, *a*, is put for a kingdom; mouth speaking, for its making laws; arms, for people that were its strength; feet, for the lowest of the people, or end of its duration. Four principal parts of it downwards, for four successive empires—their qualities being indicated by corresponding metals. The actions of one, symbolic of a ruler or a kingdom; riding on a horse, ruling; sword and bow, conquering; gigantic form, potent; weights, measures, and balance, just; a white and black stone, absolving and condemning; a new name, new dignity; splendid apparel, honour; scarlet, or purple, royal dignity; white robes, equity; spotted garments, wickedness; sackcloth, affliction and humiliation; nakedness, shame; a cup of wine from those causing it, error or misery; merchandise, trafficking in religion; throes at the birth of a man, pains to bring forth a new kingdom; death, the dissolution of it; a resurrection, its revival.

Manna, hidden manna, a blissful immortality: "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it," Rev. ii. 17.

Mark, *a*, signifies adherence or subjection on the part of the person bearing it: "And he caused all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name," Rev. xiii. 16, 17. See also chap. xiv. 10, 11, xv. 2, xvi. 2, xix. 20, xx. 4.

So much has been written and said on the mark of the beast, that we had determined to pass it over in silence; but, happening to meet with the following remarks upon it, in a recently published work, we embrace this opportunity to lay them before the reader.

"*The mark of the beast*, is either the name of the beast, or the number of his name: *CÆSAR OF THE ROMANS*, קֶסַר רֹמִים *Keisar Romim*; and *HIS HOLINESS OF ROME*, קֹדֶשׁ רוֹמֵי *Kodosh Romei*; or *ROMAN SAINT*, קֹדֶשׁ רוֹם *Kedosh Romei*.

"We must understand that it was customary among the ancients, for servants to receive the mark of their master; and soldiers, of their general; and those who were devoted to any particular deity, of that deity to whom they were devoted. These marks were usually impressed 'on their right hand, or on their foreheads.' It is in allusion to this ancient custom that the worship of the three-one Antichrist, that is, submission to his spiritual power and authority, is called his mark or token of belonging to him, which is here, his name, or the number of his name; which mark is said to be received in the *foreheads* of those who live in open servitude to him, as his clergy, and in the *right hand* of those who act, by an understood

submission, as the laity, who enjoy particular privileges on that account. In the same manner, those who adhere to the only head, Christ, are said to have his or his Father's name written in their foreheads, Rev. iii. 12, xiv. 1. The *name of the beast*, and the *number of his name*, must be two distinct things. The *number* of his name must mean some other name, the sum of whose letters is equivalent to the sum of the letters of the *name* of the beast. For it must be known that the ancients, viz., the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, expressed their numbers, not by figures, as we do, but by letters of their alphabet, and that consequently by the *number of a name* must be meant the amount of the numbers which the letters of such name respectively signify. We are told that the number of the name is six hundred and sixty-six; therefore, the name must be some Hebrew or Greek word or words, the amount of whose letters will give that number. That it is a *Hebrew* word is not unlikely, from the circumstance of such words being used in the Revelation of St. John, to signify any thing mystical; as Abaddon, Armageddon, which are both Hebrew words. Let there be, then, two Hebrew names, one the name of the beast, and the other some name whose numerals added together are equivalent to the amount of the numerals of the name of that beast, and which bear some relation to the character of the beast; and let קדוש רומי *Keiash Romim*, THE CÆSAR, OR EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS, be the *name* of the beast, and קדוש רומי *Kedosh Romei*, or קדוש רומי *Kodshi Romei*, both which have the same letters, and which signify, respectively, HOLY ONE OF ROME, OR SAINT OF ROME, and HIS HOLINESS OF ROME, be the *number* of his name; then we have,

ק	100	ק	100
ו	10	ר	4
ם	60	י	6
ר	200	ש	300
ר	200	ר	200
י	6	י	6
ם	40	ם	40
ו	10	ו	10
ק	40		
666		666	

the identical numbers. The *Masoretes* made the Hebrew ם *m*, when written ן, that is, when final, to stand for 600, but *that* is only a later invention: see Gesenius *Lehrgebäude der Hebr. Spr.* 5, 2; and the *Cabalists*, whose art consists in this sort of puzzle, do not use the *m* final, or ן, for more than 40, as may be seen by an example of that part of their art called *Gematria* of which the above is an instance, in Schoettgen's *Horæ Hebraicæ et Talmudicæ*. Tom. ii. p. 55. The *Gematria* is, when any two words or phrases occurring in different texts and containing letters of the same numerical amount, are deemed mutually convertible; and when any one or more words consisting of letters, which, on being cast up as numerals, make the same total sum as the word or words of any particular text, are at once admitted as developing the latent signification of that text. Thus, because the two words נאום and נאח are of the same amount, the *Cabalists* conclude that they relate to the same person; and in making that amount, they use the *m* final, or ן, only for 40, as above said, thus:—

ם	40	י	90
נ	50	ם	40
ח	8	ח	8
ק	40		
138		138	

"To adduce another instance, where the final m ($\square$) is used for 40 by the Cabalists, we take from the same author, Schoettgen, tom. ii., p. 285:—

א	1	י	10
ד	4	ו	6
□	40	ה	4
		ה	5
		א	1
		ו	6
		א	1
		ו	6
		ה	5
		א	1
	46		45

"The קיסר רומים *Keisar Romim*, therefore, is rightly cast up, and makes six hundred and sixty-six, the number required. It is, also, the correct way of spelling those words, as any one will see, who refers to Castell's *Heptaglott Lexicon*, or Schindler's *Pentaglott*, under קיסר. It is also correct Hebrew, requiring neither the addition of articles, nor any thing else. קיסר requires no article before it, because it is a title, Heb. ix. 6; רומים requires no article before it, for we have Gen. xiv. 2, מלך זבויים *king of the Zebaiim*; Josh. xiii. 3, Judg. xvi. 5, אדני פלשתים *lord of the Philistines*. It is also the way in which the Orientals would have expressed the title of the emperor of the Romans: for we have the Ottoman prince, Bajazet, styled by Timour and the Orientals, *the Kaissar of Roum*, the Cæsar of Rome, that is, the Turkish province of Rome, in imitation of the emperors of the Romans, Gibbon, xii. lxx. n. n. 32; and there is no other word which will answer to emperor in the Hebrew but קיסר. The emperor is always called Cæsar in the New Testament, and that exactly twenty times. In Germany, where the title has been used these thousand years, Cæsar, *Kaiser*, is the only word which stands for emperor. The number of the beast was to be the number of a *man*; i. e., under the symbol of a beast a *man* was intended, not the *empire*; and Cæsar of the Romans is the name or title of the man, the head of the empire. But the title is not merely Cæsar, but Cæsar of the Romans; for the Cæsars were always called Cæsars of the Romans, not simply Cæsars; and what adds to the value of the knowledge of the name in the study of the Apocalypse is, that it helps to ascertain the comment of the 1260-years; for we learn that Justinian, on his conquest of Italy, A. D. 553, was the first that assumed that title; and he is the first of the Latino-Greek Cæsars, the first head of the regal triumvirate. 'Justinian,' says the historian Agathius, i. v., p. 158, *πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων αυτοκρατορὸς ὀνόματι καὶ πραγμᾶτι*, 'the first emperor of the Romans in names and in deed.'—Gibbon, x. liii. n. 94, 'Justinien déclaré Auguste, est le premiers de Empereurs de CP. qui se soi dit Empereur des Romains.'—*Le Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, tom. v., p. 641. The other name, HIS HOLINESS OF ROME, is too familiar an appellation to need any explanation; but it may be added, that what is translated THE HOLY ONE OF ROME may be also translated ROMAN SAINT, or HOLY ROMAN, a denomination which will include all the members of the holy Roman church; or of the holy Roman, i. e., German, empire that was; and the difference between those who have the number of the name will be this; the former will include all those who belong to the churches of the ancient Roman empire, in which the Cæsar interferes; the latter, of all those who belong to the churches in which his holiness, or the German civil powers, interfere. Thus, then, whosoever acknowledges the regal decemvirate of the Cæsar of the Romans, the existing powers of what comprised the ancient Roman empire, under their leader, the French king (for since the dissolution of the eastern Greek empire, *he is not, and yet is*, as we have shown by the title being sold to the French monarch, Charles VIII., A. D. 1495); whosoever, also, acknowledges the express Image of the power, the electoral decemvirate of the German or Austrian emperor of the Romans, or the existing powers of the German confederation under him; and lastly, whosoever acknowledges his holiness of Rome to be the head of the church of Christ, have plainly the mark of the beast, either his name or the number of his name, impressed upon them, and are Roman saints to all intents and purposes: and, therefore, in the fulness of our wisdom in *that*, concerning which it is here declared in Scripture—*Here is wisdom; Here is the mind that hath wisdom*—we do enter against them, in the name of the Lord Jesus

Christ, this his most awful protest : 'The same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation ; and he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the holy angels, and in the presence of the Lamb : and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever : and they have no rest, day nor night, who worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name,' Rev. xiv. 10, 11. But let us remember one thing, that prophecy can only have to do with *systems*, and that a factious, unruly, malicious dissenter may have as much the mark of the beast upon him, as a covetous, ambitious, proud churchman ; and, on the other hand, that they, who through unwariness may have been entangled within the bonds of antichrist, may, by their humility, have as much the mark of Christ upon them, as those who have openly enlisted themselves under him as the only Head. But now is HEAVEN OPENED upon them, as it is written, *Behold, I come as a thief ; Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame ;* and may they take care how they are *now* found in the train of the beast, and the kings of the earth and their armies ! Rev. xvi. 15, xix. 19.*

Marriage, the mystical union between God and his people, or between Christ and his church : "Sing, O barren, thou that didst not bear ; break forth into singing, and cry aloud, thou that didst not travail with child : for more are the children of the desolate, than the children of the married wife, saith the Lord," Isai. liv. 1. "Turn, O backsliding children, saith the Lord ; for I am married unto you : and I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion," Jer. iii. 14. "Know ye not, brethren (for I speak to them that know the law), how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth ? For the woman which hath an husband is bound by the law to her husband so long as he liveth ; but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband. So, then, if, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress : but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law ; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man. Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God," Rom. vii. 1—4. "Let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour unto him : for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and his wife hath made herself ready. And he saith unto me, Write, Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage-supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God," Rev. xix. 7, 9.

Month, a, thirty prophetic days, each of which is a year (see *Day*) : comp. Rev. xii. 6 with ver. 14.

Moon, *the*, being one of the *heavenly* bodies, symbolizes a ruling power, next in dignity to the supreme ruler : it seems to be used frequently to represent the hierarchy or ecclesiastical power, as in Matt. xxiv. 29 ; Rev. vi. 12, viii. 12, xii. 1, xxi. 23 ; comp. with Isai. lx. 19, 20. It seems to me much more consonant with the nature of things, and with the scope of the passages, to interpret the *moon*, in these and like passages, of an *ecclesiastical* power, than of a political ruler. In one of the passages, at least, I venture to submit, that it *must* be so interpreted, though I do it with great diffidence, knowing the high authorities to which I oppose myself. The passage is Rev. xii. 1, in which the beloved disciple sees a woman "clothed with the *sun*, and the *moon* under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve *stars*." That is, say most interpreters, the church, represented by a woman, being clothed with the Sun of Righteousness, and having the Jewish ordinances and all sublunary things under her feet. But surely this must be erroneous : for an *individual* woman cannot, according to the principles of symbolic language, represent more than an *individual* church, and therefore not the universal church. Besides, this very woman is afterwards introduced upon the scene in her proper colours, "and upon her forehead a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH" (Rev. xvii. 3—5)—the "great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth," ver. 18. This, therefore, was not the universal church, but an *individual* and apostate church, the identity of which with the Romish hierarchy is too strikingly set forth to be mistaken. The meaning of the symbol, then, I take to be this : a *church* clothed with *political* power, and trampling under its feet or contemning the only legitimate *ecclesiastical* power ; that is, the institutions of Christ's church.

* Addis's Heaven Opened.

Mother, a country, or metropolitan city: "Thus saith the Lord, where is the bill of your mother's divorcement, whom I have put away? or which of my creditors is it to whom I have sold you? Behold, for your iniquities have ye sold yourselves, and for your transgressions is your mother put away," Isai. l. 1. "Behold, every one that useth proverbs shall use this proverb against thee, saying, As is the mother, so is her daughter," Ezek. xvi. 44. "Son of man, there were two women, the daughters of one mother," chap. xxiii. 2. See also Hos. ii. 2, &c.

Mountain. The governing part of the political world appears under symbols of different species, being variously represented, according to the various kinds of allegories.

If the allegory be derived from the heavens, then the luminaries denote the governing part; if from an animal, the head or horns; if from the earth, a mountain or fortress; and in this case, the capital city or residence of the governor is taken for the supreme, by which it happens that these mutually illustrate each other. So a capital city is the head of the political body; the head of an animal is the fortress of the animal; mountains are the natural fortresses of the earth; and therefore a fortress or capital city, though set in a plain or on level ground, may be called a mountain.

Thus, head, mountain, hill, city, horn, and king, are in a manner synonymous terms to signify a kingdom, or monarchy, or republic, united under one government; only with this difference, that it is to be understood in different respects; for the *head* represents it in respect of the capital city; *mountain* or *hill*, in respect of the strength of the metropolis, which gives law to, or is above and commands, the adjacent territories, and the like. "And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it," Isai. ii. 2. "They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea," chap. xi. 9. "Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them; and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth," Dan. ii. 35. "Who art thou, O great mountain? before Zerubbabel thou shalt become a plain: and he shall bring forth the headstone thereof with shoutings, crying, Grace, grace, unto it," Zech. iv. 7. "Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord, which destroyest all the earth: and I will stretch out mine hand upon thee, and roll thee down from the rocks, and will make thee a burnt mountain," Jer. li. 25. "And the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea: and the third part of the sea became blood," Rev. viii. 8. "And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found," chap. xvi. 20.

Mountains being difficult of access to an enemy, and overawing and commanding the country round about, are also put for places of strength and security of any kind; as, "Truly in vain is salvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains: truly in the Lord our God is the salvation of Israel," Jer. iii. 23.

Mouth, &c. signifies the words that proceed out of it, or commands and actions. Hence, for a person or thing to come out of the mouth of another, denotes that it is constituted a minister or agent of that superior power: "And he had in his right hand seven stars; and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword; and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength," Rev. i. 16. "Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against thee with the sword of my mouth," chap. ii. 16. "And thus I saw the horses in the vision, and them that sat on them, having breastplates of fire, and of jacinth, and brimstone; and the heads of the horses were as the heads of lions; and out of their mouths issued fire, and smoke, and brimstone. By these three was the third part of men killed; by the fire, and by the smoke, and by the brimstone, which issued out of their mouths: for their power is in their mouth, and in their tails: for their tails were like unto serpents, and had heads, and with them they do hurt," chap. ix. 17—19. "And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away by the flood. And the earth helped the woman; and the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed up the flood which the dragon cast out of his mouth," chap. xii. 15, 16. "And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet," chap. xvi. 13.

Nakedness, sin, Gen. iii. 7. In Exod. xxxii. 25, 2 Chron. xxviii. 19, Ezek. xvi. 36, it is taken for *idolatry*. It often occurs in this sense in the Scriptures; and the propriety of it will be immediately obvious to those who have any acquaintance with the obscene rites of pagan worship. Hence, also, nakedness is used for shame or disgrace: "Thy nakedness shall be uncovered, yea, thy shame shall be seen: I will take vengeance, and I will not meet thee as a man," Isai. xlvii. 3. See also Ezek. xvi. 37, xxiii. 29, &c. Nakedness is also used to symbolize spiritual poverty or destitution of the divine image: "For in this we groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven. If so be that being clothed we shall not be found naked," 2 Cor. v. 2, 3. "Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked," Rev. iii. 17. "Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he that watcheth, and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and they see his shame," chap. xvi. 15.

Night, intellectual or moral darkness: "The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light," Rom. xiii. 12. "Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day: we are not of the night, nor of darkness," 1 Thess. v. 5. "And the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day: for there shall be no night there," Rev. xxi. 25.

2. Adversity, oppression: "The watchman said, The morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will inquire, inquire ye: return, come," Isai. xxi. 12. "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear nor dark. But it shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day nor night; but it shall come to pass that at evening-time it shall be light," Zech. xiv. 6, 7.

Number. See *Mark*.

Oil, religious truth: "And I answered again, and said unto him, What be these two olive-branches which through the two golden pipes empty the golden oil out of themselves? And he answered me, and said, Knowest thou not what these be? And I said, No, my Lord. Then said he, These are the two anointed ones, that stand by the Lord of the whole earth," Zech. iv. 12—14. "They that were foolish took their lamps and took no oil with them; but the wise took oil in their vessels with their lamps," Matt. xxv. 3, 4. See *Candlestick*.

Olive-tree, an, being an emblem of peace, is very appropriately employed to symbolize a church: "The Lord called thy name, A green olive-tree, fair, and of goodly fruit; with the noise of a great tumult he hath kindled fire upon it, and the branches of it are broken," Jer. xi. 16. "And if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive-tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree. For if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree which is wild by nature, and were grafted contrary to nature into a good olive-tree; how much more shall these, which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive-tree?" Rom. xi. 17, 24. See *Candlestick*.

Palm-branches, victory: "After this I beheld, and lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands," Rev. vii. 9.

Pillar, a, being the support of a building, is employed to represent the prop or sustainer of a family, city, or state: Ps. lxxv. 3; Jer. i. 18; Gal. ii. 9; 1 Tim. iii. 15; Rev. iii. 12.

Rain (gentle), or dew, the effusion of divine grace, particularly through the medium of God's word: "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as showers that water the earth," Ps. lxxii. 6. "I the Lord do keep it; I will water it every moment: lest any hurt it, I will keep it night and day," Isai. xxvii. 3. "For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring," chap. xlv. 3. For as the rain cometh down, and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to

the sower, and bread to the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please; and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it," chap. lv. 10, 11.

2. Tempestuous showers, or heavy *rains*, denote tumult and war: "Say unto them which daub it with untempered mortar, that it shall fall: there shall be an overflowing shower; and ye, O great hailstones, shall fall; and a stormy wind shall rend it," Ezek. xiii. 11. "And I will plead against him with pestilence and with blood; and I will rain upon him, and upon his bands, and upon the many people that are with him, an overflowing rain, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone," chap. xxxviii. 22. And the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon that house; and it fell not: for it was founded upon a rock," Matt. vii. 25.

Rainbow, the, God's gracious covenant with his church, Gen. ix. 9—17. "And he that sat was to look upon like a jasper and a sardine-stone; and there was a rainbow round about the throne, in sight like unto an emerald," Rev. iv. 2. "And I saw another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud: and a rainbow was upon his head, and his face was as it were the sun, and his feet as pillars of fire," chap. x. 1.

Red, wrath, war, and bloodshed: Ps. lxxv. 8; Zech. i. 2, vi. 2; Rev. vi. 4, xii. 3.

Resurrection, a. This, predicated of a nation, denotes a recovery of such rights and liberties as have been taken away; also a deliverance from war, affliction, persecution, and bondage: "Then he said unto me, Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel: behold they say, Our bones are dried, and our hope is lost; we are cut off for our parts. Therefore prophesy, and say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, O my people, I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel. And ye shall know that I am the Lord, when I have opened your graves, O my people, and brought you up out of your graves, and shall put my Spirit in you, and ye shall live; and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord," Ezek. xxxvii. 11—14. And after three days and an half, the Spirit of life from God entered into them, and they stood upon their feet; and great fear fell upon them which saw them. And they heard a great voice from heaven, saying unto them, Come up hither. And they ascended up to heaven in a cloud: and their enemies beheld them. And the same hour was there a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell; and in the earthquake were slain of men seven thousand: and the remnant were affrighted, and gave glory to the God of heaven," Rev. xi. 11—13.

Ride, to, to have dominion, to reign; if the rider be armed, it denotes conquest, victory: "And in thy majesty ride prosperously, because of truth, and meekness, and righteousness; and thy right hand shall teach thee terrible things," Ps. xlv. 4. "I saw by night, and behold, a man riding upon a red horse, and he stood among the myrtle-trees that were in the bottom; and behind him were there red horses, speckled and white," Zech. i. 8. "And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon, to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another: and there was given unto him a great sword," Rev. vi. 4, &c.

River of water, a, the influences and enjoyment of the Divine Spirit: "But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life," John iv. 14. "In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. (But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive: for the Holy Ghost was not yet given; because that Jesus was not yet glorified)," John vii. 35—39. "There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High," Ps. xlv. 4. "For he that soweth to his flesh shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit shall of the Spirit reap life

everlasting," Gal. vi. 8. "And he shewed me a pure river of water of life, clear as crystal, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb," Rev. xxii. 1.

2. *The great river Euphrates*, [See *Rivers* (3) below] denotes the Eastern empire, or Prefecture of the East: "Saying to the sixth angel which had the trumpet, Loose the four angels which are bound in the great river Euphrates," Rev. ix. 14. These angels were the four dynasties or peoples of Turks: The Seljukians—the Atabeks—the Kharismains—the Ottomans. The command to loose these angels shows that they had been hitherto restrained from encroaching upon Christendom, but that now they were to be the instruments for inflicting the judgments of the sixth trumpet.

Rivers, devastating armies: "That sendeth ambassadors by the sea, even in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters, saying, Go, ye swift messengers, to a nation scattered and peeled, to a people terrible from their beginning hitherto; a nation meted out and trodden down, whose land the rivers have spoiled!" Isai. xviii. 2. "And the serpent cast out of his mouth water as a flood after the woman, that he might cause her to be carried away of the flood," Rev. xii. 15. This symbol is taken from the overflowing of a river, which causes a destruction; or from the defence which it affords to a country against an invading power.

2. But *rivers* may also be considered with reference to their refreshing and fertilizing qualities; and hence, in eastern countries especially, they become apt symbols of beneficence and good of any description: "They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life: in thy light shall we see light," Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9. See *River*, above.
3. When large bodies of people are symbolized by the *sea*, smaller communities are represented by *rivers*: "And say, Ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God; Thus saith the Lord God to the mountains and to the hills, to the rivers and to the vallies; Behold I even I will bring a sword upon you, and I will destroy your high places," Ezek. vi. 3. "Therefore, ye mountains of Israel, hear the word of the Lord God; thus saith the Lord God to the mountains and to the hills, to the rivers and to the vallies, to the desolate wastes and to the cities that are forsaken, which became a prey and derision to the residue of the heathen that are round about. Prophesy, therefore, concerning the land of Israel, and say unto the mountains, and to the hills, to the rivers, and to the vallies, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I have spoken in my jealousy and in my fury, because ye have borne the shame of the heathen," chap. xxxvi. 4, 6. "And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters," Rev. viii. 10. "And the third angel poured out his vial upon the rivers and fountains of waters, and they became blood," chap. xvi. 4.

Rock, a, refuge, strength: "The Lord is my rock, and my fortress, and my deliverer; my God, my strength, in whom I will trust; my buckler, and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower. For who is God save the Lord? or who is a rock save our God?" Ps. xviii. 2, 31. See Deut. xxxii. 15. See also *Mountain*.

Rod or *sceptre*, power, government; hence it is sometimes put for a ruler, or any powerful agent: "O Assyrian, the rod of mine anger; and the staff in their hand is mine indignation," Isai. x. 5. "And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots," chap. xi. 1. See also chap. xiv. 29.

A rod of iron denotes irresistible power: "Thou shalt break them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel," Ps. ii. 9. "And he shall rule them with a rod of iron: as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father," Rev. ii. 27. "And she brought forth a man-child, who was to rule all nations with a rod of iron: and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne," chap. xii. 5.

Sackcloth, affliction, mourning: "I clothe the heavens with blackness, and I make sackcloth their covering," Isai. l. 3. "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood," Rev. vi. 12. See also 2 Sam. iii. 31; 1 Kings xx. 31; Job xvi. 15; Lam. ii. 10: Rev. xi. 3.

Salt, durability, incorruption : "All the heave-offerings of the holy things, which the children of Israel offer unto the Lord, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever : it is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord unto thee, and to thy seed with thee," Numb. xviii. 19. "Ought ye not to know that the Lord God of Israel gave the kingdom over Israel to David for ever, even to him and to his sons by a covenant of salt?" 2 Chron. xiii. 5. Christians are the salt of the earth, because they preserve it from moral corruption or putrefaction, Matt. v. 13.

Scarlet. See *Red*.

Scorpion, *a*, a malignant and cruel enemy : "And, thou, son of man, be not afraid of them, neither be afraid of their words, though briars and thorns be with thee, and thou dost dwell among scorpions : be not afraid of their words, nor be dismayed at their looks, though they be a rebellious house," Ezek. ii. 6. See also Luke x. 19 ; Rev. ix. 3.

Sea, if it be represented calm and serene, denotes a collection of men in a state of peace ; if tumultuous, in a state of commotion and war, Rev. vii. 1, x. 2, 5, xv. 2. Either way, the waters signifying people, and the sea being a collection of waters, the sea becomes the symbol of people, gathered into one body politic, kingdom, or jurisdiction, or united in one design. Hence, in Dan. vii. 2, the great sea, agitated by the four winds, denotes several kings or kingdoms in a state of war. A sea being thus considered as a kingdom or empire, the living creatures in it must be symbolical fishes, or men, Rev. xvi. 3. But if a sea be considered in respect only of the waters of which it is a collection, then the waters will signify the common people ; and the fishes or creatures in the sea will denote the rulers : "But I will put hooks in thy jaws, and I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales ; and I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers, and all the fish of thy rivers shall stick unto thy scales. And I will leave thee thrown into the wilderness, thee and all the fish of thy rivers : thou shalt fall upon the open fields ; thou shalt not be brought together, nor gathered : I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the field, and to the fowls of the heaven," Ezek. xxix. 4, 5.

Sealing, appropriation, preservation : "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you : for him hath God the Father sealed," John vi. 27. "Nevertheless, the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his ; and, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity," 2 Tim. ii. 19. "Who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts," 2 Cor. i. 22. "In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation : in whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory," Eph. i. 13, 14. "And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption," chap. iv. 30. "And I saw another angel ascending from the east, having the seal of the living God : and he cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea, saying, Hurt not the earth, neither the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them which were sealed : and there were sealed an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel. Of the tribe of Juda were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Reuben were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Aser were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Nephthalim were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Manasses were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Simeon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Levi were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Issachar were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Zebulon were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Joseph were sealed twelve thousand. Of the tribe of Benjamin were sealed twelve thousand," Rev. vii. 2—8.

2. It also denotes restraint : "Which commandeth the sun, and it riseth not ; and sealeth up the stars," Job ix. 7. "He sealeth up the hand of every man ; that all men may know his work," chap. xxxvii. 7. "And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and

set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled : and after that he must be loosed a little season," Rev. xx. 3.

3. To seal up a book, is to conceal its meaning, to render its contents secret : "But thou, O Daniel, shut up the words, and seal the book, even to the time of the end : many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," Dan. xii. 4. And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne a book written within and on the back side, sealed with seven seals. And I saw a strong angel proclaiming with a loud voice, Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof? And no man in heaven, nor in earth, neither under the earth, was able to open the book, neither to look thereon. And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look thereon. And one of the elders saith unto me, Weep not : behold the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof. And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb, as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four-and-twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of saints. And they sang a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof ; for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood, out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation," Rev. v. 1—9. "And I saw when the Lamb opened one of the seals ; and I heard, as it were the noise of thunder, one of the four beasts, saying, Come and see," chap. vi. 1.

Serpent, a monarch or chief who is an enemy : "Rejoice not thou, whole Palestina, because the rod of him that smote thee is broken : for out of the serpent's root shall come forth a cockatrice, and his fruit shall be a fiery flying serpent," Isai. xiv. 29. "In that day the Lord with his son and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent ; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea," chap. xxvii. 1. See *Dragon*.

Seven, fulness, perfection, universality : "He shall deliver thee in six troubles ; yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee," Job v. 19 ; and many other passages. This number is also frequently used for a great number, indefinitely.

Sheep, subjects ; in a great number of passages.

Shield, defence, protection : "After these things the word of the Lord came unto Abram in a vision, saying, fear not, Abram, I am thy shield, and thy exceeding great reward," Gen. xv. 1. "For the Lord God is a sun and shield : the Lord will give grace and glory : no good thing will he withhold from them that walk uprightly," Ps. lxxxiv. 11. "Every word of God is pure : he is a shield unto them that put their trust in him," Prov. xxx. 5. "Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked," Eph. vi. 16.

Silence, a cessation of action : "Why do we sit still ? assemble yourselves, and let us enter into the defended cities, and let us be silent there : for the Lord our God hath put us to silence, and given us water of gall to drink, because we have sinned against the Lord," Jer. viii. 14. "And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour," Rev. viii. 1. Hence it sometimes denotes the destruction of a state : "The burden of Moab. Because in the night Ar of Moab is laid waste, and brought to silence ; because in the night Kir of Moab is laid waste, and brought to silence," Isai. xv. 1.

Sitting, reigning, ruling : "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of Days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool : his throne was like the fiery flame, and his wheels as burning fire. But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end," Dan. vii. 9, 26. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my father in his throne," Rev. iii. 21. "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither ; I will show unto thee

the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness : and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And here is the mind which hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth," chap. xvii. 1, 3, 9. "How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her ; for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow," chap. xviii. 7.

Smoke, anger, war, punishment : "Howl, O gate ; cry, O city ; thou, whole Palestina, art dissolved : for there shall come from the north a smoke, and none shall be alone in his appointed times," Isai. xiv. 31. "There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured : coals were kindled by it," 2 Sam. xxii. 9. "O God, why hast thou cast us off for ever ? why doth thine anger smoke against the sheep of thy pasture ?" Ps. lxxiv. 1.

Sores, Ulcers, vices, sins ; also their punishment, generally : "The Lord shall smite thee in the knees, and in the legs, with a sore botch that cannot be healed, from the sole of the foot unto the top of thy head," Deut. xxviii. 35. From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it ; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores : they have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment," Isai. i. 6. "And the first went, and poured out his vial upon the earth ; and there fell a noisome and grievous sore upon the men which had the mark of the beast, and upon them which worshipped his image," Rev. xvi. 2. As sores symbolize sins, binding them up, or healing them, denotes the pardon or forgiveness of sins : "And the Lord hearkened to Hezekiah, and healed the people," 2 Chron. xxx. 20.

Star, a, a governor or ruler ; also a kingdom or state : "And it waxed great, even to the host of heaven ; and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them," Dan. viii. 10. "The earth shall quake before them ; the heaven shall tremble : the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining," Joel ii. 10. "And the third angel sounded, and there fell a great star from heaven, burning as it were a lamp, and it fell upon the third part of the rivers, and upon the fountains of waters. And the fourth angel sounded, and the third part of the sun was smitten, and the third part of the moon, and the third part of the stars ; so as the third part of them was darkened, and the day shone not for a third part of it, and the night likewise," Rev. viii. 10, 12. "And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth : and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit," chap. ix. 1.

The pastors of the churches are happily symbolized by stars, deriving their light and influence from the Sun of Righteousness : "And he had in his right hand seven stars : and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword : and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength." "The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks : The seven stars are the angels of the seven churches : and the seven candlesticks which thou sawest are the seven churches," Rev. i. 16, 20.

The Morning Star ; Jesus Christ, who is the head or chief ruler of his church, Rev. xxii. 16.

Stone, a. A mountain has been shown to symbolize a kingdom or empire. Now, a mountain consisting of stones united together, stones must signify the several people of which a kingdom or empire, represented by a mountain, is composed. Therefore, a stone cut out of a mountain (Dan. ii. 34, 35, 44, 45) must symbolize a people to be formed out of the kingdom represented, and to be of a different character from the rest of the people of which the kingdom is composed, and from whom they are separated. And as this is said to be done "without hands," it may denote that the people so symbolized would be suddenly formed, and at a time when such a thing was not anticipated, as well as that it would be effected without any visible or worldly aid.

A white stone is a symbol of acquittal or pardon : "He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches ; To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it," Rev. ii. 17.

Sun, the, the supreme authority in a kingdom or state : "Then the moon shall be confounded, and

the sun ashamed, when the Lord of hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously," Isai. xxiv. 23. The sun is once used to represent the head of a family, Gen. xxxvii. 9. When the supreme ruler is introduced or compared with earthly rulers, then he is denoted by the sun, and they by the inferior luminaries.

2. *A darkening of the sun* denotes a great calamity in the state: "And when I shall put thee out, I will cover the heaven, and make the stars thereof dark; I will cover the sun with a cloud, and the moon shall not give her light," Ezek. xxxii. 7. "The earth shall quake before them; the heavens shall tremble: the sun and the moon shall be dark, and the stars shall withdraw their shining," Joel ii. 10. "And I beheld when he had opened the sixth seal, and lo, there was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became as blood," Rev. vi. 12. "And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit," chap. ix. 2.

Sword, a, dissensions, war, slaughter: "And I will bring a sword upon you that shall avenge the quarrel of my covenant," Lev. xxvi. 25. "These two things are come unto thee; who shall be sorry for thee? desolation and destruction, and the famine and the sword; by whom shall I comfort thee?" Isai. li. 19. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword," Matt. x. 34. "And there went out another horse that was red: and power was given to him that sat thereon to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another; and there was given unto him a great sword," Rev. vi. 4.

2. It is sometimes employed for power and authority: "For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil," Rom. xiii. 4. "And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God," Eph. vi. 17. "And he had in his right hand seven stars: and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword: and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength," Rev. i. 16.

Tail, the, a base or low people: "And the Lord shall make thee the head, and not the tail; and thou shalt be above only, and thou shalt not be beneath; if that thou hearken unto the commandments of the Lord thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them," Deut. xxviii. 13. "Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail, branch and rush, in one day. The ancient and honourable, he is the head; and the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail," Isai. ix. 14, 15.

Temple of God, the Christian church: "Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God; and he shall go no more out; and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is New Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God: and I will write upon him my new name," Rev. iii. 12. "Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve him day and night in his temple: and he that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them," chap. vii. 15. The outer court denotes those who are but nominal Christians: "But the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure not: for it is given unto the Gentiles: and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months," Rev. xi. 2.

Thirst, affliction: "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money: come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price," Isai. lv. 1. "Lest I strip her naked, and set her as in the day that she was born, and make her as a wilderness, and set her like a dry land, and slay her with thirst," Hos. ii. 3.

Three, greatness, excellency, perfection: Isai. xix. 24; 2 Cor. xii. 8. See also Prov. xxii. 20; Ps. lxxx. 6; Isai. xl. 12; in the Hebrew.

Threshing, destruction: "For in this mountain shall the hand of the Lord rest, and Moab shall be trodden down under him, even as straw is trodden down for the dunghill," Isai. xlv. 10.

"Behold, I will make thee a new sharp threshing instrument having teeth; thou shalt thresh the mountains, and beat them small, and shalt make the hills as chaff," chap. xli. 15. For thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing-floor, it is time to thresh her; yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come," Jer. li. 33. "Thou didst march through the land in indignation, thou didst thresh the heathen in anger," Hab. iii. 12.

Throne, a, a kingdom or government: "Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled; only in the throne will I be greater than thou," Gen. xli. 40. "To translate the kingdom from the house of Saul, and to set up the throne of David over Israel and over Judah, from Dan even unto Beersheba," 2 Sam. iii. 10. "That ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," Luke xxii. 30. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me on my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in his throne," Rev. iii. 21. "And I saw thrones, and they that sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them; and I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and which had not worshipped the beast, neither his image, neither had received his mark upon their foreheads, or in their hands; and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years," chap. xx. 4.

A great white throne (Rev. xx. 11) denotes an extensive and prosperous empire. The throne of God sometimes represents an imperial government, ruling the political world.

Thunders denote laws enacted by terror: "And out of the throne proceeded lightnings, and thunderings, and voices: and there were seven lamps of fire, burning before the throne, which are the seven spirits of God," Rev. iv. 5. But they generally symbolize wars, and other events which shake existing governments: "And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament: and there were lightnings, and voices, and thunderings, and an earthquake, and great hail," Rev. xi. 19. "And there were voices, and thunders, and lightnings; and there was a great earthquake, such as was not since men were upon the earth, so mighty an earthquake, and so great," chap. xvi. 18.

Time, a, a prophetic year; that is, three hundred and sixty years.

Travailing, great effort; also anguish and misery; in a great many passages.

Tread, to, is to subdue, to oppress: "Through God we shall do valiantly: for he it is that shall tread down our enemies," Ps. lx. 12. "I will send him against an hypocritical nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him a charge, to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets," Isai. x. 6. "That I will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot: then shall his yoke depart from off them, and his burden depart from off their shoulders," chap. xiv. 25. "Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces," Dan. vii. 23. "Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?" chap. viii. 13. "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled," Luke xxi. 24. "And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you, Amen," Rom. xvi. 20.

Trees, those of great stature, and of a noble kind, symbolize princes, nobles, and the higher orders of subjects: "And upon all the cedars of Lebanon, that are high and lifted up; and upon all the oaks of Bashan," Isai. ii. 13. "And the light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame; and it shall burn and devour his thorns and his briars in one day; and shall consume the glory of his forest, and of his fruitful field, both soul and body; and they shall be as when a

standard-bearer fainteth. And the rest of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child may write them," ch. x. 17—19. "Yea, the fir-trees rejoice at thee, and the cedars of Lebanon, saying, Since thou art laid down, no feller is come up against us," ch. xiv. 8. "And I will prepare destroyers against thee, every one with his weapons; and they shall cut down thy choice cedars, and cast them into the fire," Jer. xxii. 7. "The waters made him great, the deep set him up on high with her rivers running round about his plants, and sent out her little rivers unto all the trees of the field," Ezek. xxxi. 4. "Open thy doors, O Lebanon, that the fire may devour thy cedars. Howl, fir-tree; for the cedar is fallen; because the mighty is spoiled: howl, O ye oaks of Bashan; for the forest of the vintage is come down," Zech. xi. 1, 2.

Smaller trees, and underwood, denote the lower orders of people.

Two is used to denote a very few: "And she said, As the Lord thy God liveth, I have not a cake, but a handful of meal in a barrel, and a little oil in a cruse: and, behold, I am gathering two sticks, that I may go in and dress it for me and my son, that we may eat it and die," 1 Kings xvii. 12. "And it shall come to pass in that day, that a man shall nourish a young cow and two sheep," Isai. vii. 21.

Vine, *a*, the Jewish church: "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt: thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it," Ps. lxxx. 8, &c.

Wall, *a*, denotes defence, strength, stability: "In that day shall this song be sung in the land of Judah: We have a strong city; salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks," Isai. xxvi. 1. "For I, saith the Lord, will be unto her a wall of fire round about, and will be the glory in the midst of her," Zech. ii. 5.

Watchman, *a*, a civil or ecclesiastical ruler: "His watchmen are blind: they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber," Isai. lvi. 10. "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence," ch. lxii. 6. "So thou, O son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel: therefore thou shalt hear the word at my mouth, and warn them from me," Ezek. xxxiii. 7.

Water, from its cooling and refreshing qualities, denotes consolation and comfort: "My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass," Deut. xxxiii. 2. "Therefore with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation," Isai. xii. 3. "For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground; I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring," ch. xlv. 3. "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk, without money and without price," ch. lv. 1. See *River*.

Waters signify a multitude of people; and sometimes armies: "Now, therefore, behold, the Lord bringeth up upon them the waters of the river, strong and many; even the king of Assyria, and all his glory: and he shall come up over all his channels, and go over all his banks," Isai. viii. 7. "And he saith unto me, The waters which thou sawest, where the whore sitteth, are peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues," Rev. xvii. 15.

2. *Waters* signify afflictions and troubles in general: "Thou hast caused men to ride over our heads; we went through fire and through water; but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place," Ps. lxxvi. 12. "Save me, O God: for the waters are come in unto my soul," Ps. lxxix. 1. See *Sea*, *River*, &c.

Week, *a*, in prophetic language, is seven years, Dan. ix. 24.

White, purity, prosperity, joy: "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow," Ps. li. 7. "Many shall be purified, and made white, and tried; but the

wicked shall do wickedly : and none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand," Dan. xii. 10. "Thou hast a few names even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments ; and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment ; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels," Rev. iii. 4, 5. "And I said unto him, Sir, thou knowest. And he said to me, These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb," ch. vii. 14.

Whore. See *Harlot*.

Whoredom. See *Adultery*.

Wilderness. See *Desert*.

Winds, a destroying power, or wars : "Daniel spake and said, I saw in my vision by night, and, behold, the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea. And four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another," Dan. vii. 2, 3. "And upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them toward all those winds ; and there shall be no nation whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come. For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their enemies, and before them that seek their life : and I will bring evil upon them, even my fierce anger, saith the Lord ; and I will send the sword after them, till I have consumed them," Jer. xlix. 36, 37. "Thus saith the Lord : Behold, I will raise up against Babylon, and against them that dwell in the midst of them that rise up against me, a destroying wind," ch. li. 1.

Wine-press (treading it), conquest, slaughter : "I have trodden the wine-press alone ; and of the people there was none with me : for I will tread them in my anger, and trample them in my fury ; and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment," Isai. lxiii. 3. "The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty men in the midst of me : he hath called an assembly against me to crush my young men : the Lord hath trodden the virgin, the daughter of Judah, as in a wine-press," Lam. i. 15. "And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations : and he shall rule them with a rod of iron ; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God," Rev. xix. 15.

Wings, protection : "The Lord recompense thy work, and a full reward be given thee of the Lord God of Israel, under whose wings thou art come to trust," Ruth ii. 12. "Keep me as the apple of the eye ; hide me under the shadow of thy wings," Ps. xvii. 8. "But unto you that fear my name shall the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his wings ; and ye shall go forth and grow up as calves of the stall," Mal. iv. 2.

Woman, a, is frequently the symbol of a city, or body politic—of a nation or kingdom : "And the woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth," Rev. xvii. 18.

2. This symbol is frequently employed for the Jewish nation, particularly, Ezek. xvi., &c. See *Adultery*.

3. In the book of Revelation a *woman* is employed to represent the Romish church : "And there appeared a great wonder in heaven ; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And the woman fled into the wilderness, where she hath a place prepared of God, that they should feed her there a thousand two hundred and threescore days. And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness, into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time, from the face of the serpent," Rev. xii. 1, 6, 14. "And there came one of the seven angels which had the seven vials, and talked with me, saying unto me, Come hither ; I will show unto thee the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters :

with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication. So he carried me away in the spirit into the wilderness : and I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads and ten horns. And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of abominations and filthiness of her fornication. And upon her forehead was a name written, MYSTERY, BABYLON THE GREAT, THE MOTHER OF HARLOTS AND ABOMINATIONS OF THE EARTH. And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus ; and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration," *Rev. xviii. 1—6. See Moon.*

APPENDIX II.

SCRIPTURE DIFFICULTIES.

1. In common with every other species of literary composition, the Holy Scriptures present difficulties to the mind of the reader; some of these defy all attempts at solution, while others, comprehending by far the greater number, may be satisfactorily removed by a competent knowledge of ancient history, and an acquaintance with general literature and science. Nor will the existence of these difficulties excite any surprise in the minds of those who have attended to the statements made in the previous pages. Nevertheless, it is desirable, both for the honour of revelation and for the satisfaction of the inquiring mind, that even unimportant difficulties should be removed; that apparent contradictions should be reconciled; that seeming discrepancies should be adjusted; that mistranslations should be corrected; that references to obsolete customs and ceremonies should be explained: in a word, that our Scriptures should be raised, in the utmost degree of which they are capable, to the character they originally sustained.

2. In order to form a just estimate of the character of scripture difficulties, it is necessary to advert to the principal sources from which they derive their origin. Let the following suggestions, then, be attended to. The Scriptures contain the revelation of God to man; and they may be expected therefore to include many things beyond man's understanding, and to discourse of many subjects both novel and mysterious. The greater part of these writings was composed to serve an immediate purpose; and, unless we enter into that purpose, and are prepared to follow the argument, we must of course fail to comprehend the writer or writers. As the biblical books are of extreme antiquity, they of course refer to customs, facts, persons, places, prejudices, and opinions of antiquity, which must be recalled to mind, or the reference will be unintelligible. The books do not come to us as they were written. The original languages are not generally understood, and we read them in all the disadvantages of a translation. This translation may be imperfect, or its expressions may have become obsolete; and, in some cases, the learned authors may have mistaken the sense of their originals. To one or other of these sources may most of our difficulties be referred.

3. Ernesti is upon this, as upon most other topics, judicious and satisfactory. He says, *The harmonizing of apparent doctrinal discrepancies* may be regulated by the following maxims:—

(1) An obscure passage—that is, one in which is something ambiguous or unusual—should be explained in accordance with what is plain, and without any ambiguity. So we explain all anthropopathic expressions in regard to God, by the plain truth that his nature is spiritual. Again, a passage in which a doctrine is merely touched on, or adverted to, is to be explained by other passages which present plain and direct exhibitions of it. Thus, the subject of justification in Rom. iii., is designedly treated at large; of the resurrection, in 1 Cor. xv. Such passages are called *classic*, and by them other expressions, which occur incidentally, are to be explained.

(2) It is important to remember that many things of a doctrinal nature are *simply* and *absolutely* declared, agreeably to common usages in all languages, which still have only a relative sense. This may be accounted for from the fact, that there are parts of religion which are commonly known and understood; therefore such parts do not need accurate limitation. Thus, *that we are saved by faith*, is one of the elementary principles of the Christian religion. The sacred writers, therefore, do not on every mention of any duty remind us of this principle, as they expect us to keep it in memory. When they say, then, that almsgiving is acceptable to God, they expect to be understood as meaning *if it be accompanied by faith*. In this way apparent discrepancies may be reconciled; and the reconciliation becomes the more probable, as the reason for it can be given.

(3) Another important thing (indeed, this lies at the bottom of all interpretation) is, to find the true meaning of each writer. In order to this, every thing must be taken into view which the principles of interpreting language require; the subject, scope, context, design, age, habits, style, object, &c., of the author; and when the meaning is found of each writer, the passages may be brought together, without fear of any real discrepancy.

In apparent historical discrepancies, we must see to it that we have not confounded things which really differ, merely because they have some similitude. This, it is believed, has not unfrequently happened; and it requires great skill and caution, on the one hand, to guard against this, and on the other, against rashly multiplying facts, because there are some slight discrepancies in the narration. It may be necessary to remark, that it is not every slight discrepancy that will create a real difficulty in an historical document. The notion of *verbal* inspiration, in such cases, does certainly render reconciliation impossible; but this is now generally exploded. There are few persons who will now except to the propriety of Jerome's remarks, *that the Scriptures consist in the SENSE of a passage, and not in the words only*, which are the mere *costume* of the sense; and if so, there are but few apparent contradictions among the sacred writers themselves, that may not be easily removed.*

4. Having premised so much, we proceed to furnish such aid as we may, towards elucidating the obscurities, and solving the difficulties, which present themselves in the sacred writings.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

CHAPTER I.

1. "And God said, Let there be light; and there was light."—Ver. 3.

No fact recorded in the sacred writings, perhaps, has yielded a more fruitful subject for cavil than the account of the creation, as given in the first two chapters of the Book of Genesis. It has been said that the accounts which the Holy Scriptures furnish of the phenomena of the heavenly bodies are altogether discordant with the discoveries of science, and that, therefore, the testimony of the writers is, in other respects, unworthy of credit. We hope to show that there is no such cause for complaint. With reference to the passage under consideration, it is asked, "How could God create *light* before the *sun*, as is represented in ver. 3, compared with ver. 16? In reply to this, it has been observed that the original word *אור* *aur* signifies not only *light* but *fire* (see Isai. xxxi. 7; Ezek. v. 2. It is used for the *sun*, Job xxxi. 26, and for the *electric fluid*, or lightning, chap. xxxvii. 3; and it is worthy of remark, that it is used, in Isai. xlv. 16, for the *heat* derived from the *fire*); and it has therefore been concluded, that as God has diffused the matter of *caloric* or *latent heat* through every part of nature, without which there could be neither animal nor vegetable life, that it is *caloric* or *latent heat* which is principally intended by the original word. Before the formation of the solar orb, this universal agent was agitated, so as to produce light, and was supported in action by some means, as seemed good to the Creator. No fair exception can be taken to this reasoning; but we are of opinion that a more satisfactory answer may be given to the objection, by considering the import of the words used in the original text. It has been for want of a due examination of these, with a mind completely divested of all preconceived notions, that the narrative of Moses has been thought to be less philosophical and sublime. To enter upon a full investigation of the subject, however, would carry us into too extensive and profound a disquisition; we can only open the argument, leaving it to our intelligent and learned readers to prosecute the inquiry. It is impossible to read the first chapter of Genesis, in the original text, without perceiving that the sacred writer uses the same terms in a somewhat different sense, in the former and in the latter parts of his narrative; that is, that he first uses a word in a *general*, and then in a *particular* or *restricted* sense. Thus, in the first verse, the term *אדמה* *earth* is used to denote the entire substance, which was afterwards separated into waters and dry land (ver. 9, 10); and then, in the tenth verse, the word is restrictively applied to one part of this substance, namely, the *dry land*, of which it becomes the proper appellation. So, also, the word *שמים* *heavens*, in the first verse, is used with greater latitude than in the eighth verse, where it is adopted as the proper name of the firmament, which was not brought into existence till the second day. In like manner are the words *יום* *day*

and *night* applied. In the fifth verse they are used to denote those substances or properties, whatever they may be, which are just before called *light*, and *darkness*,—"And God called the *light* (*אור*) *day* (*יום*), and the *darkness* (*חושך*) he called *night* (*לילה*);"—but in the subsequent part of the narrative they are properly given to those astronomical periods of time which have ever since been so designated. Hence it will appear that the word *light*, in the verse under consideration, is used with reference to that *substance* or *fluid* which, when operated upon in a certain manner, produces the phenomenon called light, *quite irrespective of any such operation, or of the state in which it then existed.*

2. "And God made the firmament, and divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament."—Ver. 7.

By following the Vulgate, which has *firmamentum*, a translation of the *σφιγμα* of the LXX., our translators have deprived this passage of all sense and meaning, and afforded an opportunity of cavilling to those men who peruse the Scriptures for the purpose of discovering difficulties. "How could a firmament be created (says the "Doubts of the Infidels") since there is no firmament; and the false notion of its existence is no more than an imagination of the ancient Grecians?" The difficulty, however, vanishes on a reference to the original, and the infidels are deprived of their vaunted triumph. The Hebrew word *רָקִיעַ* *rabia*, from a root which signifies to *spread out, expand, enlarge*, &c., simply signifies an *expanse* or *space*, and consequently that circumambient space or expansion well known by the name of the *atmosphere*. But of what is this an *expansion*? Doubtless of the celestial fluid of which we have before spoken, consisting of light air, ether, or of whatever philosophers may please to term it. In Scripture, it is styled the *heavens*, "Who stretcheth out the heavens like a curtain," Ps. civ. 2; Isai. xl. 22.

3. "And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also."—Ver. 16.

We have already intimated that this verse has been thought contradictory to the 4th verse; but the contradiction originates in the imperfection of our translation. In the original, the word here translated *lights* is different from that rendered *light* in the fourth verse—the former being *אור* *aur*, and the latter *מאורה* *maureth*. This word properly denotes *kindlers*; and the word with which it is associated, rendered *to rule*, is literally *to have dominion or power*: this view of the passage will remove every difficulty, and exhibit the philosophical precision with which the writer expresses himself. Thus we see that the *kindlers* are to have *power* or *influence* over the *day* (a name originally given in an enlarged sense to the *aur*, or *light*, ver. 3), and over the *night* (a name originally given to *chashach*, or *darkness*, ver. 3), and the stars also.* The Septuagint and Vulgate have understood the passage in a similar manner; the former having *φωτισται*, and the latter *luminaria*, *luminaries*, or *light-bearers*; though this is not so fully expressive of the original as the translation we have proposed.

CHAPTER II.

4. "And there was not a man to till the ground."—Ver. 5.

This verse has been thought contradictory to chap. i. 27, where the creation of Adam had been already affirmed. The difficulty, however, results only from inattention to the scope of the two passages. The inspired historian first gives a general account of the whole creation in six days; and then, carrying on his history, describes particularly the formation of Adam and Eve. In the third verse of this chapter it is said, that God rested from all his work which he had created and made; that is, he ceased to make any more creatures; therefore Adam was not made after this.

5. "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die."—Ver. 17.

The difficulty which presents itself here, is between the denunciation and the fact. Notwithstanding that Adam transgressed the divine command, and therefore incurred the penalty, he lived for a period of 800 years afterwards. The Hebrew *מוֹת תָּמוּת* *muth temuth*, is literally *a death thou*

* See above.

shalt die, or, *dying thou shalt die*, as in the margin of the English Bible. From that moment thou shalt become mortal, and shalt continue in a *dying state* till thou *die*. This we see to be literally accomplished; every moment of his life, man may be considered as *dying*, till soul and body are separated. Transgression has rendered him mortal, and his life is a gradual progress through labour, pain, and sorrow, towards death.

CHAPTER III.

6. "And he placed at the east of the garden of Eden, cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life."—Ver. 24.

The words here rendered, "a flaming sword turning every way," are, literally, "a flame turning or folding upon itself." The Jewish Targum paraphrases the verse thus: "And he thrust out the man, and caused the glory of his presence to dwell of old, at the east of the garden of Eden, above the two cherubim." If such be the real import of the passage, says Bishop Horne, and it relates only to the manifestation of the divine presence, and its well known symbol, above or between the cherubim, may we not conclude, that the design of such manifestation, at the east of the garden of Eden, was the same as it was confessedly afterwards in the tabernacle and temple; viz., to reveal the will of God for the conduct of his people; to accept the sacrifices offered to him; and favourably to regard the prefigurative atonement made by "the sprinkling of blood, without which there was (after the fall) no remission?" And all this was done "to **KEEP OR PRESERVE** the way to the tree of life." Immortality being now the object of a new covenant, with other conditions, there were good reasons, adds the excellent prelate, why our first parent should not be suffered, in the state to which he had reduced himself, to "put forth his hand and eat." The dispensation of Eden was at an end. Old sacraments were abolished, and new ones were to be instituted. In the spirit of repentance and faith, the delinquents were to wait "till one happier man should regain the blissful seat," and open the kingdom of heaven to all believers; himself the true **REAS** OF LIFE IN THE PARADISE OF GOD. Thus, this text, which has been so long the butt of infidels, and the stumbling-block of believers, not only becomes cleared of its difficulties, but throws a light and glory on the whole patriarchal dispensation.

CHAPTER IV.

7. "And Cain talked with Abel his brother: and it came to pass, when they were in the field," &c.—Ver. 8.

The present reading of this text is much embarrassed. The Hebrew word, which our translators have rendered "talked," will not bear this meaning; but, not finding any thing that was spoken on the occasion, they have ventured to intimate that there was a conversation, indefinitely. In the most correct editions of the Hebrew Bible there is a hiatus or deficiency marked, which is supplied in the ancient Versions, and in the Samaritan text. According to these, the text is clear and consistent, thus: "And Cain said unto Abel his brother, Let us go out into the field; and it came to pass, when they were in the field, that Cain rose up," &c.

8. "And Cain went out from the presence of the Lord, and dwelt in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden. And Cain knew his wife, and she conceived, and bare Enoch: and he builded a city, and called the name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch."—Ver. 16, 17.

It has often been asked, how Cain could have a wife, and go into another land and build a city, when there were no people in the world beside himself, his father, and his mother? To this it is obvious to reply, that although Scripture is silent respecting any other persons than these, yet that there were many others it is more reasonable to admit than to deny. The death of Abel occurred in the one hundred and twenty-eighth or one hundred and thirtieth year of the world. Now, supposing Adam and Eve to have had no other sons than Cain and Abel, in the year of the world one hundred and twenty-eight, yet, as they had daughters married to these sons, their descendants would make a considerable figure on the earth. Supposing them to have been married in the

nineteenth year of the world, they might easily have had eight children, some males and some females, in the twenty-fifth year. In the fiftieth year there might proceed from them, in a direct line, sixty-four persons; in the seventy-fourth year there would be five hundred and seventy-two; in the ninety-eighth year, four thousand and ninety-six; in the one hundred and twenty-second year, they would amount to thirty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight: if to these we add the other children descended from Cain and Abel, their children, and their children's children, we should have, in the aforesaid one hundred and twenty-eight years, four hundred and twenty-one thousand, one hundred and sixty-four men, capable of generation, without reckoning the women, either old or young, or such as were under the age of seventeen. Such is the calculation made by Dr. Dodd; but, as Dr. Adam Clarke justly remarks, its accuracy may be disputed, because there is no evidence that the antediluvian patriarchs began to have children before they were sixty-five years of age. Supposing, therefore, that at the age of one hundred and thirty years, Adam had one hundred and thirty children, which is quite possible, and each of these a child at sixty-five years of age, and one in each successive year, the whole, in the one hundred and thirtieth year of the world, would amount to one thousand two hundred and nineteen persons; a number sufficient to found several villages, as extensive and complete as Cain's city.

9. "And Lamech said to his wives, Adah and Zillah, hear my voice; ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech, for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt: if Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, truly Lamech seventy-and-seven-fold."—Ver. 23, 24.

It cannot be denied that these two verses are in our Bibles almost unintelligible; nor are they free from difficulty upon reference to the original. The thread of the narrative is evidently broken; and as the address of Lamech is in the metrical form, it is justly concluded to be a fragment incorporated into the text by the sacred historian. Mr. Wellbeloved's translation seems to convey, perspicuously enough, the sense of the passage:—

'Adah and Zillah, hear my voice;
Ye wives of Lamech, hearken to my speech:
For I have slain a man on his wounding me,
And a young man on his bruising me.
If Cain shall be avenged seven-fold,
Lamech *shall be avenged* seventy-and-seven-fold."

The act of Lamech, in taking to himself two wives, had probably excited the jealousy of some young man, says Geddes, who under the impulse of this passion, had attacked and wounded Lamech, and whom Lamech in his own defence had slain. To allay the fears of his wives, therefore, he argues, and justly, that if Cain, who had wilfully and maliciously killed his brother, was nevertheless protected from the blood-avenger, by the special providence of God, *he* might confidently expect the same protection, since the person whom he had slain had sought and endangered his life: and that a still heavier punishment than that which was threatened to the avenger of Abel's death, would fall upon the man who should attempt to molest him.

CHAPTER VI.

10. "And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart."—Ver. 6.

Repentance and grief cannot, in strict propriety, be ascribed to a Being of absolute perfection. The Scriptures speak of God in the language of men; and they also represent him as making use of the same language. They could not, indeed, do otherwise. But this language is necessarily inadequate to such a subject. When used in the most cautious and guarded manner, it will be found to convey ideas not altogether compatible with the Divine nature and character. In all such cases the language must be considered as descriptive of the *EVENT*, not of the *cause*. An apparent change in the course of the Divine Government, and in the treatment of God's accountable creatures, is the subject of the passage; this is spoken of as the result of a change in the mind of God, occasioned by a disappointment of his expectations. When men alter the conduct they have been long pursuing in respect of others, and withhold the kindness they have been accustomed to exer-

cise towards them, it is because their views and purposes are altered ; and the change is generally accompanied with some strong emotion, some disquieting passion. But God cannot change his counsels, or be affected by anger or grief. Evil as well as good is subservient to his will, and accomplishes his wise designs. All such passages in the sacred writings must be interpreted in consistency with this incontrovertible truth.

CHAPTER VIII.

11. "I will not again curse the ground any more, for man's sake ; for the imagination of man's heart," &c.—Ver. 21.

The Hebrew is *לֹא אֶפְשֶׁה* *la aseph*, I will not add to curse the ground—there shall not be another deluge to destroy the whole earth—for the imagination of man's heart, *בְּחִי*, *ci*, ALTHOUGH the imagination of man's heart *should be evil*, that is, should they become afterwards as evil as they have been before, I will not destroy the earth by a FLOOD.

CHAPTER IX.

12. "And surely your blood of your lives will I require ; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man ; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man."—Ver. 5.

The middle clause of this verse is very obscure ; but, if taken literally, it seems to be an awful warning against cruelty to the brute creation. Instead of *chieyeh*, *beast*, the Samaritan reads *chai living*, any "living creature," or person : this reading is adopted by Geddes, and makes a good sense ; equally forbidding cruelty either to men or beasts.

13. "I do set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a token of a covenant between me and the earth."—Ver. 13.

It has been objected to this passage, that, according to the laws of reflection and refraction established in the system of nature, the phenomenon of the rainbow must have been produced, as it is now, in certain circumstances, from the beginning of the world ; and therefore could not have been first set in the cloud, as a token of God's covenant with man, after the flood.

But do the words necessarily imply that the rainbow had never appeared before ? Rather, perhaps, the contrary. The following paraphrase of the passage is submitted by Bishop Home as a just and natural one :—When, in the common course of things, I bring a cloud over the earth under certain circumstances, I do set my bow in it. That bow shall be from henceforth a token of the covenant I now make with you to drown the earth no more by a flood. Look upon it, and remember this covenant. As certainly as the bow is formed, by the operation of physical causes, in the cloud, and as long as it continues to be thus formed, so certainly and so long shall my covenant endure, standing fast for evermore, as this faithful witness in heaven." Jacob, we are told (Gen. xxxi. 45, 52), "took a stone, and set it up for a pillar, and said, This pillar be witness : God, in like manner (if we may so express it), "took the rainbow, and said, This bow be witness." Neither the stone nor the rainbow were newly created for the purpose. When the Jews behold the rainbow, they bless God, who remembers his covenant, and is faithful to his promise. And the tradition of this its designation to proclaim comfort to mankind, was strong among the heathen ; for, according to the mythology of the Greeks, the rainbow was the daughter of *Wonder*, "a sign to mortal men," and was regarded, upon its appearance, as the messenger of the celestial deities. Can we anywhere find a more striking instance of the sublime than in the following short description of it ? "Look upon the rainbow, and praise Him who made it : very beautiful it is in the brightness thereof ;—it compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle ; and the hands of the Most High have bended it !"

14. "And Noah said, Cursed be Canaan ; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."—Ver. 25.

Infidels cavil at this curse, because it falls upon the descendants of the offender, *Ham*, the son

of Noah; and Christian apologists have generally been content to reply, that Providence may and does visit the sins of the fathers upon the children. But will it not be obvious, upon looking steadily at the subject, that the cavi and the reply are alike beside the mark? For the curse fell upon the offender in his own proper person. The vices of the Canaanites could not but be their plague, whatever had been the character of Ham. The wretched slavery of that people was not inflicted in consequence of their father's crime; but their slavery was *foretold* as a punishment on their ancestor. Had he been a good and righteous man, he might have been spared the foresight of so much misery. It is well for a father's peace that he does not know what the wickedness of his sons will one day suffer. It was a reward for their dutiful reverence to their father, for Shem and Japheth to know that their own piety and obedience should be in a way perpetuated to their descendants; and it was Ham's and Canaan's curse to be foretold that their descendants would be unhappy slaves. So that both the blessing and the curse fell upon the heads of those who deserved them.

CHAPTER XII.

15. "Now the Lord had said to Abraham, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will shew thee."—Ver. 1.

Some writers have considered this passage to be contradictory to Acts vii. 2; where it is said, that the God of glory appeared to Abraham *while he dwelt in Mesopotamia*, and called him thence *before he came into Haran*; whereas it is evident, from Gen. xi. 31, 32, that Abraham, with his father Terah, and the rest of his family, had left Mesopotamia, and were dwelling at Haran, when the calling mentioned in the text occurred. But we believe Dr. Hales has fully shown that Abraham had two distinct calls, only one of which is recorded in the Old Testament, in the passage before us; and the other in the New Testament, in the passage just cited. We shall give the doctor's translation, and remarks on the text. "The Lord said (not HAD said) unto Abraham, Depart from *thy land*, and from *thy kindred*, and from *thy father's house*, unto THE LAND (עֲרַמְךָ. *Septuagint*, ΘΗΝ γῆν, *THE land*) which I will shew thee." The difference of the two calls, more carefully translated from the originals, is obvious: in the former (as recorded in the New Testament) the *land* is *indefinite* (γῆν *A land, not THE land*), and was designed only for a temporary residence; in the latter it is *definite*, intimating his abode. A third condition is also annexed to the latter, that Abraham shall now separate himself from his *father's house*, or leave his brother Nahor's family behind at Charran. This call Abraham obeyed, still *not knowing whither he was going*, but trusting implicitly to the divine guidance." Heb. xi. 8.

CHAPTER XIII

16. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every where, before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar."—Ver. 10.

Houbigant has removed the obscurity in this verse, by the following translation:—"Before the Lord had destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, it was all, as thou goest to Zoar, well watered, like the garden of the Lord, and like the Land of Egypt." As Paradise, says Dr. Clarke, was watered by the four neighbouring streams; and as Egypt was watered by the annual overflowing of the Nile, so were the plains of Jordan, and all the land in the way to Zoar, well watered and fertilized by the overflowing of Jordan.

CHAPTER XIV.

17. "All these were joined together in the Vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea."—Ver. 3.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that the former of these clauses refers to a time long anterior to

the second. The Salt Sea now occupies the tract of country formerly known as the Plain of Siddim, and in which were situate the five cities destroyed by fire from heaven. See chap. xix.

CHAPTER XV.

18. "Thy seed shall be a stranger in a land that is not theirs, and shall serve them; and they shall afflict them four hundred years."—Ver. 13.

This passage apparently contradicts Exod. xii. 40, to the remarks on which the reader is referred.

CHAPTER XVIII.

19. "I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know."—Ver. 21.

This verse affords one among many instances in Scripture, of the condescension of the Supreme Being, in adapting his language to the weakness of his creatures. The wickedness of the inhabitants of the plain must have been well known to Omniscience, and it is evident that the author of the Pentateuch could not have been ignorant of this; but since, in the execution of his judgments, for some wise and good reasons the Almighty had chosen to appear to Abraham in the human form (see ver. 2, &c.), it was necessary to employ the language of men. He represents himself as a monarch, sitting in his palace, and receiving from his ministers complaints concerning some of his subjects, into the grounds of which he determines, as an act of justice, to inquire in person.

CHAPTER XIX.

20. "But his wife looked back from behind him, and she became a pillar of salt."—Ver. 26.

The catastrophe recorded in this passage has frequently been made a subject of merriment by unbelievers in revelation, as though it involved something either opposed to nature, or unworthy the Divine Being. Neither of these, however, is the fact; nor has the event any appearance of having been recorded as *miraculous*; but only as affording an admonition to those who are disposed to hesitate in complying with the divine requirements. True it is, that the many puerile and absurd conjectures that have been offered by believers in revelation, as to the form, &c., of this pillar of salt, as also of its miraculous preservation and self-generating power, for some two thousand years and upwards, have exposed the sacred and dignified narrative to contempt; but upon this the consequences of man's folly cannot justly rest. The following remarks are designed to show the real meaning of the passage, and also to suggest the probable means by which the event was brought about. The word *נֶזֶבֶן* *netzib*, rendered *pillar*, is used to signify an *erect attitude*,—a *standing still*,—a *fixtured*; and does not necessarily imply any particular form. As to the cause of this woman's privation of life, and her conversion into an inert mass, we learn from Deut. xxix. 23, that "the whole land is brimstone, and salt of burning; it is not sown, nor bears, nor any herbs grow therein, like the overthrow of Sodom." By the *brimstone* here mentioned, we understand the *sulphuric* and fatal *vapours* which always attend volcanic eruptions, as well as mineral brimstone itself. Lot's wife has not been the only person who has suffered by proximity to volcanic effluvia; witness the history of the death of the elder Pliny, at Vesuvius, related in the younger Pliny's letters. But Moses says, *salt of burning* formed one of the agents in the overthrow of Sodom; this, we presume, is what is now called *asphaltum*, because, being a bitumen, it might be ranged by the Hebrews among salts (as it is by several ancient writers; hence Herodotus speaks of *salt* burning in a lamp). As asphaltum is very inflammable, it justly bears the epithet of *burning* or *fiery*. And this is the accurate character of the place to this day; asphaltum being found on the Dead

Sea, or sea of Sodom, which rolls its waters over the site of the destroyed cities. On the whole, then, we infer that Lot's wife, delaying her flight, and too slowly quitting the scene of devastation, was surprised by a shower of bitumen or sulphur falling upon her; amid which she stood erect, motionless, deprived of life; and formed the centre or nucleus for a mass which gathered around her, and which, becoming hard and permanent as it cooled, was well known as the *monument* and fixed station of this unhappy woman.*

CHAPTER XXII.

21. "And it came to pass after these things, that God did tempt Abraham."—Ver. 1.

The letter of this passage is apparently opposed to James i. 13, "God *tempteth* no man;" but there is, in reality, no opposition between the two writers. Here the meaning is, that God *proved* or *tried* Abraham, that is, put his obedience to the test (see ver. 16), as the English word *tempt*, from the Latin *tento*, originally signified; whereas the meaning of James, as proved by the scope of the passage, is, that God tempteth no man to evil, or THE COMMISSION OF SIN.

22. "And Abraham said unto the young men, Abide ye here with the ass; and I and the lad will go yonder and worship, and come again to you."—Ver. 5.

How could Abraham consistently with truth say this, when he knew he was going to make his son a burnt-offering? The apostle answers for him, says Dr. A. Clarke: "By faith Abraham when he was tried, offered up Isaac, accounting that God was able to raise him up even from the dead; from whence he also received him in a figure," Heb. xi. 17, 19. He knew that previously to the birth of Isaac, both he and his wife were dead to all the purposes of procreation; that his birth was a kind of life from the dead; that the promise of God was most positive, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called* (chap. xxi. 12); that this promise could not fail; that it was his duty to obey the command of his Maker; and that it was as easy for God to restore him to life after he had been a burnt-offering, as it was for him to give him life in the beginning. Therefore he went fully purposed to offer his son, and yet confidently expecting to have him restored to life again. *We will go yonder and worship*—perform a solemn act of devotion which God requires, *and come again to you*.

CHAPTER XXV.

23. "And they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria: and he died in the presence of all his brethren."—Ver. 18.

This translation presents two difficulties; it unaccountably introduces Ishmael into a description of the district occupied by his descendants, after his death has been narrated in the preceding verse; and also affirms that he died *in the presence of all his brethren*, a circumstance of which it is impossible to conceive. The original text, however, is sufficiently intelligible. After having related the death of Ishmael, the writer proceeds to point out the territory occupied by his descendants, at the conclusion of which he adds, "IT FELL (or was divided to him) in the presence of all his brethren," *עליו כל ארצו* (compare Josh. xxiii. 4), for the purpose, apparently, of pointing out the fulfilment of the prediction: "He shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," chap. xvi. 2.

CHAPTER XXIX.

24. "Therefore she called his name Judah; and left bearing."—Ver. 35.

This passage seems contradictory to verses 17—21, of the next chapter, where we read that Leah had several other children. A reference to the original, however, will remove the apparent discrepancy. The words are *וַתַּעַמַּד מֵלֵדֶת*, *taamed mēledeth*, she stood still from bearing (as in our margin), that is, for a certain period.

* Natural Science.

CHAPTER XXX.

25. "And Jacob said, For it was little which thou hadst before I came, and it is now increased unto a multitude; and the LORD hath blessed thee since my coming: and now when shall I provide for mine own house also? And he said, What shall I give thee? And Jacob said, Thou shalt not give me any thing; if thou wilt do this thing for me, I will again feed and keep thy flock: I will pass through all thy flock to-day, removing from thence all the speckled and spotted cattle, and all the brown cattle among the sheep, and the spotted and speckled among the goats: and of such shall be my hire. So shall my righteousness answer for me in time to come, when it shall come for my hire before thy face: every one that is not speckled and spotted among the goats, and brown among the sheep, that shall be counted stolen with me. And Laban said, Behold, I would it might be according to thy word. And he removed that day the he-goats that were ringstraked and spotted, and all the she-goats that were speckled and spotted, and every one that had some white in it, and all the brown among the sheep, and gave them into the hands of his sons. And he set three days' journey betwixt himself and Jacob: and Jacob fed the rest of Laban's flocks. And Jacob took him rods of green poplar, and of the hasel and chesnut tree; and pilled white strakes in them, and made the white appear which was in the rods. And he set the rods, which he had pilled, before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs, when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink. And the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle ringstraked, speckled, and spotted. And Jacob did separate the lambs, and set the faces of the flocks toward the ringstraked, and all the brown in the flock of Laban; and he put his own flocks by themselves, and put them not unto Laban's cattle. And it came to pass, whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods before the eyes of the cattle in the gutters, that they might conceive among the rods. But when the cattle were feeble, he put them not in: so the feeble were Laban's, and the stronger Jacob's."—Ver. 30—42.

We have transcribed the whole of this passage, because it is necessary that the reader should have it before him while he peruses the following remarks. It is extremely difficult to find out, from the 32nd and 35th verses, *what* the bargain of Jacob with his father-in-law properly consisted of. It appears from ver. 32, that Jacob was to have for his wages all the *speckled, spotted, and brown* among the sheep and goats; and of course, that all those which were not parti-coloured should be considered as the property of Laban. But in ver. 35, it appears that Laban separated all the *parti-coloured* cattle, and delivered them into the hands of *his own sons*; which seems as if he had taken these for his own property, and left the others to Jacob. It has been conjectured that Laban, for the greater security, when he had separated the parti-coloured, which by the agreement belonged to Jacob (see ver. 32), put them under the care of his own sons, while Jacob fed the flock of Laban (ver. 36), three days' journey being between the two flocks. If, therefore, the flocks under the care of Laban's sons brought forth young that were all of *one colour*, these were put to the flocks of Laban, under the care of Jacob; and if any of the flocks under Jacob's care brought forth *parti-coloured* young, they were put to the flocks belonging to Jacob, under the care of Laban's sons. This conjecture is not satisfactory, and the true meaning appears to be this: Jacob had agreed to take all the parti-coloured for his wages. As he was now only *beginning* to act upon this agreement, consequently, none of the cattle as yet belonged to him; therefore Laban separated from the flock (ver. 35) all such cattle as Jacob might afterwards claim in consequence of his bargain; for as yet he had no right: therefore Jacob commenced his service to Laban with a flock that did not contain a single animal of the description of those to which he might be entitled; and the others were sent away under the care of Laban's sons, three days' journey from those of which Jacob had the care. The bargain, therefore, seemed to be wholly in favour of Laban; and to turn it to his own advantage, Jacob made use of the stratagems afterwards mentioned. This mode of interpretation removes all the apparent contradiction between the 32nd and 35th verses,

with which commentators in general have been grievously perplexed. From the whole account we learn that Laban acted with great *prudence* and *caution*, and Jacob with great *judgment*. Jacob had already served fourteen years, and had got no patrimony whatever, though he had now a family of *twelve* children, *eleven sons* and *one daughter*, besides his two wives and their two maids. It was high time that he should get some property for these; and as his father-in-law was excessively parsimonious, and would scarcely allow him to live, he was in some sort obliged to make use of stratagem to get an equivalent for his services; but this he pushed so far as to ruin his father-in-law's flocks, leaving him nothing but the refuse. See ver. 42.

So far we have availed ourselves of the labours of Dr. Clarke and Mr. Charles Taylor; but from chap. xxxi. 12, &c., it seems clear that the stratagem which was resorted to by Jacob, and which we are about to consider, was adopted by him under divine direction, the reason for which is there distinctly assigned. The expedient was this: "He took him rods of green poplar, and of the hazel and chestnut-tree, and pilled white streaks in them, and made the white appear which *was* in the rods. And he set the rods which he *had pilled* before the flocks in the gutters in the watering troughs, when the flocks came to drink, that they should conceive when they came to drink." The consequence of this is stated to be, that "the flocks conceived before the rods, and brought forth cattle, ring-straked, speckled, and spotted," chap. xxx. 37—39. Now, in this process there does not appear to have been any thing miraculous, or out of the ordinary course of nature. It is a fact attested by both ancient and modern philosophers, as well as our constant experience, that whatever makes a strong impression on the mind of a female in the time of conception and gestation will have a corresponding influence on the mind or body of the foetus. Nor is it any objection to this fact, that we know not how to account for the effect on rational principles, for—

There is an art, which, in their piedness shares
With great creating nature.
Yet nature is made better by no mean,
But nature makes that mean:
The art itself is nature.

WINTER'S TALE.

There is some difficulty in understanding the 41st and 42nd verses, as they appear in our translation: "And it came to pass, that whensoever the stronger cattle did conceive, that Jacob laid the rods," &c. The Hebrew מַתְּקֵרֹת *metakeruth*, which is here rendered *stronger*, is understood by several of the ancient interpreters as signifying the *early*, *first-born*, or *early* spring cattle; and hence it is opposed to עֲרֵב *atepim*, which we translate *feble*, but which Symmachus properly renders διυρηνόρους, cattle of the *second birth*; as he renders the former word cattle of the *first* or *earliest birth*. Now, this does not apply merely to *two births* from the same female in one year, which actually did take place, the first in Nisan, and the second about September; but more particularly to *early* and *late* lambs, in the same year; as those that are born just at the termination of winter, and in the very commencement of spring, are every way more valuable than those which were born later in the same spring. Jacob, therefore, took good heed not to try his experiments with those *late produced* cattle, because he knew these would produce a degenerate breed; but with the *early* cattle, which were *strong* and *vigorous*, by which his breed must be improved. To these remarks we only add, that, in the Samaritan text, the dream which Jacob relates in chap. xxxi. 11—13 is introduced immediately after verse 36 in chap. xxx. It is highly probable that this addition is genuine, because there are sufficient variations between the original and Jacob's narration of it, to show that the one has not been copied from the other; and because it seems to be naturally required in the place where the Samaritan has it.

CHAPTER XXXI.

26. "Take heed that thou speak not to Jacob either good or bad."—Ver. 24.

The marginal reading of our translation is here, as in many other places, greatly preferable to the textual one; it says, "From good to bad:" the original is מֵטוֹב אֶל רָע *metub ad raa*, from good to evil. The meaning plainly is, *do not address him in friendly terms, and then proceed to acts of hostility*.

CHAPTER XLVI.

27. "All the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, which came out of his loins, besides Jacob's sons' wives, all the souls were threescore and six; and the sons of Joseph, which were born him in Egypt, were two souls: all the souls of the house of Jacob, which came into Egypt, *were* threescore and ten."—Ver. 26, 27

There is an apparent discrepancy between the statement of Moses in this passage, and that of Stephen in Acts vii. 14; the one representing the number of persons who came into Egypt as being threescore and ten, and the other threescore and fifteen. Various methods of accounting for the difference have been suggested; but that of Dr. Hales has been thought to be the most satisfactory, and, indeed, it leaves not the least pretence for affirming a contradiction between the two writers. It is as follows: Moses states that all the souls that came with Jacob into Egypt, *which issued from his loins* (except his sons' wives), were sixty-six souls, and this number is thus collected:

Jacob's children, eleven sons and one daughter	12
Reuben's sons	4
Simeon's sons	6
Levi's sons	3
Judah's three sons and two grandsons	5
Issachar's sons	4
Zebulun's sons	3
Gad's sons	7
Asher's four sons and one daughter, and two grandsons	7
Dan's son	1
Naphthali's sons	4
Benjamin's sons	10
	66

If to these sixty-six children, grand-children, and great grand-children, we add Jacob himself, Joseph, and his two sons born in Egypt, or four more, the amount is seventy, the whole number of Jacob's family which settled in Egypt [as stated in ver. 27]. In this statement the *wives* of Jacob's sons, who formed part of the household, are omitted, but they amounted to nine; for of the twelve wives of the twelve sons, Judah's wife was dead (Gen. xxxviii. 12), and Simeon's also, as we may collect from his youngest son, Shaul, by a Canaanitess (chap. xli. 19), and Joseph's wife was already in Egypt. These nine wives, therefore, added to the sixty-six, gave seventy-five souls, the whole amount of Jacob's household that went down with him into Egypt; critically corresponding with the statement in the New Testament, that Joseph sent for his father Jacob, and *all his kindred*, amounting to *seventy-five* souls:—The expression, *all his kindred*, including the wives who were Joseph's kindred, not only by affinity, but also by consanguinity: being probably of the families of Esau, Ishmael, or Keturah. Thus does the New Testament furnish an admirable commentary on the Old.*

CHAPTER XLVIII.

28. "And Israel beheld Joseph's sons."—Ver. 8.

This has been supposed to contradict ver. 10, "Now the eyes of Israel were dim for age, so that he could not see;" but the meaning is not that the patriarch could not see at all, but only that he could not see plainly and distinctly the objects which were before him. This is evident from ver. 11, where he says to Joseph, "I had not thought to see thy face; and lo, God hath *showed* me also thy seed."

* Bloomfield is dissatisfied with this interpretation of the text, and suggests another. See his Critical Digest, on Acts vii. 14.

THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

CHAPTER III.

29. "And it shall come to pass, that when ye go, ye shall not go empty; but every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold and raiment: and ye shall spoil the Egyptians."—Ver. 21, 22.

From chap. xii. 35, 36, we learn, that the Israelites complied with the injunction here given; and, as our Version reads, "they spoiled the Egyptians." This narrative has given rise to several objections; the conduct of the Israelites has been characterized as ungenerous and dishonest; and as it was induced by the command of God, unbelievers have not been sparing in their remarks upon that also. It may be confidently affirmed, however, that the texts, properly understood, are open to no objection, and that the command, and the compliance therewith, may be shown to be perfectly just. In the first place, the Hebrew word *בָּרָא*, which our translators have rendered borrow, simply signifies to *ask*, to *require*, to *demand*. In the three passages relative to the transaction (chap. iii. 22, xi. 2, xii. 35), the Septuagint has, *shall ask*, *αἰτεῖν*; and in the two former, the Vulgate has, *postulabit*, *shall demand*; and so, indeed, it was in the English Bible, till the edition of Becke, in 1549; the Geneva, Barker's, and some others, having *asks*. The injunction, therefore, was, that the Israelites should ask or demand of the Egyptians a recompence for their past services; or, it may be, a restoration only of that property of which they had been despoiled.* It seems manifest, as Mr. Bryant has suggested, from the expression used in chap. xii. 33, "They sent them out of the land in haste," that the Egyptians never expected nor wished for the return of the Israelites; and, consequently, they could not expect the return of the jewels and raiment. In point of fact, and as Dr. Clarke has ably argued, there *could be no borrowing* in the case, because, if accounts were fairly balanced, *Egypt* would be found still in considerable arrears to *Israel*. Let it also be considered, that the Egyptians had never *any right* to the services of the Hebrews. Egypt owed its policy, its opulence, and even its political existence, to the Israelites. What had Joseph for his important services?—NOTHING! He had neither district, nor city, nor lordship in Egypt; *nor did he reserve any to his children*. All his services were *gratuitous*; and being animated with a better hope than any earthly possession could inspire, he desired that even his *bones* should be carried up out of Egypt. Jacob and his family, it is true, were permitted to sojourn in Goshen; but they were not provided for in that place; for they brought their *cattle*, their *goods*, and *all that they had into Egypt* (Gen. xlii. 1, 6), so that they had nothing but the bare land to feed on; and had built treasuries, or fortresses, we know not how many; and two whole cities, *Pithom* and *Ramesses*, besides; and for all these services they had *no compensation whatever*, but were, besides, cruelly abused, and obliged to witness, as the sum of their calamities, the daily murder of their male infants. These particulars considered, remarks the doctor, will Infidelity ever dare to produce this case again, in support of its pretensions?

CHAPTER IV.

30. "And the Lord said unto Moses, I will harden his [Pharaoh's] heart, that he shall not let the people go."—Ver. 21.

To this passage it has been objected, that a just God could not punish Pharaoh for a hardness of heart of which he himself was evidently the cause. But when we meet with an assertion apparently contrary to all the truth and equity in the world, it is but common justice to any writer, human or divine, says Bishop Horne, to suppose that we mistake his meaning, and that the expression employed to convey it is capable of an interpretation different from that which may at first present itself. We cannot, for a moment, imagine, that God secretly influences a man's will, or suggests

* This seems to be intimated in ver. 22, "Ye shall *spoil* the Egyptians." The word *בָּרָא* signifies to *regain* or *recover*, and is so used in 1 Sam. xxx. 22, as well as other places.

any wicked, stubborn resolution to his mind, and then punishes him for it. We are, therefore, to consider by what other means, not incompatible with his nature and attributes, he may be said, in a certain sense, and without impropriety, to harden a man's heart. There are many ways by which we may conceive this effect to be wrought, without running into the absurdity and impiety above-mentioned. The heart may be hardened by those very respites, miracles, and mercies, intended to soften it; for if they do not soften it, they will harden it. God is sometimes said to do that which he permits to be done by others, in the way of judgment and punishment; as, when his people rejected his own righteous laws, he is said to have *given them* the idolatrous ones of their heathen neighbours—"statutes that were not good." The heart may be hardened by his withdrawing that grace it has long resisted; men may be given up to a reprobate mind. As they *would* not see when they possessed the faculty of sight, the use of that faculty may be taken from them, and they may be abandoned to blindness. But all this is judicial, and supposes previous voluntary wickedness, which it is designed to punish. The case of Pharaoh is exactly that of the Jews.* God is said to have "blinded their eyes, and hardened their hearts." But how? As it is here represented? Would he do this to his own people? Was HE the cause of their rejecting their Messiah? Or does he—can he—intend to say that he was so? Let us hear no more of this, for the sake of common sense and common honesty, if such things are yet left among us.

CHAPTER VI.

31. "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by *the name* of God Almighty; but by my name JEHOVAH was I not known to them."—Ver. 3.

These words are seemingly opposed to several passages in the earlier writings of the Old Testament, where God is spoken of, and is addressed by the patriarchs here referred to, under the name of JEHOVAH. To reconcile this seeming contradiction, various expedients have been proposed, most of which are more or less satisfactory to the purpose; but of all the solutions of the difficulty which we have met with, we think that offered by Mr. Charles Taylor is the most conclusive. He has shown, by a number of proofs, that the word *yr yeda*, to *know*, implies various degrees of knowledge; from the general, loose, mere conception of any thing, to the absolute and intimate experience of it; and then interprets the passage as follows: "I was seen by Abraham, &c., as God, *Shaddai*,—but by my name JEHOVAH was I not APPROPRIATE to them:" no; they were but individuals, at most a family, not a nation. Other people also knew me by that name (Lot, Melchizedek, Job, Hagar, Abimelech, Laban, Balaam, &c.); but now, Israel being about to become a nation, by my name JEHOVAH I will be the *appropriate* Deity of that people; and under that name, I on one part, and they on the other, will enter into covenant, &c.

To this sense agrees the answer of Pharaoh, in Exod. v. 2: "Who is Jehovah that I should obey him? no such mighty Deity, I trow! He is no God of mine: I do not APPROPRIATE Jehovah as my God, though you do: I will not let Israel go," at any command given to me in his name. The same is the import of this word, Exod. i. 8: "There arose a king over Egypt, who APPROPRIATED not Joseph:" in fact, he was a king by conquest, and of another race and country; therefore, the services done to *former* Pharaohs, were no services to him. If this sense of the word be admitted, and it seems to be justly entitled to admission, then all difficulty vanishes from the passage. Moreover, another passage is elucidated by it, Gen. ii. 9, 17: "The tree of APPROPRIATION of good or evil:" a tree placed for the purpose of discovering whether man would *appropriate* to himself good or evil. The history of the effects, &c., of this tree, demonstrates this to be the import of its title. "Of the tree which decides *appropriation* of good or evil, thou mayest not eat; for it is deadly." But, alas, man *appropriated* evil; "good lost, and evil got:" he appropriated evil to his soul, as completely, as intimately, as he appropriated food to his body.†

32. "Thus saith the LORD, In this thou shalt know that I am the LORD: behold, I [Moses] will smite with the rod that is in mine hand upon the waters which are in the

* It is evident, as Koppe has remarked, that the whole passage is to be understood, not only of obstinacy, as a vice, but also of the punishment and misery, by the divine will conjoined with it, though not eternal, but only such as is mentioned by Moses. See Bloomfield, Recens. Synop. on Rom. ix. 18.

† See Fragments to Calmet, No. 308.

river, and they shall be turned to blood. And the LORD spake unto Moses, Say unto Aaron, Take thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the waters of Egypt, upon their streams, upon their rivers, and upon their ponds, and upon all their pools of water, that they may become blood; and that there may be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in vessels of wood, and in vessels of stone. And Moses and Aaron did so, as the LORD commanded: and he lifted up the rod, and smote the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the sight of his servants; and all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood. And the fish that was in the river died; and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink of the water of the river; and there was blood throughout all the land of Egypt. And the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments; and Pharaoh's heart was hardened, neither did he hearken unto them, as the LORD had said."—Ver. 17—22.

"This is the first plague," says Dr. Geddes; "and a dreadful plague it must have been, if *it ever was inflicted*;" and after parading with his learning about the suavity and salubrity of the Nile, as vouched for both by ancient and modern travellers, he proceeds to intersperse his remarks with flippant cavils and irrelevant observations; not, however, forgetting the old trick of substituting what he no doubt would call an argument from analogy, for the one in question, and thus, by the aid of a confident falsehood, betraying his unwary reader into a conclusion, not only without evidence, but in direct opposition to it. "It certainly would," he remarks, "be deemed a very uncommon phenomenon, to see all our rivers and lakes, reservoirs and cisterns, frozen over in the middle of June; yet even that would not amount to a miracle; for it might actually happen, and perhaps has happened, by an extraordinary change in the atmosphere: but if this happened at the command of one man, as Rosenmüller expresses it, and instantaneously at his command, I confess I should deem it a miraculous event: but then I must have the strongest proofs possible that such an event took place. Here, I have no proof, no motive of credibility but the sole authority of an anonymous Hebrew writer, whom I find every where giving in to the marvellous, generally clothing his narrative in the garb of poetical imagery, and, according to the oriental custom, ascribing physical events to supernatural causes." What, no motive of credibility! Is then all the proof that the concurrent attestations of history, sacred and profane, have given in support of the divine mission of Moses at once annihilated? What proofs necessary to the admission of miraculous facts do there exist which the miracles of Moses possess not? Their importance, relative to the formation and establishment of his nation, it can scarcely be thought any sober man will question, any more than their notoriety and splendour. The truth of them is evidenced by an investigation into the moral character of Moses himself. The religion and policy of the Jews are founded on the truth of his miracles. Can it be, for instance, supposed that the Hebrew nation would, without miracles, have received the laws to which Moses subjected them? Did Moses, by pretended miracles, beguile and deceive the nation itself? Or did the whole Jewish people make him their leader, and uniformly act in concert with him, to delude other nations and their own descendants? The establishment and duration of the Jewish religion, the very circumstances under which the Jews at this day exist, are a certain proof of the miracles of Moses. But what says Dr. Geddes?—"Here, I have *no proof, no motive to credibility*, but the *sole authority of an anonymous HEBREW writer*."—And, as though an anonymous writer could not write truth, more especially being a *Hebrew*, the doctor, still further to detract from his credit, adds, "whom I find every where giving in to the marvellous, generally clothing his narrative in the garb of poetical imagery, and, according to the oriental custom, ascribing physical events to supernatural causes." Now this is what Dr. Geddes palms on us for argument! The proper question in respect to this *anonymous Hebrew* writer, whom the concurrent attestation of antiquity has, from his own time to the present, agreed to have been the lawgiver MOSES, is, whether the history transmitted by him did not, in every instance from its commencement to its end, abound with events proverbially marvellous? And, if so, his *giving in to the marvellous* was really no other than treating his subject according to its nature, from which it would have been impossible for him to have departed without wilfully violating the truth. If his *narrative be clothed in the garb of poetical imagery* where it ought not to be, that is, indeed, an impeachment of his taste, Dr. Geddes being the standard; but it proves nothing more. And as to the third charge, of *ascribing, according to the oriental custom, physical events to supernatural causes*, if the doctor will drop the final *s*, we will concur in admitting it. That Moses, the doctor's anonymous

Hebrew, does impute the ordinary as well as extraordinary events of nature to a supernatural cause, we neither wonder at nor cease to admire. That inspiration which filled him with a knowledge of the past, the development of creation to his view, the subjection to his command of the elements of nature, and the exposure of remote futurity to his eye, fully enabled him to ascribe every event to its proper cause; and all events, whether physical or supernatural, if there be a God, are referable to him. With Dr. Geddes, however, thus to attribute these *is an ORIENTAL custom*. God grant the custom universally prevailed! Yet, why *an oriental custom*, but because that Light which suggested it first beamed in the East? When the doctor talked of "the *SOLE authority* of an anonymous Hebrew writer," he doubtless had utterly forgotten the words of the Psalmist: "He turned their waters into blood, and slew their fish," unless, perhaps, in the doctor's opinion, the author of the Pentateuch were the writer of the psalm.

Looking, however, into subsequent remarks, it would seem that the phrase, "ascribing *physical events to supernatural causes*," had an application, in the doctor's mind, which we have not adverted to; inasmuch as Dr. Geddes attempts to account for the above-mentioned miracle in a natural way, and as, forsooth, being nothing more than a discoloration of the Nile by the washing down of red ochre, or some other colouring substance, at its overflow: "Perhaps on that year the exundation may have been greater, and the waters more highly tinged than usual, which, whether miraculous or not, might alarm the superstitious people, and be by Moses artfully employed as a motive to obtain the liberation of Israel." According to Dr. Geddes, then, the bloody appearance of the water, whether of a lighter or deeper tincture, must have happened before Moses could have availed himself of the phenomena, that is, the effect must have preceded the cause; for what says the text? Let the reader refer to it as it stands at the head of this article.

The quibbling and wit with which the doctor amuses himself in the note closing this topic is too miserable to deserve more than a smile of contempt: "We read not when or how the waters were restored to their former soundness: and here the historian seems to have overlooked a material point. Another miracle was to have been expected to re-convert the blood into water; at least what was in the lakes and cisterns: for we may suppose that what was in the river and its branches would be carried, in the course of seven days, into the sea. What a pity it was not the Red Sea; for then we should have an excellent reason for its being so called."

To these remarks we add the following from the *Universal History*, vol. iii., p. 374, *note*. If it be asked, why God suffered the magicians to borrow power from the devil, to invalidate, if possible, those miracles which his servant wrought by his divine power, the following reasons may be given for it: *first*, it was necessary that these magicians should be suffered to do to the utmost of their power against Moses, in order to clear him from the imputation of magic or sorcery: for as the notion of such an extraordinary art was very rife, not only among the Egyptians, but all other nations, if they had not entered into this strenuous competition with him, and been at length overcome by him, both the Hebrews and Egyptians would have been apt to attribute all his miracles to his skill in magic, rather than to the divine power. *Secondly*, it was necessary, in order to confirm the faith of the wavering and desponding Israelites, by making them see the difference between Moses' acting by the power of God, and the sorcerers by that of Satan. And, *lastly*, in order to preserve them afterwards from being seduced, by any false miracles, from the true worship of God.

CHAPTER IX.

33. "And all the cattle of Egypt died: but of the cattle of the children of Israel died not one."—Ver. 6.

This verse has been said to contradict ver. 20, where it is said that some of the cattle of Egypt remained alive, and were preserved from a subsequent plague by the servants of Pharaoh. But the fact is, that nothing is more common among writers, both sacred and profane, than the use of the word *all*, not in an *absolute*, but a *relative* or *comparative* sense, as implying *many*, *some of all sorts*, &c. Surely it will be admitted, that if these writings are forged, their author was quite capable of avoiding such palpable contradictions as the objection supposes; and if they are genuine and authentic, it can of course have no foundation.

CHAPTER XII.

34. "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years."—Ver. 40.

This passage has been conceived to contradict Gen. xv. 13, where it is announced to Abraham, that his seed should be a stranger in a land that was not theirs, and should serve them, and should be afflicted four hundred years. But the passages are perfectly consistent, the computation being made from two different epochs. In Genesis, the time is calculated from the promise made to Abraham of a son, or from the birth of Isaac; but in Exodus, it is computed from his departure from his native country, in obedience to the divine command. The probability is, that there is a defect in the present Hebrew text, in the passage at the head of this article; for the Samaritan Pentateuch, in all its copies, as well as the Alexandrine copy of the LXX., reads, "Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, *and of their fathers in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt*, was four hundred and thirty years;" and the same statement is made by St. Paul, in Gal. iii. 17, who reckons from the promise made to Abraham to the giving of the law, which soon followed the departure from Egypt. That these three witnesses depose to the truth, the chronology itself proves; for it is evident that the descendants of Israel did not dwell four hundred and thirty years in Egypt; while it is equally evident, that the period from Abraham's entry into Canaan to the exode is exactly that number. Thus, from Abraham's entrance into the promised land to the birth of Isaac was twenty-five years; Isaac was sixty years old at the birth of Jacob; and Jacob was one hundred and thirty at the time of his going down into Egypt; which three sums make two hundred and fifteen years. And then, Jacob and his children having remained in Egypt two hundred and fifteen years more, the entire sum of four hundred and thirty years is regularly completed.—*Kennicott*.

CHAPTER XIII.

35. "And the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt."—Ver. 18.

There is considerable difficulty in ascertaining the meaning of the Hebrew word *chemeshim*, here rendered harnessed; and a variety of interpretations of it has consequently been given. Mr. Harmer conceives that the people, with their cattle, were in strings or companies of five each; and Theodotion and Montanus render *five* in a rank, as in the margin of the English Bible. But this supposition is scarcely admissible, because, allowing but one yard for each rank or company to move in, it would have required not fewer than sixty-eight miles for only the 600,000 effective men to have proceeded in, which the circumstances of the history will not admit. Symmachus, Aquila, the Vulgate, and other Versions, support our English translation, in the text, rendering *harnessed* or *armed*. But it is not probable that Pharaoh would have permitted the use of arms to 600,000 men, fit for military service, and cruelly oppressed. The Septuagint, the Targum, and others, render the word *girded*; but this cannot be its real import, because in Judg. vii. 11 it is applied to men who were lying asleep, and certainly not girded. The editor of Calmet, dissatisfied with all the explanations hitherto offered of the text, has investigated the circumstances connected with it with his usual acuteness, and concludes that the word *chemeshim* imports *embodied under five*, that is, the officers established by the ordinary laws and usages of encampments and caravans. This idea he has applied to the circumstances connected with the exodus from Egypt, and has illustrated, by its aid, many of those points in the history which heretofore eluded the researches of the most able critics.

CHAPTER XVI.

36. "And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, It is manna; for they wist not what it was."—Ver. 15.

The marginal reading is certainly nearer the truth than the textual one, which is, in fact, pal-

pably contradictory: "They said it was manna, *for they knew not what it was!*" The margin reads, "What is this?" that is, the people said one to another, "What is this? for they knew not what it was."

CHAPTER XVIII.

37. "And Moses' father-in-law said, Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them [the people], to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens," &c.—Ver. 17—22.

In Deut. i. 9—13, Moses is represented as having proposed the appointment of these judges to the people himself, which, it is said in the text, was suggested and proposed to him by his father-in-law Jethro; a circumstance which has been considered to involve a considerable difficulty. One would almost think, that the way in which we have stated the fact was in itself enough to show, that there is in reality no discrepancy between the two passages: but to avoid all misconception of the matter, we transcribe the following remarks from Dr. Greaves:—There is a great and striking difference between these statements, but there is no contradiction: Jethro suggested to Moses the appointment; he, probably, after consulting God, as Jethro intimates, "If God shall thus command thee" (ver. 23), referred the matter to the people, and assigned the choice of the individuals to them; the persons thus selected he admitted to share his authority, as subordinate judges. Thus the two statements are perfectly consistent. But this is not all: their difference is most natural. In first recording the event, it was natural Moses should dwell on the first cause which led to it, and pass by the appeal to the people, as a subordinate and less material part of the transaction; but in addressing the people, it was natural to notice the part they themselves had in the selection of those judges, in order to conciliate their regard and obedience. How naturally, also, does the pious legislator, in his public address, dwell on every circumstance which could improve his hearers in piety and virtue. The multitude of the people was the cause of the appointment of the judges; how beautifully is this increase of the nation turned to an argument of gratitude to God! How affectionate is the blessing with which the pious speaker interrupts the narrative, imploring God that the multitude of his people may increase a thousand-fold! How admirably does he take occasion, from mentioning the Judges, to inculcate the eternal principles of justice and piety, which should control their decisions! How remote is all this from art, forgery, and imposture! Surely here, if anywhere, we can trace the dictates of nature, truth, and piety.

CHAPTER XXX.

38. "And thou shalt put it [the altar of incense] before the veil, that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat, that is over the testimony, where I will meet with thee."—Ver. 6.

The difficulty which presents itself in this passage is, that the altar of incense is directed to be placed before the mercy-seat, that is, as it seems, *in* the holy of holies; whereas we know the fact to have been otherwise, this altar being in use every day, and the most holy place only entered once in the year. Compare ver. 7 with Heb. ix. 6, 7. To remove this difficulty, Dr. Kennicott has suggested that the second clause of the verse—"before the mercy-seat, that is over the testimony"—is a repetition, by mistake, of the preceding clause, with an additional mistake of the interchange of two letters.* The clause is wanting in twenty-six of the MSS. collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, and also in the Samaritan text, and its rejection renders the text clear and consistent. Dr. Geddes, however, conceives that the present text is rendered sufficiently intelligible, and free from objection, by a mere alteration of the punctuation, and the insertion of אֵרֶן *aren*, *ark*, in the clause in question, which is found in at least eight MSS. The text thus arranged, he renders, "And thou

* The Hebrew of the two clauses is thus: לפני המזבח אשר על־ארן העדות:—לפי המזבח אשר על־העדות

shalt place it before the veil which is by the testimonial ark ; over against the lid of the testimonial ark ; where I am to manifest myself to thee." Here there is nothing redundant or contradictory. The first clause directs the incense altar to be placed before the veil ; and the second marks the precise place, directly opposite to the lid of the ark, the supposed residence of JEHOVAH. Before this residence, but without the veil, the incense altar was to be placed, between the table of the shew-bread and the chandelier.

CHAPTER XXXII.

39. "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written."—Ver. 32.

The apparent harshness of this address to the Almighty, has occasioned many conjectures to be offered on the real meaning involved in it. We think that Dr. Adam Clarke has assigned a very natural sense to the words, and therefore transfer his illustration of the passage into our pages. It is probable that one part of Moses' work during the forty days of his residence on the mount with God, was his regulating the muster-roll of all the tribes and families of Israel, in reference to the parts they were respectively to act, in the different transactions in the wilderness, promised land, &c.; and this being done under the immediate direction of God, is termed "God's book, which he had written;" such muster-rolls or registers, called also genealogies, the Jews have had from the remotest period of their history; and it is probable, that God had told him, that those who should break the covenant which he had then made with them should be blotted out of that list, and never enter into the promised land. All this Moses appears to have particularly in view, and without entering into any detail, immediately comes to the point which he knew was fixed, when this list or muster-roll was made, namely, that those who should break the covenant should be blotted out, and never have any inheritance in the promised land; therefore, he says, "this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold;" thus they had broken the covenant (see the first and second commandments); and by this, had forfeited their right to Canaan. "Yet now," he adds, "if thou wilt forgive their sin," that they may yet attain the promised inheritance; "and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written." If thou wilt blot out their names from this register, and never suffer them to enter Canaan, blot me out also, for I cannot bear the thought of enjoying that blessedness, while my people and their posterity shall be for ever excluded. And God, in kindness to Moses, spared him the mortification of going into Canaan, without taking the people with him. They had forfeited their lives, and were sentenced to die in the wilderness; and Moses's prayer was answered in mercy to him, while the people suffered under the hand of justice. But the promise of God did not fail; for although those who sinned were blotted out of the book, yet their posterity enjoyed the inheritance.

This seems to be the simple and pure light, in which this place should be viewed; and in this sense, St. Paul is to be understood, where he says, "For I could wish that myself were ACCURSED from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh: who are ISRAELITES, to whom pertaineth the ADOPTION, and the GLORY, and the COVENANTS," Rom. ix. 3. Moses could not survive the destruction of his people, by the neighbouring nations, nor their exclusion from the promised land; and St. Paul, seeing the Jews about to be cut off by the Roman sword, for their rejection of the gospel, was willing to be deprived of every earthly blessing, and even to become a sacrifice for them, if this might contribute to the preservation and salvation of the Jewish state. Both those eminent men, engaged in the same work, influenced by a spirit of unparalleled patriotism, were willing to forfeit every blessing of a secular kind, and even die for the welfare of the people. But certainly neither of them could wish to go to eternal perdition, to save their countrymen from being cut off, the one by the sword of the Philistines, the other by that of the Romans. Even the supposition is monstrous.

On this mode of interpretation, we may at once see what is implied in the *book of life*, and being *written in* or *blotted out* of such a book. In the public registers, all that were born of a particular tribe were entered in the list of their respective families, under that tribe. This was the *book of life*; but when any of those died, his name might be considered as blotted out from this list. Our baptismal registers, which record the births of all the inhabitants of a particular parish or district, and which are properly our books of life; and our bills of mortality, which are properly

our books of death, or the lists of those who are thus blotted out from our baptismal registers, or books of life; are very significant and illustrative remains of the ancient registers, or books of life and death, among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, and most ancient nations. It is worthy of remark, that in China the names of the persons who have been tried on criminal processes are written in two distinct books, which are called the book of life and the book of death; those who have been acquitted, or who have not been capitally convicted, are written in the former; those who have been found guilty, in the latter. These two books are presented to the emperor by his ministers, who, as sovereign, has a right to erase any name from either; to place the living among the dead, that he may die; or the dead, that is, the person condemned to death, among the living, that he may be preserved. Thus he blots out of the book of life, or the book of death, according to his sovereign pleasure, on the representation of his ministers, or the intercession of friends.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

40. "And that will by no means clear the guilty."—Ver. 7.

Dr. Geddes gives a very different translation of this passage, which is certainly more in accordance with the context, and does no violence to the original; it is as follows: "Acquitting even him who is not innocent." The rendering he justifies by a supposed ellipsis of *an asher, soho*, and a slight change of the points. Such, also, is nearly the interpretation of Lud. de Dieu, which is approved by Rosenmüller. Nothing can more strongly express than does this, the goodness of God to frail mortals, which has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by all our translators. We must not omit to add, however, that this acquittal of the innocent is always represented in Scripture as being the consequence of that provision of mercy secured by the death of the Redeemer.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

41. "And he made the laver of brass, and the foot of it of brass, of the looking-glasses of the women assembling, which assembled at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation."—Ver. 8.

The impropriety of introducing looking-glasses into the translation of this passage, is obvious, since a laver of *brass* could never have been formed out of these; besides which, our glass mirrors are quite a modern invention. Dr. A. Clarke conceives, therefore, that the Hebrew word *מראה* *merath* denotes *mirrors* simply, and here mirrors of polished metal, such as were known to be in common use among the ancients; indeed, Dr. Shaw states, that the Arab women in Barbary now use them, and constantly carry them hung at their breasts. This renders the text quite intelligible.

Dr. Geddes, however, opposes this interpretation altogether; and as our object should ever be to get at the *real* meaning of the sacred writings, we copy his criticism for the satisfaction of the reader. The word *מראה* *merah*, he remarks, though it occurs above a hundred times in the Hebrew Scriptures, never elsewhere signifies a *mirror*; besides this, in the whole Pentateuch, a mirror is not so much as mentioned under any denomination, nor indeed, as far as he knows, in any Hebrew writing prior to the Babylonish captivity. The doctor proceeds, "The first time I meet with a *mirror* in the bible, is in the book of Wisdom, chap. vii. 26: "The unspotted mirror of the power of God." What Hebrew word (if the book were ever in Hebrew) corresponded with *speculum*, we know not; but it could not, I think, be *merah*. The term which the Syriac translator of Wisdom uses to express a mirror, is *ܡܚܝܬܐ* *mehiitha*; and the same term is employed by the Syriac translator of the New Testament in 1 Cor. xiii. 12, and in James i. 13. After examining the oriental Versions, and the various readings, the doctor concludes that the following is the only proper rendering of the passage: "He made the laver under the inspection of the women, who ministered at the entry of the door of the convention tent." We must not omit to add, that in Matthew's Bible the passage is rendered similarly to this: "In the sight of them that did watch before the door of the tabernacle of witness."

What the employment of these women was, it is not perhaps now possible to ascertain. Some think they assembled there for the purposes of devotion; others, that they kept watch at the door of the tabernacle during the night. Dr. A. Clarke thinks this to be the most probable opinion, and he has shown from several of the classical writers, that this was an office generally discharged among the ancients by females. The person who is conversant with Scripture will not fail to compare Luke ii. 37, and John xviii. 17.

THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS.

CHAPTER XIII.

42. "If the leprosy have covered all his flesh, he shall pronounce him clean that hath the plague; it is all turned white; he is clean. But where raw flesh appeareth in him, he shall be unclean."—Ver. 13, 14.

It may seem strange, that the partial leper should be pronounced unclean; and the person totally covered with the disease, clean. This was probably owing to a different species or stage of the disease: the partial being contagious, the total not. That there are two different species or degrees of the disease described here, is sufficiently evident: in one, the person was all covered with a white enamelled scurf; in the other, there was a quick raw flesh in the risings. On this account, the one was deemed unclean or contagious, the other not; for contact with the quick raw flesh would be more likely to communicate the disease, than the touch of the hard dry scurf. The ichor proceeding from the former, when brought into contact with the flesh of another, would soon be taken into the constitution by means of the absorbent vessels; but where the surface was perfectly dry, the absorbent vessels of another, coming in contact with the diseased man, could imbibe nothing, and there was consequently but little or no danger of infection. This is the learned Dr. Mead's view of the subject, who thus accounts for the circumstances mentioned in the text.*

CHAPTER XIV.

43. The leprosy in houses.—Ver. 34—48.

From the view which Michaëlis takes of the *house-leprosy*, he conceives that the Mosaic ordinances on this subject become easily intelligible, and are both wise and provident. Moses ordained that when suspicious spots or dimples appeared on the walls of a house, the owner should be bound to give notice of it. On notice being given, the priest examined it, and ordered it to be shut up for seven days. At the expiration of this time, if he found that the plague, or the signs of the plague, had not spread, he commanded it to be shut up for seven days more. On the thirteenth day, he visited it, and if he found the infected place had spread, he took out that part of the wall, carried it to an unclean place without the city, mended the wall, and caused the whole house to be scraped and newly plastered. It was then shut up a third seven days, and on the nineteenth, if he found that the plague was broken out anew, he ordered the house to be pulled down. These are the very things, says Michaëlis, that must be done, at the present day, if we want to clear the house of saltpetre. It is proper to observe, however, that some learned men are of opinion that the house was really infected with the *human leprosy*; and that the infection of the house, as well as of the person and the garments, proceeded from *animalcula*.

* See his *Medica Sacra*, p. 14.

CHAPTER XVII.

44. "And they shall no more offer their sacrifices unto devils, after whom they have gone a whoring."—Ver. 7.

The Hebrew word *seirim*, here translated devils, is, literally, *hairy ones*, and no doubt refers to the idolatrous images of goats, worshipped by the Egyptians. It is the same word that is translated "satyrs," Isai. xiii. 21, where the LXX. render it *demons*. Maimonides gives light to this obscure passage, by informing us, that the Zabian idolaters worshipped demons under the figure of goats, imagining them to appear in that form, whence they called them by the name of *Seirim*, *hairy or shaggy ones*—and that the custom being spread among other nations, gave occasion to this precept.* We also learn from Herodotus, that the Egyptians of Mendes held goats to be sacred animals, and represented the god Pan with the legs and head of that animal. From those ancient idolaters the same notion seems to have derived to the Greeks and Romans, who represented their Pan, their fauns, satyrs, and other idols, in the form of goats. From all this it is highly probable that the Israelites had learned in Egypt to worship certain demons or sylvan deities, under the symbolical figure of goats. Though the phrase, "after whom they have gone a whoring," is equivalent in Scripture to that of committing idolatry, yet we are not to suppose that it is not to be taken in a *literal sense* in many places, even where it is used in connexion with idolatrous acts of worship. It is well known that Baal-peor and Ashtaroth were worshipped with unclean rites; and that public prostitution formed a grand part of the worship of many deities among the Egyptians, Moabites, Canaanites, &c. And here it has a peculiar propriety, for Herodotus, Strabo, Pindar, and Plutarch, testify, that amongst the ceremonies of their goat-worship, it was customary for the Egyptian women to submit to this abomination with the goat that represented their god. This impious custom will explain Lev. xx. 16, which, as Dr. A. Clarke shows, had a reference to the superstitious religious system of the Egyptians. Parkhurst thinks it probable, that the Christians borrowed their goat-like pictures of the devil with a tail, horns, and cloven feet, from the heathenish representations of Pan the Terrible.

CHAPTER XXI.

45. "They shall not take a wife that is a whore, or profane: neither shall they take a woman put away from her husband: for he is holy unto his God."—Ver. 7.

By following the enallage of the original here, our translators have made the passage obscure, and indeed, as it now stands, incorrect: the latter clause—"for *he* is holy," referring to the husband instead of the priests. Geddes better translates it, "a woman who is an harlot, or hath been dishonoured, or divorced from her husband, they [the priests] must not marry; for to *their* God they are hallowed."

CHAPTER XXVII.

46. "Notwithstanding no devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the LORD of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed: every devoted thing is most holy unto the LORD. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death."—Ver. 28, 29.

We believe that no person at all conversant with the Levitical law would find any difficulty in understanding the passage which we have here transcribed; but since it has been adduced as a proof that human sacrifices were sanctioned by Moses, it becomes necessary to offer a few remarks on the subject. The devoting here spoken of is the *chorev*, an absolute and irredeemable act, having a curse or execration added to it, if that which was its object were put to any other use than

* More Nevochim, translated by Dr. Townley, chap. xxi.

that to which it was devoted. So far it is clear; and it is observable that the text restricts this act to that which "a man hath," that is, such things as he had an absolute right to dispose of. These he might devote to the Lord; but certainly not to death, such a conclusion being opposed to the letter as well as the spirit of the law. Then follows, "none devoted, which shall be devoted *of men*, shall be redeemed; they shall surely be put to death." But this is said, not *of such men as are devoted to the Lord*, as in the preceding verse; for it is not said here, as there, *none devoted unto the Lord*, but of such as are devoted to ruin or destruction, for whom there was no redemption, but they must die; nor is it said, which are devoted *by men*, but *of men*, or from among men, whether they be devoted by God himself, as all idolaters, and particularly the seven nations of the land of Canaan, and especially the Amalekites, who therefore were not to be spared on any account, but to be put to death (Exod. xxii. 20; Deut. vii. 1, 2, xx. 10, 17, xxv. 19; 1 Sam. xv. 3; so in the Talmud this is interpreted of Canaanitish servants and handmaids); or whether devoted by men to destruction, either by the people of Israel, as their avowed enemies they should take in war, whom, and their cities, they vowed to the Lord they would utterly destroy (Numb. xxi. 2, 3), and of such Aben Ezra interprets the words of the text; or such as were doomed by the civil magistrates to die for capital crimes, by stoning, burning, strangling, and slaying with the sword. How this passage could ever have come to be interpreted as Geddes has interpreted it, namely, of human sacrifices, it is difficult to conceive; for, as Dr. Gill remarks, no Jewish parent or master had such power over his children or servants to devote them to death, or in such a manner devote them, that they were obliged to put them to death; for though they had power in some cases to sell, yet they had no power over their lives to take them away, or to devote them to death, which would be a breach of the sixth command, and was punishable with death; for even a master that accidentally killed his servant did not escape punishment; nay, if he did him any injury, by smiting out an eye or a tooth, he was obliged to give him his freedom; and much less had he power to take away his life, or devote him to destruction. See further on this subject on Gen. xxii. 2.

THE BOOK OF NUMBERS.

CHAPTER I.

47. "These are those that were numbered, which Moses and Aaron numbered, and the princes of Israel, being twelve men: each one was for the house of his fathers. So were all those that were numbered of the children of Israel, by the house of their fathers, from twenty years old and upward, all that were able to go forth to war in Israel; even all they that were numbered were six hundred thousand and three thousand and five hundred and fifty. But the Levites after the tribe of their fathers were not numbered among them." —Ver. 44—47.

The subject of the Book of Numbers is among the most perplexing which occur in sacred history; that is to say, the great multitude of which the Israelite caravan was composed, said to amount to 600,000, and, as usually understood, *BESIDES women and children*. This, according to the most moderate calculation, allowing as many women as men, 600,000, and three children to a family, would make the whole descendants from Jacob 3,000,000, at least. To this must be further added, the servants, &c., which accompanied Jacob and his sons into Egypt; that is, the posterity of these servants. It is difficult to say what number should be allowed for these persons and their families: Abraham had 318 servants, armed, trained to war; so that his household consisted of at least 1000 persons, men, women, and children. Had Isaac diminished this number? or had Jacob? We suppose not. If Simeon and Levi, with their servants, could destroy a city (Gen. xxxiv.); if Jacob could recover land from the Amorite with his sword and with his bow (Gen. xlviii. 22); if Ephraim could war against Gath (1 Chron. vii. 20, 21); these expeditions demonstrate that the Jewish patriarchs must have had numerous attendants, since not all their attendants could be soldiers. But supposing that these were only the same number as the patriarchs, and had multiplied in Egypt like them, they would add 3,000,000 to the camp of Israel.

We are informed further, that Israel was accompanied out of Egypt by "the mixed multitude." Of how many persons was this mixture composed?

When we have added all these together, we shall find the total to be absolutely unreasonable—6,000,000! Never yet did the earth behold so great a number of its inhabitants assembled in one company! How did they live in Egypt? how could that country sustain them? and, when fled, how could Pharaoh expect to subdue them? what line of march did they occupy?

We may further inquire into the possibility of expecting to feed this immense multitude: nor let this be esteemed frivolous; for whatever faith Moses might have in the divine protection, whatever miraculous interference *he* might expect, the Israelites at large were by no means so well satisfied as their leader; and the mixed multitude, what dependence had *they* on divine support? Yet we ought not to suppose that these were led blindfold (Numb. xvi. 14) on apparent ruin and *starvation*, to say nothing of the flocks and herds of oxen, sheep, camels, &c. Did the Hebrew nation at any time, even in Canaan, contain a population of 6,000,000?

Major Rennel has demonstrated that Babylon could not have been fully peopled, without exhausting a fertile country half as large as Britain. It is considered as absolutely impossible that the army of Xerxes, which amounted to *one million* of men, should have been fed by the provinces through which it is reported to have passed. If these great numbers render such instances incredible, how can we suppose that the caravan of Israel could exceed them in a sextuple proportion? The fact is, the numbers, as they stand, by fair inference are *impossible*. But, where is the error? and how shall we discover it?

Whoever requires miracles where no clear necessity for them can be proved to exist,—whoever stretches the possibilities of nature to the utmost, in order to establish an hypothesis which includes a supposed necessity,—transgresses those rules of just reasoning and fair interpretation, the paramount control of which is no less requisite in considering Israelitish histories, than in considering occurrences among other nations. Why then should we attribute an immense fertility to the children of Jacob while in Egypt,—a fertility continued without intermission above 200 years, incapable of failing in a single instance; which bestows a length of life on individuals, without exception; makes no allowance for premature deaths, by the sword, by pestilence, by accidents, &c., to which all families, all nations, ever have been, ever will be, exposed?

When we find St. Paul observing, that "*ALL were not Israel who were of Israel*;" that is, that beside the personal descendants of Jacob, many, not his descendants, were reckoned among his people, we are led to consider whether the recorded numbers of the Israelitish camp, in the Old Testament, should be taken *inclusively* or *exclusively*; that is, whether the descendants of the servants, &c., who went down into Egypt with Jacob, are not mustered as so many Israelites capable of war. This, if admitted, diminishes greatly the miraculous fertility of the sons of Jacob while in Egypt, and renders much more credible the numbers attached to each tribe; so that we need not seek for the means whereby 70 or 75 persons should, in about 215 years, become some hundreds of thousands; a multiplication utterly irreconcilable with any natural principles; but not so if we add to the 70 or 75 patriarchs the increase fairly to be expected from domestics, and others, who accompanied them to Egypt.

Observe further, on the numbers recorded in this book, that they all end with a *cipher*, as Geddes has remarked. Is it not extraordinary that no one ends with a 4 or a 5, or any other number? Not only every sum total ends with a cipher, but every tribe ends with a cipher also. To judge of this, calculate the chances that any twelve enrolments should all end with even numbers, or ciphers.

We proceed now to consider this branch of argument; and rather choosing to point out errors in other ancient books, even when copyists only are answerable for them, we shall consider some instances among them where their numbers are closed by ciphers.

Sir William Jones has instituted a laborious calculation of Hindoo chronology, to show that such long lives could not possibly follow in succession, as the Puranas affirm. We took the trouble of reducing the numbers to figures, and observing that they ended with ciphers, we cut off the ciphers from them: the result was, a coincidence with the numbers Sir William had inferred by reasoning. An instance or two may be agreeable: Asiatic Researches, *Calcutta Edit.*, p. 126, "VAIVASWATA (that is Noah) reigned 3,892,000 years ago." Cut off the three ciphers, it makes 3,892; which, that it is nearly the true number is evident from a remark, p. 132: "The hypothesis that government was first established, laws enacted, and agriculture encouraged, in India, by RAMA, about 3,800 years ago, agrees with the received account of Noah's death, and the previous settlement of his immediate descendants." 3,892 is sufficiently near to 3,800. Page 134: "The reigns of these

princes are supposed to have lasted 864,000 years; a supposition evidently against nature; the uniform course of which allows only a period of 870:" cut off the ciphers, 864 is sufficiently near to 870. There are other instances beside these.

The same principle has been applied to Herodotus, and the same must be done with Diodorus Siculus, who tells us (lib. i.), "The remainder of 15,000 years has been filled by Egyptian kings, in number 470," cap. iii., sec. 2; but in cap. iv., "The priests say their books mention 47 tombs of kings." How is this? each king is supposed to have had his tomb: 47 tombs to 470 kings! Correct this by cutting off the cipher from the larger number. The 15,000 years requires a similar diminution to 1,500. Compare lib. ii., cap. 21, "The Chaldeans say, they began their celestial observations 473,000 years before Alexander," with the Egyptian account (lib. i., sect. 2, cap. 21), "Egypt was governed by native kings 4,700 years." This being the same space of time referred to by both nations, the lesser number must correct the greater, by cutting off two ciphers, which will make them agree; Chaldea being more easterly, was settled earlier than Egypt. 4,730 is sufficiently near to 4,700.

Since then we find that the ancient Hindoo books, the ancient Chaldean books, the ancient Egyptian books, all agree in the same mode of incorrectness, and are apparently restored to correctness by removing the ciphers, need we wonder if a similar evil has, in one or two places, attended the Hebrew books also? But to what could this be owing? Did the original writers use ciphers? or, did they use terms whose genuine signification was afterwards lost, or the notation of which became afterwards misunderstood? How should this happen in countries so remote from each other? There must be some common source of this *error*: for that it is a *wilful* mistake we cannot allow.

If we consider a single cipher as cut off from the number of the Israelites (600,000) to meet the first numeral figure (the tribe of Gad, 4,565) it would reduce the descendants of Jacob to 60,000 *men*; to which add women, children, servants, &c., it would, on the calculation adopted above, fix the number of the *whole caravan* at 600,000.

We now subjoin a specimen of a notation which would certainly puzzle an European.

"The Arabians have a very singular idiom in their dates, and other large numbers, placing generally the units before the tens, the tens before the hundreds, and the hundreds before the thousands; though it is not uncommon, even in the same passage, to follow both methods: as, "The chronologist says, that in the Rabi'u l'awel (May) of the year *twelve* and *three hundred* of the Hejira, there appeared a comet, sending forth rays and sparks of fire, and there followed it three bright flames; and it was at the fourth hour of the night, which was as light as day: and this happened in the six thousand and four hundred and sixteenth year of the world."—Richardson, Arab. Gram., p. 48.

This in figures would be	12
	300
Total	312 Years. A. M. 6416.

If it be asked, whether this mode of placing units before tens, tens before hundreds, hundreds before thousands, is ever used in Scripture? we would ask in return, whether it will not explain satisfactorily the number of people smitten at Bethshemesh, 1 Sam. vi. 19? "The Lord smote among the people 50,070 men." But here the smaller number, 70, is put before the larger, thousand; and the word *men* comes between them; the word *fifties* also is *plural*, or *dual*; and the word *thousand* is *singular*, therefore does not agree with it. Suppose we place this literally: "The Lord smote seventy men, fifties, a thousand men." On the same principle as the Arabic notation, this would be

	70
two fifties	100
a thousand	1000
Total	1170 Persons.

Whether this smaller number be more credible for the little town of Bethshemesh, the reader will judge; we can hardly think 50,070 persons *had looked into the ark*; and if they had, why not say so at once? why put the 70 before the thousand, with the word *men* between them?

What we mean to infer is, that we are not to blame the sacred books for our own non-understandings: if we cannot reckon their numbers properly, what follows? not that they are erroneous, but that we are ignorant; and if we be ignorant, the thought should not only stimulate us into further researches, but should render us grateful to any, who, by the communication of their remarks, may help to lead us to more correct principles.

It is very true, that these numbers are not articles of faith, nor can they justly pretend to equal importance; but they are of some importance; they have given occasion to enemies to blaspheme; they have furnished arguments to free-thinkers and infidels, of which it is desirable honestly and fairly to deprive them; they have embarrassed the humble but hearty friends to revelation; and is it not then to be wished that they were entirely corrected? not by fancying the errors in the sacred books, but by superior information and knowledge, derived from those very countries where the Scriptures were originally written; especially as to this day they have retained some of those peculiarities which we, in our western situation, find perplexing; and others might in time be traced and unravelled by persevering diligence.

CHAPTER XIV.

48. "Doubtless ye shall not come into the land, concerning which I swear to make you dwell therein, save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua the son of Nun."—Ver. 30.

From Josh. xiv. 1, xxii. 13, &c., it appears that Eleazar and others, who were present when these words were spoken, entered into the land of promise, and hence occasion has been taken to affirm that there is a contradiction between the two books. But seeming repugnance will disappear when it is recollected that there is nothing more common in the most serious and considerate writers, than to speak of things by way of restriction and limitation, and yet to leave them to be understood with some latitude, which shall afterwards be expressed and explained, when they treat of the same matter. So here, we read, says Mr. Horne, that none but Caleb and Joshua should enter into the land of promise, this being spoken of the *chief leaders*, who had this privilege and honour: but if we consult other passages where this subject is more particularly related, we shall find that a more comprehensive meaning was not excluded. It is not to be supposed that the tribe of Levi were denied entrance into Canaan; because it is evident, from the history, that *they* did not murmur; and it is equally evident that against the murmurers *only* was the denunciation made; therefore, Eleazar and Phinehas, being *priests*, are excepted. Again, the threatening cannot be intended to include those who were gone as spies into the land of Canaan, for they were not among the murmurers; and, consequently, the denunciation above mentioned could not apply to them. Thus, the statement in this book is perfectly consistent with the facts recorded in the Book of Joshua.

49. "And ye shall know my breach of promise."—Ver. 34.

This translation has been objected to, on the ground of its harshness, in reference to the Divine Being; and the Septuagint, Vulgate, and some others have, for this reason, probably, rendered "And ye shall experience my displeasure," or "vengeance." But Malvenda, Houbigant, and some other critics are satisfied, and we think justly, with our present translation, understanding "breach of promise" as meaning no more than a revocation of the former covenant, which was conditional. As God had promised to bring the people into the land of Canaan, provided they kept his statutes, and as they had broken their engagement, he was no longer bound by his covenant, which he here declares he will annul.

CHAPTER XVI.

50. "Now Korah, the son of Izhar, the son of Kohath, the son of Levi, and Dathan, and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, the son of Peleth, sons of Reuben, took men."—Ver. 1.

There is a singular ellipsis in this verse, according to the present reading and Masoretic punctuation. The verb *yekech*, took, has no objective, and our translators have supplied *men*. But against this it is objected, that as the verb, though it stands at the end of the sentence in our version, is the first word in the Hebrew, and is in the *singular* number, it cannot be referred to the acts of all these chiefs; besides, the Scriptures uniformly attribute this rebellion to the act of Korah, and therefore agree with the grammatical construction in referring the verb to him personally. Hence some translators have taken it in a reflective sense, "he took himself off," "he went apart," "he took counsel." Jerome, however, renders "Ecce autem Core," &c.; and Bate, who has been followed by Geddes, has "And Korah, and Dathan, and Abiram conspired together." The latter renderings are certainly less forced than the former ones; but Dr. Adam Clarke is more satisfactory than either of them: "Now Korah, son of Izhar, son of Kohath, son of Levi, HE TOOK even Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab, and On, son of Peleth, son of Reuben, and they rose up," reading with some MSS., the Septuagint, and the Samaritan, *ben, son*, instead of *beni, sons*.

CHAPTER XXI.

51. "Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the LORD, what he did in the Red Sea, and in the brooks of Arnon, and at the stream of the brooks that goeth down to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth upon the border of Moab. And from thence they went to Beer; that is the well, whereof the LORD spake unto Moses, Gather the people together, and I will give them water. Then Israel sang this song, Spring up, O well; sing ye to it. The princes digged the well; the nobles of the people digged it by the direction of the Lawgiver, with their staves. And from the wilderness they went to Mattanah; and from Mattanah to Nahaliel: and from Nahaliel to Bamoth: and from Bamoth in the valley, that is in the country of Moab, to the top of Pisgah, which looketh toward Jeshimon."—Ver. 14—20.

In this passage, which has exercised the ingenuity and baffled the critical acumen of almost every translator and commentator, both ancient and modern, there are many difficulties; there are, as it is now interpreted, even gross contradictions to the geography and history of the encampments of Israel. The following criticism has been furnished by an intelligent and learned friend, after a mature consideration of the subject, and a careful perusal, not only of the original, but of every version within his reach; he conceives that, by a more literal translation, and chiefly by a judicious use of the parenthesis, as well as by a careful review of the context, much of the darkness with which it is enveloped may be dispelled, and the true sense elicited. In the verse immediately preceding this quotation, it is stated, that the Israelites "removed, and pitched on the other side of Arnon, which is in the wilderness that cometh out of the coast of the Amorites: for Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites." It is then in evidence of Arnon being the boundary of the Moabites and Amorites, and that the whole of this passage (from verse 14—20) is adduced from the book of the wars of the LORD, which appears to have been, as Dr. Lightfoot supposes, "some book of *remembrances* and *directions*, written by Moses for Joshua's private instruction for the management of the wars after him." Without troubling and perplexing the reader with the opinions of various writers, either respecting this book, or the interpretation of the fragment taken from it, we will at once offer what is conceived to be the genuine sense of the passage, and add some brief remarks in confirmation of the accuracy of the translation:—

"Therefore it is said in the book of the wars of Jehovah, with Waheb in Suphah and the torrents of Arnon, even the effusion of the torrents which inclineth to the dwelling of Ar, and lieth for the

border of Moab; and from thence to the well (that is, the well of which Jehovah said to Moses, Gather this people together, and I will give them water. Then sang Israel this song :—

Spring up, O well! Answer ye to it.
The well, princes searched it out;
Nobles of the people digged it;
By a decree upon their borders).

and from the wilderness (or rather *the well*, as it is in the LXX.) to Mattanah; and from Mattanah to Nahaliel; and from Nahaliel to Bamoth; and from Bamoth to the valley; which is in the plains of Moab, and to the top of Pisgah, which looketh towards Jeshimon" (or the wilderness).

Thus, by considering the whole of the verses as a fragment from the book of the wars of the Lord, we have a connected description of the northern boundaries of the Moabites; a description which exactly agrees with the geographical situation of the places, as far as they are known, to the present day. The Arnon (as the intelligent and indefatigable Burckhardt has shown, now called Wady Modjeb, taking its rise at a short distance to the N. E. of Katrane, a station of the Syrian Hadj, north of Kerek (the ancient Karak Moaba), runs, in a north-west direction (not a south-west or western direction, as generally represented in maps) into the Dead Sea; passing by Ar, now called Mehatet el Hadj, and consequently turning towards "the valley in the plains of Moab, and to the top of Pisgah, which looketh towards Jeshimon." The Arnon now divides the province of Belka from that of Kerek, as it formerly divided the small kingdoms of the Moabites and Amorites. Though we know nothing now of some of the other names mentioned, as Mattanah and Nahaliel, yet we seem justified in regarding them as places which marked the boundaries of Moab, and not as stations of the Israelites, because in the regular detail of these stations in chapter xxxiii., no mention is made of them. Besides, as Dr. Kennicott justly remarks, the verbs *journeyed from* and *pitched in* are not found here, though necessary to prose narration: see verses 10 and 11 here, and chap. xxxi. Those who have regarded them as encampments of Israel have been greatly perplexed in endeavouring to account for this omission; and fanciful and puerile conjectures have been indulged respecting this discrepancy; a discrepancy solely arising from thus regarding them, and which exists only in the translations.

The obscure expression, *אֵל וַהֵב בְּסוּפָה* *ah nahab besuphah*, which our translators, following the Chaldee Targum, render "what he did in the Red Sea," we consider as an abrupt and broken commencement of the extract from the book of the wars of the Lord. We conceive, that other places on the frontiers had been mentioned; but not according with the object of the sacred writer, he abruptly begins, "With Waheb in Suphah," &c. That *אֵל*, which is usually the sign of the *accusative case*, is frequently used as the particle *nûth*, is well known to every tyro; and that *אֵל nahab* must be a proper name, is evident, because no good account can be given of it in any other light; and it is so regarded by the ablest writers. Now, though we know not the situation of *Suphah* (nor consequently that of *Waheb*), yet, as Dr. Kennicott remarks, "there must have been a place called *Suph*, near the conflux of the *Arnon* and *Jordan*; because Moses, whilst in that station, begins Deuteronomy with saying—he was on *this side* (i. e., east) of *Jordan* over against *Suph*. By this word is not meant the *Red Sea*; partly because that has everywhere else the word for *sea*, or *yam*, before it, and partly because of the great distance of the *Red Sea* now from Moses. The single word, therefore, signifies some *place*, in itself obscure, because nowhere mentioned but in these two passages." It is most probable that *Suphah* was a district in which *Waheb* was situated; and therefore near the source of the *Arnon*, or its confluence with the *Dead Sea* (not with *Jordan*), not far from that river; with which it is immediately joined by the author of the book of the wars of the Lord.

The general meaning of the piece of poetry here introduced, then, as Dr. Kennicott observes, seems to be this: "That at some distance from the city of *Ar*, by which the Israelites were to pass [Deut. ii. 18, but not to encamp], they came to a WELL of uncommon size and magnificence, which seems to have been *sought out, built up, and adorned* for the public by the rulers of Moab. And it is no wonder that, on their arrival at *such a well*, they should look upon it as a blessing from heaven, and speak of it as a new miracle in their favour."

The eighteenth verse, which forms the latter part of the song, is perfectly unintelligible in the authorised Version. For who can suppose that the nobles of the people dug this well with their *stars*? And yet there is no other idea conveyed by this translation. Besides, by *the direction of*

what *lawgiver* was it dug? Our translators seem to have had in their mind the great lawgiver of the Jewish people; but it would appear that this well was not dug by the Israelites, but by the *Moabites*. The whole of this obscurity is dispersed by rendering *מִמֶּנִּי mechokek*, instead of a *lawgiver*, a *decree*, as Drs. Kennicott and A. Clarke have done; and *בְּמִשְׁכֹּנֹתָם bemishkonothom*, instead of *with their slaves, on their borders or confines*, from the root *שָׁאֵן* *shahn*, to lie *along* as a border; in which sense it is used in the fifteenth verse, "and lieth for a border to Moab." This is also the rendering of Dr. A. Clarke; and we have no doubt of its accuracy.

Here, we apprehend, is the termination of the song of the Israelites; the latter part, after this narration, being merely a continuous description of the borders of Moab: for we cannot regard it, as Dr. Kennicott does, as a continuation of the song; or that the words *Mattanah*, *Nahaliel*, and *Bamoth* express figurative and poetical ideas. That these were the real names of *places*, though now unknown, on the borders of Moab, we have no doubt; and though our version and criticism may not remove every obscurity, or give that satisfaction to others which we have ourselves experienced, yet it as effectually removes the difficulties urged by Hobbes (p. 266, fol., 1750), and by Spinoza (p. 108, 4to., 1670), and retailed in a deistical pamphlet called "The Doubts of the Infidels" (p. 4, 8vo., 1781), as the version of Dr. Kennicott, or any other which has been offered.

52. "Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say," &c.—Verses 27—30.

It is evident that the whole of these verses, as well as those we have just considered, are extracted from some ancient song, some panegyrical or triumphal poem of the Amorites, "the sayings of those who spoke in parables," or similitudes; and as they stand in our Bible, they are involved in much obscurity. Dr. Kennicott has laboured to restore the text to its original form, and to give a consistent translation, as follows. The ode comprises three parts: the first records the insults of Sihon over the conquered Moabites; the second expresses the compassion of Israel over the desolate Moab, with a bitter sarcasm against their deity Chemosh; and the third sets forth the revenge taken by Israel upon the whole country of Sihon, the limits of which are specified.

PART I. VER. 27, 28.

Come ye to Heshbon, let it be rebuilt:
The city of Sihon, let it be established.
For from Heshbon the fire went out,
And a flame from the city of Sihon:
It hath consumed the city of Moab,
With the lords of the heights of Arnon.

PART II. VER. 29.

Alas for thee, O Moab!
Thou hast perished, O people of Chemosh!
He hath given up his fugitive sons
And his daughters into captivity,
By the king of the Amorites, Sihon.

PART III. VER. 30.

But on them have we lifted destruction,
From Heshbon even to Dibon:
We have destroyed even to Nophah,
The fire did reach to Medebah.

CHAPTER XXII.

53. The dialogue between Balaam and his ass.—Ver. 23—30.

This part of the history of Balaam has been often made the subject of profane ridicule and banter; but assuredly every man of sense must see, that of all absurdities that is the greatest which subjects a miraculous event to the ordinary rules of reasoning. "What a number of ideas must the ass have had, to be able to reason with her master!" says one *learned* man; while another has dis-

covered that the anatomical structure of the beast rendered it impossible for it to speak at all! But such objectors have forgotten the principal thing in the narrative, namely, that an adequate cause is assigned for this wonderful occurrence: "*The LORD opened the mouth of the ass.*" If they will boldly say that this was beyond the power of Omnipotence, well; but we should not then be surprised were some dumb ass, speaking with man's voice, to forbid their madness. See 2 Pet. ii. 16.

CHAPTER XXV.

54. "And those that died in the plague were twenty and four thousand."—Ver. 9.

In 1 Cor. x. 8, St. Paul, referring to this occurrence, speaks only of twenty-three thousand who died; and as there is no probability of a corruption in the Hebrew text, because all the MSS. agree in the present reading, it becomes necessary to show how the two statements may be reconciled. In this there is no difficulty. It is evident, from verses 4 and 5, in the chapter before us, that some persons were slain by the zelotæ, Phinehas and his companions, whom Moses no doubt took into his enumeration of 24,000; whereas St. Paul, speaking of the immediate effects of the divine displeasure, excludes these in his calculation. This will account for the variation in numbers between the two writers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

55. "And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, together with Korah, when that company died, what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men: and they became a sign."—Ver. 10.

There is certainly a discrepancy between this text and the narrative in the sixteenth chapter, and more particularly Ps. cvi. 17, from which, as well as from the reason of the thing, it would appear, that as Dathan and Abiram were swallowed up with the other Reubenites, so Korah was consumed with the Levites, who burned incense with him. There can be little doubt that the Hebrew text of the passage under consideration was originally in accordance with this, since we learn from Clement, Ignatius, and Eusebius, that the LXX. in their time agreed with the Samaritan text, which has no doubt preserved the genuine reading; it is as follows:—"And the earth swallowed them up, what time that company died; and the fire devoured Korah, with the two hundred and fifty men, who became a sign."

CHAPTER XXXI.

56. "And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive? Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the LORD in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the LORD. Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every woman that hath known man by lying with him."—Ver. 15—17.

We dare not copy the blasphemous observations which Geddes has made on this passage; they could not be read by any ingenuous mind without exciting feelings of the greatest horror: but as we know that the false and exaggerated exhibitions which have been made on this subject, have created unfavourable impressions in the minds of many persons who are entitled to our sympathy and regard, we offer a few observations, by way of setting it in its true light. If the reader will turn to chap. xxv., he will be enabled, from the narrative of certain transactions there given, to form some idea of the extremely depraved and impious character of the Midianites, and of the efforts which they had made to involve Israel in the same depraved, obscene, and impious system of idolatry which they had themselves adopted. Their arts on that occasion but too well succeeded, and the consequence was, that 24,000 of the people of Israel suffered death, as the fruit of their sin.

In the chapter under consideration, the Lord *commands* Moses to avenge the children of Israel on the Midianites, and to go up against them in war ; this, therefore, was not their own quarrel, but God's, and of this they were further assured, by the very small number (only 12,000, see ver. 4) which was to proceed on the expedition against that people. If this be obvious, and we know not what can be objected against it, then surely there is nothing left at which infidelity can cavil. That the Almighty, as the moral governor of the world, may justly punish those who violate his laws, and are incorrigible in their crimes, none can rationally doubt ; and that the Midianites came under this description, we have already shown. God might have destroyed them by famine, by pestilence, by earthquake ; he might have drowned them by a deluge, or consumed them by fire from heaven, and in no one of these cases would he have been arraigned for his conduct by short-sighted and erring man : but instead of these, He commanded the people of Israel, who had been ensnared into their idolatry and impurity, to exterminate them by the sword ; and for this He has been represented (our pen almost refuses to write it) as a sanguinary tyrant, inciting his people to butchery and slaughter ! Gracious heaven ! how perverted must be the mind which could draw such a conclusion from such a circumstance, and offer it as a reason for rejecting the claims of the Bible ! Had not the Israelites already seen the visible interposition of God, in the destruction of more than 20,000 of their own people, who had been polluted by the abominations of Moab ; and was not this injunction eminently calculated to strengthen the impression which that occurrence had created in their minds, of the purity of the divine law, and the certainty with which punishment would overtake the guilty ? Unless it can be shown, then, that the criminals did not merit their doom, or that God had no right to punish them, such objections only attest the blindness and depravity of those from whose lips they proceed. But the chief objection seems to be against the act enjoined in the eighteenth verse ; this, however, can only proceed from inattention to the circumstances of the fact. The Israelites in this case are to be regarded as "the sword of the Lord," and not so much the sword of WAR, as the sword of JUSTICE ; the former makes a difference between *youth* and *manhood*, and between *male* and *female* ; but the latter none, except between *guilt* and *innocence*, or the several degrees of guilt which may characterize the transgressors. How was it, then, with regard to the females who were here specified to be destroyed ? They were evidently the *greatest* criminals, and had been more immediately the instruments of polluting Israel with superstition, obscenity, and idolatry. Their lives were, therefore, forfeited by their personal transgressions, and those who had been seduced into their abominations, were made the ministers of divine vengeance. True, the infants had not sinned in the matter of Baal Peor, and it may therefore be difficult to assign the reason of the order for their execution ; but if we mistake not, a moment's reflection will show that the injunction was a merciful provision for both parties concerned. Had they been preserved alive, it is evident they must have been held in a state of slavery by the Hebrew people, the pernicious consequences of which would have equally affected Israel and their vassals. But be this as it may, while we know that the Author and Supporter of life has a right to dispose of it as he sees fit ; and while we know, moreover, that, as the Judge of the earth, he will do that which is just and right, we need not perplex ourselves to find out the *reasons* of his conduct, in cases where he has seen fit to withhold them.

57. "But all the women children, that have not known man by lying with him, keep alive for yourselves."—Ver. 18.

The whole tenor of the law shows that those persons have totally mistaken the meaning of this passage, who assert that Moses hereby enjoins the Israelites to make concubines of these female children. Deut. xxi. 10—14 is especially decisive, prescribing, as it does, the forms which were to be observed by an Israelite in taking a female captive to his bed. They were merely permitted to employ them as domestics, and the laws concerning them were of the most benevolent character.

THE BOOK OF DEUTERONOMY.

CHAPTER I.

58. "These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on this side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain over against the Red Sea," &c.—Ver. 1.

It is not possible that our translators can here be correct, in rendering the Hebrew יַם סוּפִּי the *Red Sea*; first, because that is invariably, at least we recollect no instance to the contrary, called יַם אֶרֶץ *yam suph, the sea of Suph*; and, secondly, because Moses and the people were at this time on the *eastern* side of the Jordan (ver. 5), and consequently far enough from the Red Sea. In the remarks on Numb. xxi. 14—20, the reader may see our conjecture, that this *Suph* or *Suphah* was a district on the frontiers of Moab, and not far from the Jordan and the Arnon. Ptolemy mentions a people called *Sophonites*, who dwelt in Arabia Petrea, and who have been thought to take their name from this place.

CHAPTER X.

59. "And the children of Israel took their journey from Beeroth of the children of Jaakan to Mosera: there Aaron died, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered in the priest's office in his stead. From thence they journeyed unto Gudgodah: and from Gudgodah to Jotbath, a land of rivers of waters. At that time the LORD separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the LORD, to stand before the LORD to minister unto him, and to bless in his name unto this day. Wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren; the LORD is his inheritance, according as the LORD thy God promised him."—Ver. 6—9.

On these verses Dr. Kennicott has the following judicious observations: The Book of Deuteronomy contains the several speeches made to the Israelites by Moses just before his death; recapitulating the chief circumstances of their history, from their deliverance out of Egypt to their arrival on the banks of the Jordan. What in this book he has recorded as *spoken* will be best understood by comparing it with what he has recorded as *done* in the previous history; and this, which is very useful as to the other parts of this book, is absolutely necessary as to the part of the tenth chapter here to be considered.

The previous circumstances of the history necessary to be here attended to are these: In Exod. xx. God speaks the ten commandments. In chap. xxiv., Moses, on Mount Sinai, receives the two tables, and is there forty days and nights. In chap. xxv.—xxvii., God appoints the service of the tabernacle. In chap. xxviii., separates Aaron and his sons for the priest's office, by a statute for ever, to him and his seed after him. In chap. xxxii., Moses, incensed at the golden calf, breaks the tables; yet he prays for the people; and God orders him to lead them towards Canaan. In chap. xxxiv., Moses carries up two other tables, and stays again forty days and nights. In Numb. iii., the tribe of Levi is selected; in chap. viii., consecrated; chap. x. and xi., the Israelites march from Sinai, on the twentieth day of the second month, in the second year. In chap. xiii., spies are sent. In chap. xiv., the men are sentenced to die in the wilderness during the forty years. In chap. xviii., the Levites are to have no lot nor large district in Canaan, but to be the Lord's inheritance. In chap. xx., Aaron dies on Mount Hor. Lastly, in the complete catalogue of the whole march (chap. xxxiii.), we are told that they went from Moseroth to Bene-jaakan; thence to Horhagidgad; to Jotbathah; to Ebronah; to Ezion-geber; to Zin (which is Kadesh); and thence to Mount Hor; where Aaron died, in the fortieth and last year. In Deut. ix., Moses tells the Israelites (ver. 7) that they had been rebels, from Egypt even to Jordan, particularly at Horeb (ver. 8—29), whilst he was with God, and received the tables at the end of forty days and nights; and that, after breaking the tables, he fasted and interceded for his brethren, during a second period

of forty days and nights; and this ninth chapter (Deut.) ends with the prayer which he then made. Chapter the tenth begins thus: At that time the Lord said unto me, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and come up," &c. And from ver. 1 to the end of ver. 5, he describes the second copy of the ten commandments; as written also by God, and deposited by himself in the ark.

After this, we have now four verses (6—9), which not only have no kind of connexion with the verses before and after them, but also, as they stand in the present Hebrew text, directly contradict that very text; and the two first of these verses have not, in our Hebrew text, the least connexion with the two last of them. Our Hebrew text (ver. 6) says that Israel journeyed from Bene-jaakan to Moserah. Whereas that very text, in the complete catalogue (Numb. xxxiii. 31), says they journeyed from Moseroth to Bene-jaakan. Again: Aaron is here said to have died at Mosera, whereas he died on Mount Hor, the *seventh* station afterwards, see Numb. xxxiii. 38. And again, they are here said to go from Bene-jaakan to Mosera; thence to Gudgodah; and thence to Jothah; whereas the complete catalogue says, Moseroth to Bene-jaakan; thence to Hor-hagidgad; and thence to Jotbathah. But if the marches could possibly be true, as they now stand in these two verses, yet what connexion can there be between JOTBATH and the SEPARATION OF THE TRIBE OF LEVI? 'Tis very happy that these several difficulties in the Hebrew text are removed by the Samaritan Pentateuch. For that text tells us here, rightly, that the march was from Moseroth to Bene-jaakan; to Hagidgad; to Jotbathah; to Ebronah; to Ezion-geber; to Zin (which is Kadesh); and thence to Mount Hor, where Aaron died. Again, as the regular deduction of these stations ends with Mount Hor, and Aaron's death; we have, then, what we had not before,—a regular connexion with the two next verses; and the connexion is this: that when Aaron, the son of Amram, the son of Kohath, the son of LEVI, died, neither the tribe of Levi nor the priesthood was deserted. But God still supported the latter, by maintaining the former; and this, not by allotting that tribe any one large part of Canaan, but separate cities among the other tribes; and by allowing them to live upon those offerings which were made by the other tribes to God himself. These four verses, therefore, in the same text stand thus: (ver. 6) *WHEN the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth, and encamped in Bene-jaakan; from thence they journeyed and encamped at Hagidgad; from thence they journeyed and encamped in Jotbathah, a land of rivers of water* (ver. 7); *from thence they journeyed and encamped in Ebronah; in Ezion-geber; in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh; and then at Mount Hor: "And Aaron died there, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered as priest in his stead,"* ver. 8. "At that time the Lord *had* separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord, to minister unto him, and to bless in his name unto this day (ver. 9); wherefore Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren; the Lord is his inheritance, according as the Lord thy God promised him." But however consistent these *four* verses are now with themselves, it will be still demanded, what connexion have they with the *fifth* verse *before* them, and with the *tenth* verse *after* them? The doctor confesses he cannot discover the least pertinency here, because AARON'S DEATH and LEVI'S SEPARATION seem totally foreign to the speech of Moses in this place. And this speech, *without these four verses*, is a regularly connected admonition from Moses, to this purpose—that his brethren were for ever to consider themselves as indebted to *him*, under God, for the renewal of the two tables; and also to *his* intercession, for rescuing them from destruction. The words are these: chap. x. 4, "The Lord wrote again the ten commandments, and gave them unto me." Ver. 5, "And I came down from the mount, and put the tables in the ark which I *had* made." Ver. 10, "Thus I staid in the mount according to the first time, forty days and forty nights: and the Lord hearkened unto me at that time also; the Lord would not destroy thee." Ver. 11, "And the Lord said unto me, Arise, take thy journey before the people, that they may go in, and possess the land," &c.

But then, if these four verses were not at first a part of this chapter, but are evidently interpolated, there arises another inquiry, Whether they are an insertion entirely spurious, or a genuine part of the sacred text, though removed hither out of some other chapter? As they contain nothing singular or peculiar, are of no particular importance, and relate to no subject of disputation, they are not likely to have arisen from fraud or design; but perfectly coinciding in sense with other passages, they may safely be considered as another instance of a large transposition [eighty-six words] in the present text, arising from accident and want of care. And the only remaining question, therefore, is, Whether we can discover, though not to demonstration, yet with any considerable degree of probability, the original place of these four verses; that so they may be at last

restored to that neighbourhood and connexion, from which they have been for so many ages separated.

It was natural for Moses, in the course of these several speeches to his brethren, in Deuteronomy, to embrace the first opportunity of impressing on their memories a matter of such particular importance as the continuation of the priesthood among the Levites after Aaron's death. And the first proper place seems to be in the *second* chapter, after the *first* verse. At ch. i. 19, he speaks of their march from Horeb to Kadesh-barnea, whence they sent the spies into Canaan. He then sets forth their murmurings, and God's sentence that they should die in the wilderness; and he ends the first chapter with their being *defeated by the Amorites*, their *weeping before the Lord*, and *abiding many days* in KADESH, which is KADESH-BARNEA, near Canaan.

Chap. ii. begins thus: "Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea, as the Lord spake unto me; and WE COMPASSED MOUNT SEIR MANY DAYS." Now, the many days, or long time, which they spent compassing Mount Seir, that is, going round on the *south-west* coasts of Edom, in order to proceed *north-east* from Edom, through Moab to Arnon, must include *several* of their stations, besides that eminent one at Mount Hor, where Aaron died. And as part of their road, during this long compass, lay through Ezion-geber (which was on the eastern tongue of the Red Sea, and the south boundary of Edom), thence to Zin (which is KADESH, that is, MERIBAH KADESH), and thence to Mount Hor, as they marched to the north-east; so it is probable that the five stations preceding that of Ezion-geber were on the extremity of Mount Seir, to the south-west. And if their first station at entering the south-west borders of Edom, and beginning to compass Mount Seir, was Moseroth, this gives the reason wanted, why Moses begins this passage at Moseroth, and ends it with Aaron's death at Mount Hor. And this will discover a proper connexion between the four dislocated verses, and the context here: Deut. i. 46, "So ye abode in Kadesh (Barnea) many days." Chap. ii. 1, "Then we turned, and took our journey into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea, as the Lord spake unto me: and WE COMPASSED MOUNT SEIR MANY DAYS."

"For the children of Israel journeyed from Moseroth, and pitched in Bene-jaakin: from thence they journeyed and pitched in Hagidgad: from thence they journeyed and pitched in Jotbathah, a land of rivers of water: from thence they journeyed and pitched in Ebronah: from thence they journeyed and pitched in Ezion-geber: from thence they journeyed and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh: from thence they journeyed and pitched in Mount Hor: and Aaron died there, and there he was buried; and Eleazar his son ministered as priest in his stead. At that time the Lord had separated the tribe of Levi, to bear the ark of the covenant of the Lord, to stand before the Lord to minister unto him, and to bless in his name unto this day. Wherefore, Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his brethren: the Lord is his inheritance, according as the Lord thy God promised him."

And this paragraph being thus finished, at the end of the first verse, the second verse begins a new paragraph, thus: "And the Lord spake unto me, saying, Ye have compassed this mountain long enough: turn you northward"—through the east side of Seir (or Edom) towards Moab on the north. See ver. 4—8.*

CHAPTER XII.

60. "Notwithstanding thou mayest kill and eat flesh in all thy gates, whatsoever thy soul lusteth after, according to the blessing of the LORD thy God, which he hath given thee: the unclean and the clean may eat thereof, as of the roebuck and as of the hart. When the LORD thy God shall enlarge thy border, as he hath promised thee, and thou shalt say, I will eat flesh (because thy soul lusteth to eat flesh), thou mayest eat flesh, whatsoever thy soul longeth after. If the place which the LORD thy God hath chosen to put his name there be too far from thee, then thou shalt kill of thy herd and of thy flock, which the LORD hath given thee, as I have commanded thee, and thou shalt eat in thy gates whatsoever thy soul lusteth after."—Ver. 15, 20, 21.

There is an apparent contradiction between these verses and Lev. xvii. 1—7, where the Israelites are forbidden to slaughter any clean animal, which they were permitted to eat without bringing it to the tabernacle, and presenting it as an offering unto the Lord. Michaëlis, however, has shown that the

* Kennicott's Remarks, *in loco*.

discrepancy between the two passages only results from a supposition that the laws were intended to be unchangeable, and not adapted to the existing circumstances of the people. The law in Leviticus, he remarks, might be observed in the wilderness, where the Israelites kept closely together, and, from their poverty, ate but little animal food; but in Palestine, and when their circumstances were improved, it would have been an intolerable grievance; for many of them lived at the distance of several days' journey from the sanctuary, at which alone offerings could be made; and they, of course, must either have altogether denied themselves the use of the flesh of oxen, sheep, and goats, or else have travelled long journeys to present them at the altar before they could taste it. But, in fact, Moses himself shows that it was a law intended only for their situation in the wilderness, by the phrase *without or within the camp*; and in his last given law, in the fortieth year of their pilgrimage, just before their entrance into Palestine, he explicitly declares it repealed as soon as they should there abide; permitting them to kill and eat oxen, sheep, and goats, at their pleasure, in any part of the country, provided they did not regard them as sacrifices, and abstained from their blood, which the heathens in their sacrifices were wont to drink. He tells them, they might then eat them, *even as the hart and the roe*, that is, with as full liberty, and likewise without the smallest idea of offering them; for the hart and the roe might not be brought to the altar.*

THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.

61. There has been some accidental derangement in the order of the text in this book. Mr. Townsend agrees with other eminent critics in the following arrangement, which removes the difficulties that otherwise present themselves in the order of the history. Chap. i. 1—10; ii. i 10 to end; iii.—v. 13; vi. 1; v. 13 to end; vi. 2—viii. 30; ix.—xi.; viii. 30 to end; xxii.; xii., xiii. 1—15; xiv. 1—6; xiii. 15 to end; xiv. 6 to end; xv. 13—20; xv. 1—13, and 20 to end; xvi.—xxi.; xxiii., xxiv.

CHAPTER I.

62. "Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you, as I said unto Moses. From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the great river, the river Euphrates, all the land of the Hittites, and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun, shall be your coast. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life: as I was with Moses, so I will be with thee: I will not fail thee, nor forsake thee. Be strong and of good courage; for unto this people shalt thou divide for an inheritance the land which I swore unto their fathers to give them."—Ver. 3—6.

Against no part of the sacred writings have the advocates of infidelity more loudly declaimed than that which contains the history of the destruction of the Canaanites, and the appropriation of their land to the children of Israel. When Lord Bolingbroke indulges himself in one of his favorite philippics against the Mosaic dispensation, he compares the conduct of Moses toward these nations with that of the leaders of the Huns, Goths, and Vandals towards prostrate Rome; and the wars of Joshua with those of Pizarro in Peru. And Paine, the bold and vulgar modern apostle of deism, represents the command for the acts of hostility committed by the Israelites against the Canaanites as being repugnant to the moral justice of God. But we generally find such writers, who of all men ought to be among the most careful, the most *careless* and superficial readers of the Bible. A member of the House of Commons, who should move for the repeal of a local drainage act without reading it, or who should confound the office of a sheriff with that of the archbishop of a province, if not silenced in the house, would be reminded on the hustings of his total unfitness to represent any intelligent and independent body of Englishmen. But teachers of infidelity find no *mysteries* in their calling. They modestly ask us to abandon a Volume which few of them have perused with the care and frequency of the most illiterate teacher among Christian sects, and which none of them

* Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, vol. ii., pp. 414, 415.

have studied; a Volume whose peculiar honour it is to be plain in all its chief parts and doctrines, to the plainest man, while it involves some questions of criticism and general antiquity, that will reward the researches of the most learned;—whose entire doctrines and discoveries, therefore, it may require some learning to teach, but none to receive; and which, that it might be open to all the poor, and sealed to all the proud, must be allowed, on the face of its pretensions, to require prodigiously more learning to *oppose*, with any sort of credit, than to teach.

We have offered some observations on that part of this subject which relates to the extermination of the Canaanites, on Numb. xxxi., to which the reader is referred: we will here consider more particularly the other part, viz., the appropriation of the land of Canaan to the twelve tribes. If what we have said in the place just referred to be admitted as just reasoning, we might safely leave the case for the decision of the reader, without advancing another observation. God, as the rightful and moral governor of the world, commissioned the people of Israel to root out the idolatrous Canaanites by the sword, and gave to them the land which had been polluted by its inhabitants. And it is to be remarked, that the commission of Israel was authenticated by the most unquestionable and stupendous miracles, which effectually guards their conduct as invaders, from being drawn into a precedent by any other people. But we can advance a step beyond this, and show, that in the invasion of Canaan the descendants of Jacob were but asserting their own rights, and claiming their own property, which had been unlawfully wrested from them by the people against whom they fought. This position has been most ably maintained by Michaëlis, a judicious summary of whose arguments, with some additional matter, is given by Mr. Townsend, in his *Arrangement of the Old Testament*, from whom we take the following extract.

The laws of nations are always the same. If any nation, or tribe, or part of a tribe, take possession of an unknown, undiscovered, unoccupied, or uninhabited country, the right of property vests in them; they are its proprietors and owners. After the deluge, the world might be said to be in this state; and Michaëlis has endeavoured to prove that the ancestors of Abraham were the original occupiers of the pasture-land of Canaan. Canaan, therefore, by the law of nations, as well as by the promises of God, was the lot of Abraham's inheritance, and the rightful land of his descendants. The Canaanite and the Perizzite had only just established themselves in Canaan when Abraham removed from Haran to that country; and were so weak and few in number, that they never interfered with the right of sovereignty assumed and exerted by Abraham. The Canaanites were merchants and adventurers who had been originally settled near the borders of the Indian Ocean; and who, having been dispossessed by the Cuthic Sidonians, had migrated westward, to form establishments on the sea-coasts of Palestine, and carry on commerce with the herdsmen who traversed it. They were for some time contented with their factories on the sea-coasts; but they gradually obtained possession of the inland country. The Perizzites, too, were a warlike tribe, who now first made their appearance in Canaan; they had originally inhabited the north-east of Babylonia. Whether they had been dispossessed of their settlements; whether they were seeking new establishments; or for whatever purpose they were now in Palestine, they gave no interruption to the progress of Abraham, although Abraham entered upon the Holy Land, and continued his journeyings with a large retinue, and as a powerful prince. He took possession of Canaan as the territory of his ancestors; not indeed as a fixed habitation, but as a pasture-land adapted to his numerous flocks and herds. He traversed the whole country as a proprietor, without a competitor. He had the power of arming three hundred and eighteen of his own servants, born in his own house; and it is most probable that he had others who are not enumerated. He declared war as an independent prince of this country against five neighbouring princes; and formed an alliance with Abimelech, as an equal and as a sovereign. It is true he purchased land of the Canaanitish family of Heth, but this was because the Hittites had gradually made a more fixed settlement in that part of the country; their intrusion had not been at first prevented by the ancestors of Abraham; and by this sufferance they made that district their peculiar property.

As Abraham thus traversed and possessed Canaan, with undisputed authority, so too did Isaac and Jacob in like manner. No one opposed their right. They exercised, as Abraham had done before them, sovereign power; they never resigned that power; nor gave up to others the property of that land, which now, by long prescription, as well as by the promise of God, had become entirely their own. The ancestors, then, of the Israelites, Michaëlis argues, were either the sole sovereigns or the most powerful of those princes who possessed, in early ages, the Holy Land. By the famine which occurred in the days of Joseph they were compelled to leave their own country, and take refuge in Egypt; yet they never lost sight of the sepulchre of their fathers. And though we do

not read that acts of ownership were continued to maintain and perpetuate their right, we can have but little doubt that something of the kind took place, for Jacob was taken from Egypt to be buried there; Joseph assured them that they should return; and the Egyptians, their oppressors, a kindred branch of the powerful tribes which had by this time entirely taken possession of Palestine, kept them in bondage, and refused to let them go, lest they should claim the inheritance of their fathers. If this claim of the Israelites can be proved to be well founded, they would have been entitled, by the law of nations, forcibly to take possession of the Holy Land; and it will be interesting to observe how the merciful providence of God afforded them the opportunity of successfully regaining their lawful inheritance, and at the same time accomplishing his own divine purposes, to the fulfilment of his prophecies, and to the happiness and security of his church. The Israelites may be considered as the servants and ministers of God, punishing the idolatry of the Canaanites, and instituting in its place, in the midst of an apostate world, the religion of the one true God. In every victory they obtained, they must have admired the faithfulness of that promise which had foretold their entire possession of this land; and they must have been persuaded, that if they served other gods, they would bring down upon themselves the punishments predicted by Moses.

CHAPTER VII.

63. "And Joshua, and all Israel with him, took Achan the son of Zerah, and the silver, and the garment, and the wedge of gold, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tent, and all that he had: and they brought them unto the valley of Achor. And Joshua said, Why hast thou troubled us? the LORD shall trouble thee this day. And all Israel stoned him with stones, and burned them with fire after they had stoned them with stones. And they raised over him a great heap of stones unto this day."—Ver. 24—26.

There is some obscurity in this passage, which has given rise to various inquiries. "Were the family and the cattle of Achan stoned?" "Were they burned with fire?" "If so, upon what ground did the sentence to that effect proceed?" &c.

Dr. Adam Clarke is of opinion that Achan only was stoned, and that his substance was burned with fire; or that if even his oxen, &c. were destroyed, yet his sons and daughters were left uninjured, and were brought out into the valley only that they might see and fear, and be for ever deterred by their father's punishment from imitating his example. The reason which the doctor assigns for this opinion is, that the children of Achan could not justly suffer with him, because of the law, Deut. xxiv. 16, unless they had been accomplices in his guilt, of which, as he suggests, there is no evidence.

The learned editor of Calmet acquiesces in this opinion, and gives the following as the probable sense of the passage:—

"They stoned HIM [Achan] with stones: and burned THEM [his property] with fire, and [rather OR] stoned them with stones;" that is, making a distinction in guilt between his property and the things stolen; and raised over HIM [Achan] a heap of stones." In justification of this interpretation of the passage, he suggests, that, had his family been stoned, the heap of stones would have included THEM also, whereas it is raised over HIM; and that the burning was probably applied to such things as might suffer by burning, and the stoning to what the fire might have had little or no effect on.

THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

CHAPTER I.

64. "Also Judah took Gaza with the coast thereof, and Askelon with the coast thereof, and Ekron with the coast thereof."—Ver. 18.

The places mentioned in this verse are the principal cities of the Philistines on the coast of the Mediterranean, in the south of Judea; and it seems beyond dispute, from the subsequent history,

that they were not possessed by the tribe of Judah, nor indeed by any other tribe of the Hebrew nation, but remained in the hands of the Philistines. There is a remarkable variation in the Septuagint, which has evidently preserved the true reading in this place. It is as follows: "But Judah did not possess Gaza nor the coasts thereof; nor Askelon, nor the coasts thereof; nor Ekron, nor the coasts thereof; nor Ashdod, nor the coasts thereof." *

65. "And the Lord was with Judah; and he drave out the inhabitants of the mountain; but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron."—Ver. 19.

It may well be thought strange that, the Lord being with Judah, he could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, especially from the nature of the reason assigned; viz., that they had chariots of iron; as though these rendered them too formidable and powerful for Omnipotence to subdue. Nor does the reading of Dr. Kennicott at all remove the difficulty: "Jehovah was with Judah, to drive out the inhabitants of the mountains, but not to drive out the inhabitants of the valley, because they had chariots of iron." This only shifts the difficulty, assigning their chariots of iron as the reason why the Lord did not attempt to subdue them, instead of the reason why he could not succeed. Mr. Tomlinson translates the passage thus, in which he is sanctioned by our own Version, in rendering the same words in other passages of the Bible: "When Jehovah was with Judah, then he took possession of the mountain; could he not therefore have caused the inhabitants of the valley to have been driven out, though their chariotry be iron?" This makes the passage consistent with itself, and it harmonizes with Joshua xvii. 18.

CHAPTER V.

66. "Then were the horsehoofs broken by means of the pransings, the pransings of the mighty ones."—Ver. 22.

This verse would be better translated thus:—"Then were the horse-hoofs broken by means of the prancings, the prancings of their strong steeds." Anciently, horses were not shod; nor are they at the present day, in some parts of the East.

67. "She put her hand to the nail, and her right hand to the workmen's hammer; and with the hammer she smote Sisera, she smote off his head, when she had pierced and stricken through his temples."—Ver. 26.

The original of the second clause of this verse is more correctly rendered:—"She smote his head, then she struck through and pierced his temples." It does not appear that she smote off his head.

CHAPTER VII.

68. "Whosoever is fearful and afraid, let him return and depart early from Mount Gilead."—Ver. 3.

It is very certain that Gideon and his men were, at the time here spoken of, on the opposite side of the Jordan from Mount Gilead; the question, therefore, is, how he could desire any of them to depart from Mount Gilead? Houbigant, Le Clerc, and Geddes suppose the text to have been corrupted, and that for Gilead we should read Gilboa, the situation of which would accord with the address of Gideon. But this reading has not the authority of a single MS. or Version. Dr. Hales supposes that in Gideon's army there must have been many eastern Manassites from Mount Gilead, and therefore proposes to read: "Whosoever from Mount Gilead is fearful and afraid, let him return [home] and depart early." This is much better.

* Και ουκ εληρονομησεν Ιουδας την Γαζαν, ουδε τα ορια αυτης, ουδε την Ασκαλων, ουδε τα ορια αυτης. και την Ασκρων, ουδε τα ορια αυτης, την Αζωτον, ουδε τα περισπορια αυτης.

CHAPTER IX.

69. "Wine, which cheereth God and man."—Ver. 13.

Wine is here very improperly said to cheer both God and *man*. It should be *gods*, that is, the hero gods of the heathen; for Jotham is speaking to men of an idolatrous city. Or it might be translated with great propriety, "cheer both *high* and *low*," both *prince* and *people*; for the meaning is, all conditions of men find themselves refreshed by wine.

CHAPTER XII.

70. "And there fell at that time of the Ephraimites forty and two thousand."—Ver. 6.

This certainly appears an incredible number, especially when it is recollected that at the last census of the people, the whole of this tribe amounted only to 32,500, which falls short of the number here said to be slain, by 9,500. We are, therefore, much disposed to adopt the principle of enumeration here, on which we offered some remarks on Numb. i. 44—47. According to this method of notation, the number slain would amount only to 2,040, which is much more reasonable.

CHAPTER XV.

71. "And Samson went and caught three hundred foxes, and took fire-brands, and turned tail to tail, and put a fire-brand in the midst between two tails. And when he had set the brands on fire, he let them go into the standing corn of the Philistines, and burnt up both the shocks, and also the standing corn, with the vineyards and olives."—Ver. 4, 5.

This narrative has frequently been made the butt of ridicule by the unbeliever in divine revelation, who has asked, with an air of triumph, how could Samson catch so many foxes in so short a time; and when caught, how could he make them the instruments of his revenge on the Philistines, in the manner which the story represents? To these questions we think several satisfactory replies have been given; but as they are still pertinaciously urged, it becomes our business again to show, that they possess no weight, as militating against the claims which the history presents to our belief. That the species of fox called jackal is very numerous in the East, is attested by the most respectable travellers; but we will only quote the observations of one, whose impartiality as a witness in favour of Scripture facts will not be disputed. *Volney* says, "The wolf and the real fox are very rare; but there is a prodigious number of the middle species named *shacal*, which in Syria is called *wanrees*, from its howl; they go in droves." And again: "Jackals are concealed by hundreds in the gardens, and among ruins and tombs." We ask, then, where was the difficulty for Samson to procure three hundred of these animals, especially as the time during which he had to provide them for his purpose is not limited to a week, or a month? Besides this, it should be recollected that Samson at this time sustained the highest office in the commonwealth, and consequently could be at no loss for persons to assist him in this singular enterprise. Having secured the instruments by which he designed to ruin the property of the oppressors of his country, the next thing for consideration is the method by which he effected his purpose. Here we shall avail ourselves of the aid of the late ingenious editor of Calmet. In considering the circumstances of this narrative, Mr. Taylor suggests that there is some attention due to the nature and uses of the torches, or flambeaux, or lamps, employed by Samson in this procedure; and, perhaps, could we identify the nature or form of these, the story, he adds, might be relieved from some of its uncouthness. They are called *לָפָדִים* *lapadim*, or rather *lampadim*, as the Chaldee and Syriac write it: whence the Greek *lampas*, and our *lamp*. Now, these lamps, or burners, were placed between two jackals, whose tails were tied together, or at

least, there was a connexion formed between them by a cord: this is the reading of the LXX., in the Complutensian. Possibly, then, this cord was of a moderate length, and this burner being tied in the middle of it, it had something of the effect which we have seen among ourselves, when wanton malice has tied to the tail of a dog crackers, squibs, &c., which being fired have worried the poor animal to his den, where, supposing them still to burn, they might set all around them on fire. We know it is the nature of the jackal to roam about dwellings and out-houses: this would lead them to where the corn of the Philistines was stored; which, being ignited, would communicate the conflagration in every direction. Besides this, the fire giving them pain, they would naturally fight each one his associate, to which he was tied. This would keep them among the corn longer than usual; and few pairs thus coupled would agree to return to the same den that they had formerly occupied in the mountains; so that nothing could be better adapted to produce a general conflagration than this expedient of combustion-communicating jackals. We must therefore suppose, *first*, that these burners were at some distance from the animals, so as not to burn them. *Secondly*, that they were of a nature to hold fire long, without being consumed. *Thirdly*, that they were either dim in the manner of their burning, and their light; or, perhaps, were not to be alarmingly distinguished by their illumination. They might burn dead, as we say; so that their effect might be produced too late to prevent the mischief which attended them.

We are aware that attempts have been made by some learned men, to get rid of the difficulties which this history is supposed to involve, by giving another interpretation to the original, by which the animals are altogether excluded from any share in the transaction. Not to enter into a critical investigation of the grounds of this interpretation, which would be interesting to but few of our readers, and those already familiar with them, we may be permitted to say, that nothing but the supposed incredulity of the story could have induced this forcing of it into another meaning. That it may be solved, however, on natural principles, we hope we have already shown; but if it should not be so, then we beg to suggest, that the circumstances of God's chosen people, under the government of Samson, were such as to call for a Divine interposition, which interposition was evidently given in their behalf on more than one occasion during his administration. We conclude these observations by remarking, that the *Vulpinaria*, or Feast of the Foxes, celebrated by the Romans, was derived in all probability from this event.

CHAPTER XVI.

72. "And he said unto her, If thou weavest the seven locks of my head with the web."
—Ver. 13.

This verse is evidently incomplete, and requires something to make up the sense. The following addition is found in the Septuagint, Arabic, and Vulgate:—"and shall fasten them with the pin in the wall, I shall become weak like other men; and so it was, that when he slept, Delilah took the seven locks of his head, and wove them with the web." The omission of this clause in our present Hebrew MSS. has no doubt arisen from the circumstance of its ending with the same word as the preceding clause, so that the transcriber has unconsciously passed over all the intermediate words.

73. "And she made him sleep upon her knees."—Ver. 19.

This may seem to us a most unnatural posture for a person to repose in, but it is no unusual thing in oriental countries. Braithwaite mentions a favourite court lady, in whose lap the Emperor of Morocco constantly slept when drunk.*

* Journey to Morocco, p. 123.

THE FIRST BOOK OF SAMUEL.

CHAPTER II.

74. "And thou shalt see an enemy in my habitation, in all the wealth which God shall give Israel."—Ver. 32.

The meaning of this passage can scarcely be gathered from the textual translation of the English Bible, given above; but the marginal rendering fully expresses the sense of the original, and is confirmed by the subsequent history:—"And thou shalt see the affliction of the tabernacle, for all the wealth which God would have given Israel." See chap. iv. 4, 11, 22.

CHAPTER VI.

75. "He smote of the people fifty thousand and three-score and ten men."—Ver. 19.

Every commentator has felt the difficulty of this statement of the numbers slain at Bethshemesh: 50,070 men employed in the fields at wheat-harvest, in a village, has always appeared to be so utterly incredible, that various expedients have been adopted to reduce the number. The words in the original are *seventy men, fifties, a thousand men*, שבעים איש חמשים אלף איש. The Syriac and Arabic have only 5,070; and Josephus only 70, with whom agree three of the MSS. collated by Dr. Kennicott. These authorities, however, will not counterbalance those in favour of the common reading, and therefore there has not been much reliance placed on them by the learned. The method of removing the difficulty which seems to have been the most favourably regarded, is that which proposes to insert a letter $\square$ into the text, and thereby make it read "seventy men; fifty out of a thousand;" which supposes about 1,400 persons to have been present, and that a twentieth part of them was slain. Having thus pointed out the difficulties which are involved in the passage, and the little satisfaction to be derived from the suggested methods of removing them, we request that the reader will turn back to page 668, where it is hoped he will find a proposed construction of the text, which will yield entire satisfaction, since it proposes not a single alteration in the present Hebrew reading.

CHAPTER XV.

76. "And Samuel said, As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women. And Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal."—Ver. 33.

We have in a previous page noticed the philippic pronounced against the conduct of Moses, in reference to the Canaanitish nations, by Lord Bolingbroke, and since his time reiterated by sundry deistical champions, to the great satisfaction of their admiring followers. He also compares the wars of the Hebrew general, Joshua, with those of Pizarro in Peru. But "the Franciscan monk who accompanied Pizarro in his expedition against Atahualpa," was not "so cruel," according to this writer, "as Samuel, who spoke in the name of the Lord. The Franciscan monk excited the soldiers to kill the king of Peru in the heat of battle. The Jewish priest hewed the king of the Amalekites 'to pieces before the Lord,' in cool blood: and Saul was deposed for the clemency he had showed, though he, too, had exercised cruelty enough to sate any human ferocity." This mode of stating, or rather of perverting, the facts of Jewish history alluded to, is no unfair specimen of the general method of unbelievers in their representation of certain circumstances recorded in Scripture. Saul *was* originally commanded to slay the king of the Amalekites in battle, not only because he *was* the king of a wicked and treacherous race, but because he, individually, was a wicked king. His being afterwards put to death "in cold blood" (probably by a public executioner), was just as "cruel" as is the hanging of a murderer "in cold blood;" and the

sacred penman is careful to inform us that it was *as* a notorious public murderer he was put to death.

But do such writers as these even appear to pay the ordinary attention of a plain English Christian to that small but important volume, on which the strongest hopes and fears of millions depend, before they venture to call upon us to abandon it? Lord Bolingbroke, in the short extract we have made from him, not only misrepresents the main fact on which he dwells, but, with the charitable view of making all priests the more odious, is careful to call Samuel *a priest*, which he was not, but a judge, or chief public magistrate; while his worthy modern coadjutor, Thomas Paine, unblushingly tells us that, although it had "been" his "intention for *several years* past to publish his thoughts on religion," though he "reserved it to an advanced period" of his life [to use the pretension to sincerity with more effect], he "*KEEPS NO BIBLE*;" and that there are only "some chapters in Job and the 19th Psalm" that "convey to us any idea of God"—for he "*recollects*" no other, and not the prose of this last passage, but only a paraphrase by Addison! * Such writers on any other subject would never have received the degree of confidence from Englishmen which these men have received and abused; and upon nothing short of the principles of the Bible can any man account for the singular fact of their occasional popularity.

But the events which are grouped together in the passage we have quoted from the noble sophist have a real and scriptural connexion. Moses delivered the law for the partial extermination of the Canaanites, upon which Joshua acted; and Samuel gave an explicit command for the murderer Agag to be put to death, upon the same principles of retributive justice as were asserted in that law and its execution. With Saul, the commissioned instrument of God's determination to punish the Amalekites, "the sinners, the Amalekites" (as they are emphatically called in the prophet's rebuke), Samuel expostulates respecting his disobedience to the divine command. From the hand of this prophet, as an instrument, Saul had received a crown; and he did not dispute, it is to be observed, either the tone of authority with which he was interrogated by Samuel, or the origin of the command to destroy the Amalekites, as from God. On the same principles are all public officers expected to 'do their duty.' Samuel said, "When thou wast little in thine own sight, wast thou not made the head of the tribes of Israel, and the Lord anointed thee king over Israel? And the Lord sent thee on a journey, and said, Go and utterly destroy the sinners, the Amalekites, and fight against them until they be consumed. Wherefore then didst thou not obey the voice of the Lord, but didst fly upon the spoil, and didst evil in the sight of the Lord?" But to Agag Samuel holds a very different language. He does not speak to him of a divine commission, nor of the duty or disobedience of the Israelitish king. He speaks of human demerits and deserts—the demerits and deserts of Agag. The judges of our English courts do not more distinctly remind every criminal upon whom they pass sentence, of *his* peculiar guilt; the public executioner, in cases of the highest offence against the state which laws can punish, does not more plainly and impressively close the dying scene by saying, "This is the head of a traitor," than Samuel proclaims to Agag the crime for which he falls. "And Samuel said, *As thy sword hath made women childless, so shall thy mother be childless among women.*"

The plain appeal to *facts* and to the principles of *natural justice* in the sentence of death thus pronounced upon Agag, suggests the ground of a correct defence of God's more extended judgments on the Canaanites. Agag was a murderer, irrespective of the obedience or disobedience of Saul to the divine mandate: the Canaanitish nations were addicted to the grossest and most unnatural vices, were sinners against the law of nature and of conscience, and active in poisoning the morals of the world, irrespective of the character or destiny of the Israelites. The criminal conduct of Agag, during the whole period of his reign, bore no relation to that of Saul. Samuel might allude to outrages committed on his own subjects; but "God looked down from heaven and saw" their respective deserts, and if he interfered not immediately with the murderous courses of every tyrant, it is far from being a reason that he should not interfere with those of any. So the sins of the Canaanites bore no relation, in the first instance, to the Jewish, any more than to the other tribes of the eastern world; much less were they punished for the violation of any precepts peculiar to the Jews, or of any law which they did not know, or could not have known. On the contrary, upon the very principles on which, rejecting a divine revelation, the unbeliever arraigns the conduct and commands of the Jewish legislator, as unworthy a divine origin, that conduct and those commands are to be vindicated, independently of a divine revelation. They in no way

contradict the principles of natural justice; those principles of which the deist assumes more knowledge than he possesses from any merely natural source, but of which he may know enough from such a source to condemn the conduct of these "sinners," and justify the ways of God in this dispensation. The measure was demanded, if we may presume so to state it in argument, at the hands of the moral Governor of the world.

CHAPTER XVI.

77. "Then answered one of the servants, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse, the Beth-lehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters," &c.—Ver. 18.

It is undoubtedly strange that David should be here described as *a mighty valiant man, a man of war, and prudent*, and yet in the following chapter he spoken of as a youth *unused to arms, and unable to bear them*, ver. 33, 39. But there are other incongruities in the narrative besides these. In chap. xvi. 19, &c., we read that Saul sent messengers to Jesse, saying, "Send David thy son." Pursuant to this order, David played on the harp before the king, when the evil spirit of melancholy was upon him. Saul loved him greatly, and he became his armour-bearer, and resided constantly at his court; for Saul sent a second message to Jesse, "Let David, I pray thee, stand before me; for he hath found favour in my sight," ver. 21, 22. Yet in ver. 55 of the next chapter, Saul is made to inquire of Abner, whose son was the conqueror of Goliath? He speaks of him as an entire stranger; and Abner, to gratify his curiosity, introduces David to him after the combat, with the head of the Philistine in his hand.

These are certainly very striking discrepancies, which cannot be removed without making some alteration in the present arrangement of the chapters. Hence, Bishops Warburton and Hall suppose, that the encounter with Goliath took place before David was required to play the harp before Saul; and this solution of the difficulty is espoused by Bishop Horsley, whose arguments are considered to be highly satisfactory. The following are his words:—

It appears, indeed, from many circumstances of the story, that David's combat with Goliath was many years prior in order of time to Saul's madness, and to David's introduction to him as a musician. (1) David was quite a youth when he engaged Goliath, xvii. 33—42. When he was introduced to Saul as a musician, he was of full age, xvi. 18. (2) His combat with Goliath was his first appearance in public life (xvii. 56); when he was introduced as a musician, he was a man of established character, xvi. 18. (3) His combat with Goliath was his first military exploit (xvii. 38, 39); he was a man of war when he was introduced as a musician (xvi. 18); he was unknown both to Saul and Abner at the time he fought with Goliath; he had not, therefore, yet been in the office of Saul's armour-bearer, or resident in any capacity at the court. Now the just conclusion from these circumstances is, not that these twenty verses (xvii. 11—31) are an interpolation, but that the last ten verses of the preceding chapter, which relates Saul's madness and David's introduction to the court upon that occasion, are misplaced. The true place for these ten verses (xvi. 14—23) seems to be between the ninth and tenth of the eighteenth chapter. Let these ten verses be removed to that place, and this seventeenth chapter be connected immediately with the 13th verse of chapter xvi., and the whole disorder and inconsistency that appear in the narrative in its present arrangement will be removed.*

This conjecture is decidedly preferable to that of Kennicott, Houbigant, Dathe, Michaëlis, and Boothroyd, which would reject the entire passage as an interpolation; and it is accordingly adopted by Mr. Townsend, who thus arranges his Harmony: chap. xvi. 1—14, xvii. 1—41, 55, 56, 41—55, 57, 58, xviii. 1—10, xvi. 14—23, xviii. 10, and onward.

CHAPTER XX.

78. "And Jonathan said unto David, O Lord God of Israel, when I have sounded my father about to-morrow any time," &c.—Ver. 12.

There is evidently a deficiency in this passage, as it stands in the Hebrew text. In the Septua-

* Biblical Criticism, vol. i., p. 331.

gint it reads, "The Lord God of Israel *doth know*;" and the Syriac and Arabic is much to the same effect. Two of Dr. Kennicott's MSS. have the word *chai, liveth*, reading thus, "As the Lord God of Israel liveth, when I have," &c., which makes a good sense, and is probably the original lection.

CHAPTER XXXI.

79. "Therefore Saul took a sword, and fell upon it."—Ver. 4.

This account of the death of Saul is so completely at variance with that given in the Second Book of Samuel, chap. i. 10, that it is impossible for both to be true. In reference to the objection which may be founded on this circumstance, the "Doubts of the Infidels" very *kindly* and *considerately* puts this language into the mouth of their tom-fool of a *Christian*, as it calls him: "To this *we* can only answer *as it becomes the faithful* in all such cases of seeming contradiction; namely, that they were both written by the pen of inspiration, consequently must both be true, however contradictory or absurd they may seem to human reason." But let me ask these gentlemen, says Bishop Horne, what mortal, besides themselves, Tom's elder brethren, ever imagined the Amalekite to have been *inspired*, when he told his story to David? an idle pickthank fellow, who stripped Saul of his diadem and bracelets, and ran away full speed with them to David, to let him know that all was safe, his old enemy was fallen, and *he* had put him out of his pain. David saw through the character of the man, and, from his forward officiousness in the affair, probably concluded he had taken some undue advantage of Saul in his wounded state, and slain him, on purpose that he might find favour with his successor in the kingdom, by bringing him all this good news. See 2 Sam. iv. 9, 10. But whether David suspected it or not, as the narrative of Saul's death given in the course of history is true, the story told by the Amalekite is certainly false in some particulars, which are inconsistent with that narrative. Nay, it is not probable, if indeed it be possible, that the main circumstance of all should have been true. Saul desires his armour-bearer to kill him, who refuses; he falls upon his sword; and the servant, seeing his master dead, does the same. Now, where is the interval, or opening, for the scene between Saul and the Amalekite to take place? Or would the armour-bearer, who refused to kill Saul, stand by, and suffer an Amalekite to kill him? But though David judged this man unworthy to be *his* friend, he may make a very good figure in the unbelievers' catalogue of *saints*. Let us, however, for a moment suppose, that David had judged otherwise; that he had rewarded him handsomely, and promoted him to honour. What would have been said *then*? Why, that poor Saul had escaped the sword of the Philistines, but "this ruffian" (such is the courtly appellation bestowed upon David) had employed an assassin to dispatch him, during the hurry and confusion of the retreat! Oh, it had been a delicious morsel, exactly seasoned to the palate of infidelity!*

SECOND BOOK OF SAMUEL.

CHAPTER V.

CONNECTED WITH I. CHRON. xi. 5, 6.

80. "And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. Nevertheless David took the castle of Zion, which is the city of David. And David said, Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went first up, and was chief."—I. CHRON. xi. 5, 6.

"And the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land; which spake unto David, saying, Except thou take away the blind and the lame, thou shalt not come in hither: thinking, David cannot come in hither. Nevertheless,

David took the strong hold of Zion : the same is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever getteth up to the gutter, and smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, he shall be chief and captain ; wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house."—II. SAM. v. ver. 6—8.

There has been much written upon this part of the sacred narrative, which is very obscure, and, as given in the English translation, absolutely unintelligible. In order to render the history complete, we have supplied the deficiency in Samuel from the Book of Chronicles, and now offer the following remarks of Dr. Kennicott on the several parts in the two narratives thus connected :—

The words *inhabitants of Jebus*, which are not in the original of Samuel, are not in the Vat. copy of the LXX. in Chronicles ; but the Alexandrine translates regularly according to the present Hebrew text. In Samuel there is a clause or two in the speech of the Jebusites, which is omitted in Chronicles for brevity ; as the history in Chronicles is regular, and the sense complete, without it. But though the history be regular and very intelligible in Chronicles, yet the additional clauses in Samuel make the history there remarkably perplexed, and (as Dr. Delaney observes)-incumber it with more difficulties than are ordinarily to be met with. In full proportion to the difficulties has been the number of different interpretations ; and yet there seems to be very sufficient room for offering another interpretation, in some material points differing from them all. The words in Samuel, so far as the text in Chronicles coincides, are clear and determinate in their meaning : " And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither." But the succeeding words in Samuel are very difficult ; or, at least, have been variously interpreted. The present English translation is, " Except thou take away the blind and the lame : thinking, David cannot come in hither."

The chief difficulty here lies in determining who are *these blind and lame* ; whether Jebusites, or the Jebusite deities, called *blind and lame* by way of derision. The latter opinion has been maintained by some considerable writers, but seems indefensible. For however David and the Israelites might be disposed to treat such idols with scorn and contempt, it is not at all likely the Jebusites should revile *their own* deities ; and we must remember that those deities are supposed to be here called *blind and lame* by the Jebusites themselves. But, admitting them to be idol deities, what meaning can there be in the Jebusites telling David—" He should not come into the citadel, unless he took away the deities upon the walls ?" If he could scale the walls, so as to reach these guardian deities, he need not ask leave of the Jebusites to enter the citadel. But (which is much more difficult to be answered) what can possibly be the meaning of the last line—" Wherefore they said, The blind and the lame shall not come into the house ?" For, Who said ? Did the Jebusites say, their own deities (before expressed by *the blind and the lame*) *should not come into the house*—should not (according to some) come *where they were*,—or, should not (according to others) come *into the house of the Lord* ?—Or, *could* these deities say, David and his men should not come into the house ? The absurdity of attributing such a speech, or any speech, to these idols, is too clear to need illustration ; and it is a known part of their real character, that *they have mouths, but speak not*.

But though these deities could not denounce these words, yet the Jebusites might ; and it is possible (it has been said) that the *blind and the lame*, in this latter part of the sentence, may signify the Jebusites ; not any particular Jebusites, so maimed ; but the Jebusites in general, called *blind and lame*, for putting their trust in *blind and lame* idols. This seems too refined an interpretation ; and we may safely conclude, that the expression of the *blind and lame* means the same beings in the two different parts of the same sentence. It has been farther observed, that these *blind and lame* are here spoken of as different from the Jebusites—" Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites, and the lame and the blind ;" and if they were different, it requires no great skill at deduction to determine they were not the same.

Perhaps, then, these *blind and lame* were, in fact, a few particular wretches, who laboured under these infirmities of blindness and lameness ; and therefore were different from the general body of the Jebusites. But here will it not be demanded at once—How then can we account rationally for that bitterness with which David expresses himself against these *blind and lame* ; and how it was possible for a man of David's humanity to detest men for mere unblamable, and indeed pitiable, infirmities ? And, lastly, the authors of the *Universal History*, in their note on this transaction, mention the following, as the first plausible argument against the literal acception—" How could David distinguish the halt, or the lame, or the blind, from able men, when posted

upon lofty walls; since those infirmities are not discernible but near at hand?" This, it must be allowed, would be a difficulty indeed, if David's information here had been only from his eyesight. But this objection immediately vanishes, when we reflect, that the Jebusites are said in the text to have told David—"the blind and the lame should keep him off:" for certainly David could easily conceive the men, who were placed upon the walls to insult him, were *blind and lame*, when he was told so by the Jebusites themselves; and told so, to render this insult of theirs the greater.

Having thus mentioned some of the present interpretations, it may be now proper to submit another to the judgment of the reader. And here, for the sake of clearness, we shall first give what seems to be the true interpretation of this passage; and then subjoin the several arguments in defence of it.

"And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither; for the blind and the lame shall keep thee off, by saying, David shall not come hither. But David took the strong hold of Sion, which is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever (first) smiteth the Jebusites, and through the subterraneous passage reacheth the lame and the blind, that are hated of David's soul, because the blind and the lame continued to say, he shall not come into this house—*shall be chief captain.*"

That the connected particles *כי אמר* *ki am*, rendered *except*, in Samuel, signify *for*, in this place, is evident, because the words following are rather *causal* than *objective*; and we have several instances of this sense of the two particles given us by Noldius: thus in Prov. xxiii. 18, they are rendered *for* in the English translation; and so in the English, Greek, Syriac, and Arabic versions of Lam. v. 22. That the verb *הסירק* *hesirek*, rendered *to take away*, is not here the infinitive, but the preter, of Hiphil, is apparent from the sense; that it has been so considered, is certain from the Masoretic pointing, as De Dieu and other critics have observed: and we see it is translated as such by the LXX. in the plural number, *αριστονησας*. From this version, then, and from the plurality of the two nouns, which are necessarily the nominatives to this verb, we may infer that it was originally *הסירקו* *hesiruk*, *to keep off*, the *vau* having been dropt here as in many other places.

Enough having been said of the *number*, let us now consider the *tense*, of this verb; which being preter, some have translated it by a word expressive of time past. But the sense necessarily requires it to be translated as future in other languages, though it be more expressive in the original in the preter tense, it being agreeable to the genius of the Hebrew language frequently to speak of events yet future, as having actually happened, when the speaker would strongly express the *certainty* of such event. This observation is peculiarly applicable to the case here. For this castle of Mount Sion had never yet been taken by the Israelites, though they had dwelt in Canaan about 400 years; as we learn from the sacred history, Josh. xv. 63; Judg. i. 21, xix. 10; and from Josephus, lib. vii., cap. 3.

The Jebusites, then, absolutely depending on the advantage of their high situation and the strength of their fortifications (which had secured them against the Israelites so many hundred years), looked upon this of David's as a vain attempt, which therefore they might safely treat with insolence and raillery. Full of this fond notion, they placed upon the walls of the citadel the few blind and lame that could be found amongst them, and told David—"He should not come thither; for the blind and lame *were sufficient* to keep him off:" which they (these weak defenders) should effectually do, only "by their shouting, David shall not come hither."

That the blind and the lame were contemptuously placed upon the walls by the Jebusites, as before described, we are assured, not only by the words of the sacred history before us, but also by the concurrent testimony of Josephus, lib. vii., cap. 3. Now that these blind and lame, who appear to have been placed upon the walls, were to insult and did insult David in the manner before-mentioned, seems very evident from the words—"The blind and the lame shall keep thee off, *BY SAYING*," &c., and also from the impossibility of otherwise accounting for David's indignation against these (naturally pitiable) wretches. And the not attending to this remarkable circumstance seems one principal reason of the perplexity so visible among the various interpreters of this passage.

It is very remarkable, that the sense before given to *כי אמר* *ki am hesirek*, "For the blind and the lame shall keep thee off," is confirmed by Josephus in the place just cited. And it is farther remarkable that the same sense is given to these words in the English Bible of Coverdale, printed in 1535, in which they are rendered, "Thou shalt not come hither, but the blind and lame shall dryve the awaie." This is one great instance to prove the credit due to some parts of this very old English Version; as the sense of this passage seems to have been greatly mistaken both before and since. That it has been changed for the worse since that edition, is very evident; and that it

was improperly rendered *before*, appears from *Wickliff's MS.* Version of 1383, where we read—"Thou shalt not entre hidur: no but thou do away blynd men and lame," &c.

After this additional clause of Samuel, in the speech of the Jebusites, the two histories agree in saying, "David took the strong hold of Sion, which was afterwards called the city of David." By this strong hold of Sion, or city of David, we are led by the words of the text to understand, not the fortress or citadel (which was not yet taken, as appears from the order of the history in both chapters), but the town of the Jebusites, or city of David, which was spread over the wide hill of Sion; and is what Josephus means when he tells us, that David first took the lower town, the town which lay beneath the citadel; after which he tells us, that the citadel remained yet to be taken, lib. vii., cap. 3.

The two chapters having agreed in this circumstance of David's making himself master of the town or city, they now vary as before; and here also the history in Chronicles is regular, though it takes no notice of some farther circumstances relating to the blind and the lame: and indeed the latter circumstances were to be omitted of course, as the historian chose, for brevity, to omit the former. But as to Samuel, there is in that book a deficiency of several words, which are necessary to complete the sense; which words are preserved in the text of Chronicles. And as the difficulty *here also* lies entirely in the text of Samuel, let us see whether it may not be cleared up to satisfaction.

David having now possessed himself of the strong town of the Jebusites, situate upon the hill of Sion, proceeds the *same day* to attack the citadel or fortress; which was considered by the Jebusites as impregnable. And probably the Israelites would have thought so too, and David had retired from before it, like his forefathers, if he had not possessed himself of it by stratagem, when he found he could not storm or take it by open force. For this seems in fact to have been the case; and the history of this success may be properly introduced by a similar case or two.

And, first, Dr. Prideaux (in his *Connection*, part i., book 2) tells us of the city of *Babylon*,—that when it was besieged by Cyrus, the inhabitants, thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the city by a siege as an impracticable thing; and therefore from the top of their walls scoffed at Cyrus, and derided him and every thing he did towards it. (A circumstance most exactly parallel to that of the history before us.) But yet that Cyrus broke down the great bank or dam of the river, both where it ran into the city, and where it came out; and as soon as the channel of the river was drained, in the middle of the night, while Belshazzar was carousing at the conclusion of an annual festival, the troops of Cyrus entered through these passages in two parties, and took the city by surprise.

And there is a second remarkable case related by Polybius, which will farther illustrate the present history. "*Rabatamana*," says Polybius, "a city of Arabia, could not be taken, till one of the prisoners showed the besiegers a subterraneous passage, through which the besieged came down for water." (Ed. Cassaubon, vol. i., p. 571.)

Now this fortress of the Jebusites seems to have been circumstanced like *Rabatamana*, in having also a subterraneous passage, which is called in the original *רֶזֶן* *tzenur*, a word, which occurs but once more in the Bible, and does not seem commonly understood in this place. The English Version calls it *the gutter*—the Vulgate, *fistulas*—Vatablus, *canales*—Jun. and Trem., *emissarium*—Poole, *tubus aquæ*—and Bochart, *alveus*, &c. But not to multiply quotations, most interpreters agree in making the word signify something hollow, and applying it to water; just the case of the subterraneous passage, or great hollow, of *Rabatamana* through which men could pass and repass for water. That this *רֶזֶן* *tzenur*, in the text, was such an underground passage, might be strongly presumed from the text itself; but it is proved to have been so by Josephus; for, speaking of this very transaction, he calls them *subterraneous cavities*, putting this interpretation upon a very solid footing.

That the preposition, rendered *אִין*, prefixed to *tzenur*, sometimes signifies *by*, is evident from Noldius; and that it signifies so in this place is certain from the nature of the context, and the testimony of Josephus, who expresses it thus: the verb *יָאָמְרוּ* *iamru*, rendered, *they said*, in this sentence, is very properly future; as Hebrew verbs in that tense are known to be *frequentative*, or to express *the continuance of doing any thing*; and therefore that tense is with great propriety used here to express the frequent repetition of the insolent speech used by *the blind and the lame* upon the walls of the fortress.

It only remains here to make an observation or two on the reward proposed by David, and the person who obtained it. The text of Chronicles tells us—"David said, Whosoever smiteth the

Jebusites first, shall be chief and captain," or head and prince. We are to recollect that Joab, the son of Zeruiah (David's sister), had been general of his army during the civil war, between the men of Judah under David, and the Israelites, commanded by Abner, in favour of Ishbosheth the son of Saul; but that the Israelites having now submitted to David, he was king over the whole twelve tribes. David, we know, frequently endeavoured to remove Joab from his command of the army on account of his haughtiness, and for several murders; but complained, that "this son of Zeruiah was too hard for him." One of these attempts of David seems to have been made at the time Israel came in to David, by the persuasion of Abner; when it is probable the condition on Abner's side was to have been made David's captain general; and, perhaps, Joab suspected as much, and therefore murdered him. The next attempt seems to have been made at the taking this strong citadel of the Jebusites. For David proposes the reward absolutely to every officer of his army—"Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first;" i. e., whosoever will ascend first, put himself at the head of a detachment, and march up through the subterraneous passage into the citadel, "shall be head and captain."

This proposal, we may observe, was general; and yet, how much soever David might wish Joab safely removed, it is reasonable to think that he made Joab the first offer. And we find, that however dangerous and dreadful this enterprise appeared, yet Joab had prudence enough to undertake it, and courage enough to execute it: and Joab went up first, or at the head of a party, and was accordingly declared head, or chief-captain, or (in the modern style) captain-general, of the united armies of Israel and Judah.

It is not unlikely that the men of Israel expected, that though Abner their general had been basely murdered by Joab, yet David's chief-captain should be chosen from amongst *them*; or at least that they should have a chance for that first post of honour, as well as the men of Judah. And if they had declared any expectation of this kind, David seems to have taken the wisest step for determining so important a point—by declaring, that neither relation, nor fortune, nor friendship should recommend upon the occasion; but, as the bravest man and the best soldier ought to be commander-in-chief, so this honour should be the reward of the greatest merit; that there was now a fair opportunity of signalizing themselves in the taking this important fortress; and therefore his resolution was—that *whosoever would head* a detachment up this subterraneous passage, and should first make himself master of the citadel, by that passage, or by scaling the walls, or by any other method, should be *head and captain*, i. e., captain-general.

It is remarkable, that the text in Samuel is very incomplete in this place. David's proposal to the army is just begun, and a circumstance or two mentioned; but the reward proposed, and the person rewarded, are totally omitted. We may presume the text could not have been thus imperfect originally, since no ellipsis can supply what is here wanting; and therefore the words in the coinciding chapter of Chronicles, which regularly fill up this omission, were doubtless at first also in Samuel, and are therefore to be restored: the necessity of thus restoring the words not found in the present copies of Samuel is apparent.

The English version, then, of these texts in Chronicles is—"And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, Thou shalt not come hither. But David took the strong hold of Sion, which is the city of David. And David said, Whosoever first smiteth the Jebusites, shall be head and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, and was chief captain."

And the English version of these texts in Samuel is—"And they spoke unto David, saying, Thou shalt not come hither; for the blind and the lame shall keep thee off, by saying, David shall not come hither. But David took the strong hold of Zion, which is the city of David. And David said on that day, Whosoever (first) smiteth the Jebusites, and by the subterraneous passage reacheth the blind and the lame, which are hated by David's soul (because the blind and the lame continued to say, He shall not come into this house), shall be head and captain. So Joab the son of Zeruiah went up first, and was head," or captain-general.*

* Kennicott's Remarks, Comp Parkhurst's Heb. Lex. and Taylor's Concordance, in voce צבא.

CHAPTER VI.

81. "How glorious was the king of Israel to-day, who uncovered himself," &c.—Ver. 20.

It is certain that David could not be *naked*, as the text would seem to imply, for he had on a robe and an ephod, 1 Chron. xv. 27. These were priestly garments, and particularly close (Exod. xxviii. 32, xxxix. 23), so that no part of the body could be seen. He is said to be uncovered, with reference to his regal robes, which being much richer than those used by the Levites, he refused to wear, that he might appear in part of the priest's dress.

CHAPTER VII.

82. "Then went king David in, and sat before the LORD; and he said, Who am I, O Lord God? and what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? And this was yet a small thing in thy sight, O Lord God; but thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house for a great while to come. And is this the manner of man, O Lord God?"—Ver. 18, 19.

It is much to be regretted that our English Version mars the beauty and hides the sense of several passages in this very important chapter; particularly of that which is placed at the head of this article, and of those immediately connected with it. Dr. J. Pye Smith, of whose biblical learning and sound judgment it would be superfluous to speak, translates these two verses as follows: "What am I, O Lord Jehovah, and what my house, that thou hast brought me to this point [of exaltation]! And little [is] even this in thine eyes, O Lord Jehovah; thou hast even spoken, with respect to the house of thy servant, unto a vast extent! And this [is] the law of the Adam, O Lord Jehovah!"

The parallel recital in 1 Chron. xvii. 16, 17, reads the last clause: "Thou hast regarded me according to the order of the Adam from above [or, the pre-eminent], O Jehovah God!"*

This passage has a very important bearing on the scheme of revelation, and, properly understood, reflects great light on the covenant made with David, as has been shown by Dr. Kennicott.†

CHAPTER VIII.

83. "And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven hundred horsemen."—Ver. 4.

In 1 Chron. xviii. 4, it is said that the number of horsemen taken from Hadadazer by David was seven *thousand*, a far more probable number than seven *hundred*. When it is known that ; stands for seven *thousand*, and ; for seven *hundred*, it will be seen that a mistake might easily be made by a transcriber, in such a case.

CHAPTER XII.

84. "And he took their king's crown from off his head, the weight whereof was a talent of gold, with the precious stones: and it was set on David's head."—Ver. 30.

This passage has much perplexed the commentators. A talent, according to the usual computation, would amount to nearly one hundred and fourteen pounds, a weight which it is obvious could not be borne upon the head either of the king of Rabbah, or the head of king David. But to this we must add the weight of the precious stones, which was not included in the former estimate; and then the relation will be still more incredible. To avoid the difficulty, several critics have proposed

* Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. i., p. 184.

† Remarks on the Old Test., pp. 108—115

to take the Hebrew *mishekaleh*, for *value*, instead of weight. But this is doing too great violence to the ordinary meaning of the word, which in no other instance, that we can find, is used in such a sense.

The late editor of Calmet has proposed a solution of the difficulty in Fragment, No. cclxxxii., to which the reader is referred; its ingenuity cannot fail to please him. After having given to the passage the most anxious attention, we have not been able to conceive of any fair way in which it can be disposed of; there is no ambiguity in the text, nor is there any diversity of reading in the MSS. There is one consideration, however, which will not fail to present itself to the mind of the impartial critic, and it is this: that we are far from being certain of the absolute meaning of the Hebrew words translated *a talent of gold*; and while the term is involved in so much uncertainty, no valid objection can be urged against the narrative, on the ground of its supposed incredibility.

85. "And he brought forth the people that were therein, and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brickkiln."—Ver. 31.

David has been not unfrequently reproached for the cruelty he inflicted upon the Ammonites on this occasion, which, it is said, was incompatible with the character elsewhere given him, of being "a man after God's own heart:" an expression which we think has never been properly understood by the objectors to the character of this prince. In the present instance, however, the cruelty of David is only to be found in the *translation* of the narrative, and Dr. Chandler has assigned very conclusive reasons for rendering the passage in the following manner:—He brought forth the inhabitants, and put them to the saw, and to iron mines, and iron axes, and transported them to the brick-kiln; that is, he reduced them to slavery, and put them to the most servile employments.* But to this it has been objected, that in the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xx. 3, it is expressly said that "he cut (*yashur*) them with saws," &c.; and in reply it has been urged, that there is reason to believe this passage has been accidentally corrupted, by the exchange of one letter for another (*y* for *q*), than which nothing could be more easy, if there were any imperfection, any partial erasure, in the MS. from which the present copies were taken.

But we conceive the objection and the reply to be equally uncalled for, since there is no real discrepancy between the two passages, even according to the present reading. The verbs *yashur* and *yasher* signify *to regulate, to rule*, &c.; and therefore the obvious meaning of the passage in the Chronicles is, that David *subjected* the Ammonites to the laborious employments specified, which is also the idea conveyed by the author of Samuel.

CHAPTER XV.

86. "And it came to pass after forty years, that Absalom said unto the king," &c.—Ver. 7.

As David reigned only *forty* years, and the text seems to refer to the period which elapsed between the first fomenting of Absalom's conspiracy and his open rebellion, critics have supposed a corruption in the Hebrew; *arba'im*, *forty*, having been inserted for *arba*, *four*, which is the reading of the Syriac, Arabic, Josephus, Theodoret, and some copies of the Vulgate. Lightfoot, however, refers the commencement of the forty years to the first anointing of David by Samuel, and not to the conspiracy of Absalom; and since this solution does no violence to the text, and supersedes the necessity of an arbitrary emendation of the original, it is conceived to be preferable to the former one.

87. "While I abode at Geshur in Syria."—Ver. 8.

There are several instances given by Dr. Kennicott, in which the similar words *Aram*, *Syria*,

* Life of David, vol. ii., p. 227.

and אֶדוֹם *Adom, Edom*, have been exchanged by mistake; and, as he has suggested, it is so in the text. For that Geshur, the country of Talmai, to whom Absalom fled, lay on the south of Canaan, and in or near Edom, is certain from Judg. i. 10, 2 Sam. xiii. 37, 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

CHAPTER XXIII.

88. "These be the names of the mighty men whom David had: The Tachmonite that sat in the seat, chief among the captains: the same was Adino, the Eznite; he lift up his spear against eight hundred, whom he slew at one time."—Ver. 8.

Dr. Kennicott has shown that this verse contains three great corruptions, which, till they are corrected, must render the verse totally unintelligible. The *first* is, that the *proper name* of the hero, Jashobeam, is turned into two common words, rendered, "that sat in the seat." The *second* is, that the common words, signifying "he lift up his spear" (which words are here absolutely necessary), are turned into two *proper names* totally inadmissible; it being nearly as absurd to say that Jashobeam the Tachmonite was the same with Adino the Eznite, as that David the Bethlehemite was the same with Elijah the Tishbite. And the *third* is, that the number eight hundred, probably was at first three hundred, as it is now in the parallel place, 1 Chron. xi. 11.

CHAPTER XXIV.

89. "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved David against them to say, Go, number Israel and Judah."—Ver. 1.

This verse should be translated, "Again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, BECAUSE *one* had moved David," &c.; or by supplying, from 1 Chron. xxi. 1, *an adversary* (*as Satan*) had moved David. This translation fairly represents the meaning of the original, and avoids the difficulty involved in the present rendering.

90. "And Joab gave up the sum of the number of the people unto the king: and there were in Israel eight hundred thousand valiant men that drew the sword; and the men of Judah were five thousand men."—Ver. 9.

In the parallel passage, 1 Chron. xxi. 5, it is said that Joab numbered one million one hundred thousand for Israel, and four hundred and seventy thousand for Judah; and the question is, How the two accounts are to be reconciled? Mr. Townsend, who refers to Bishop Patrick, Lightfoot, and Hales, suggests that the returns were not completed that were sent in to the king, as it appears from 1 Chron. xxvii. 24; and that the writer of the Book of Samuel mentions the number according to the list actually given in; and the author of the Book of Chronicles according to the list not laid before the king, or inserted in the public records, but generally known among the people.

We cannot but hesitate, however, in admitting this solution, because it is difficult to conceive that the compiler of public annals, as are the Chronicles, should abandon the authentic or authorized returns that had been made, and prefer such as were obtained from sources of private information. We think that the conjecture of Mr. Baruh meets the case, and will be considered as highly satisfactory by the ingenuous inquirer.

"It appears," he remarks, "by 1 Chron. xxvii., that there were twelve divisions of generals, who commanded monthly, and whose duty was to keep guard near the king's person, each having a body of troops of twenty-four thousand men, which, jointly, formed a grand army of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand; and as a separate body of twelve thousand men naturally attended on the twelve princes of the twelve tribes, mentioned in the same chapter, the whole will be three hundred thousand, which is the difference between the two accounts, of eight hundred thousand, and of one million one hundred thousand. As to the men of *Israel*, the author of Samuel does not take notice of the three hundred thousand, because they were in the actual service of the king, as a standing army, and therefore there was no need to number them; but Chronicles joins them to the rest, saying expressly כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל *cal Israel*, 'all those of *Israel* were one million one hundred thousand;

whereas the author of Samuel, who reckons only the eight hundred thousand, does not say כל ישראל *cal Israel*, 'all those of Israel,' but barely כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל *vesthali Israel*, 'and Israel were,' &c. It must also be observed, that, exclusive of the troops before mentioned, there was an army of observation on the frontiers of the Philistines' country, composed of thirty thousand men, as appears by 2 Sam. vi. 1, which, it seems, were included in the number of five hundred thousand of the people of Judah, by the author of Samuel; but the author of Chronicles, who mentions only four hundred and seventy thousand, gives the number of that tribe exclusive of those thirty thousand men, because they were not all of the tribe of Judah, and therefore does not say כל יהודה *cal Jehudah*, 'all those of Judah,' as he had said *cal Israel*, 'all those of Israel,' but only *Jehudah*, 'and those of Judah;' and thus both accounts may be reconciled, by only having recourse to other parts of Scripture treating on the same subject, which will ever be found the best method of explaining difficult passages."

The observations which follow these remarks are so just, and deserve so constantly to be borne in mind, that we will offer no apology for presenting them to the reader.

"The above variations are, in appearance, so glaringly contradictory, that, if the standing army of two hundred and eighty-eight thousand men had not been recorded in Scripture, by which the difficulties are solved, those modern critics who take a delight in finding seeming defects, blemishes, and corruptions, in our copies of the sacred books, might with great plausibility produce the present collation as an irrefragable instance to support their position. But let us, for a moment, suppose that those circumstances, though real facts, had not been recorded, how would the state of the question then rest? Those critics would plume themselves on what they would call the irresistible force of such contradictory instances; but all their boasting would be grounded on the baseless fabric of a vision; I mean, on our ignorance of those particulars which, if known, would immediately reconcile the variations. The inference I would draw from this observation is, that many difficulties may appear insurmountable, which might easily be solved, had the sacred writers been more explicit in recording circumstances, which, perhaps, they have omitted as being well known in their time; and therefore critics should be more cautious than peremptory to pronounce all seeming variations to be a proof of corruption, since our present inability to reconcile them is no certain proof of blemish or defect."*

91. "And David's heart smote him after that he had numbered the people. And David said unto the Lord, I have sinned greatly in that I have done," &c.—Ver. 10—17.

Bishop Horne has most justly suggested, that there can be no doubt that we are much in the dark upon this point, that is, the sin of David in numbering the people; and that, if any light can be thrown upon it, that light must proceed from a passage in Exod. xxx. 12, where God says to Moses, "When thou takest the sum of the children of Israel after their number, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, when thou numberest them, that there be no plague among them when thou numberest them." To number the people, then, he further remarks, was not merely to count them out of curiosity or vain-glory. It was a religious rite; it was a muster, a review, a visitation, an inquisition into their conduct, into the religious and moral state in which they at that time stood before their God. For upon such inquisition something came out, or appeared against them, which required an offering, by way of atonement or ransom for their souls: "They shall give a ransom, that there be no plague amongst them when thou numberest them:" a very observable expression; for when David numbered them, this was the very thing that happened; *there was a plague among them*, in consequence of their *being numbered*. They might be in such a state, that God would not accept them or their offerings. It is not improbable that they should be in such a state, if we consider what corruptions must needs creep in under Saul's wicked reign, and David's long wars, during most of which time the country had been overrun by the Philistines, &c., who would propagate their idolatry, with its flagitious concomitants. In short, Israel had provoked God; for otherwise his anger would not have been kindled against them, as we are informed that it was; their offences called for punishment, and on the numbering the people an opportunity was taken to inflict it. Joab appears to have been aware of the consequence, as a known case: "Why," he says, "will my lord the king be a cause of punishment, trespass, or forfeiture (לֵאשָׁמָה) to Israel?" 1 Chron. xxi. 3: as if he knew that, upon a visitation, they must be punished who should be found guilty, and was unwilling that the number of the king's subjects should be lessened. But David might

think it necessary, and his zeal prevailed. Otherwise it is extraordinary that such a man as Joab should anticipate what David either could not or would not see. On the whole, to adopt the words of Dr. Chandler, If they who object credit the history of the Old Testament in this part of it, and think it is true,—that one of these three plagues was offered to David, as the punishment of his offence, that he chose the pestilence, that it came accordingly, and was removed upon his intercession,—they are as much concerned to account for the difficulties of the affair, as I or any other person can be. If they do not believe this part of the history, as the sacred writers represent it, let them give us the account of it as it stands in their own imagination, and tell us whether there was any plague at all, how and why it came, and how it went and disappeared of a sudden.*

92. "So David bought the threshing-floor and the oxen for fifty shekels of silver."—Ver. 24.

This passage will be effectually harmonized with 1 Chron. xxi. 25, by inserting a comma after the word *threshing-floor*. It will then appear that David bought the oxen for fifty shekels of silver, which the author of Samuel states, omitting the price paid for the threshing-floor; and that he paid for this five hundred shekels of gold, the author of Chronicles omitting the price paid for the oxen.

THE FIRST BOOK OF KINGS.

CHAPTER II.

93. "And, behold, thou hast with thee Shimei, the son of Gera, a Benjamite of Bahurim, which cursed me with a grievous curse in the day when I went to Mahanaim: but he came down to meet me at Jordan, and I sware to him by the Lord, saying, I will not put thee to death with the sword. Now, therefore, hold him not guiltless: for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him: but his hoar head bring thou down to the grave with blood."—Ver. 8, 9.

The following remarks on this passage are from Dr. Kennicott. David is here represented, in our English Version, as finishing his life with giving a command to Solomon to kill Shimei; and to kill him on account of that very crime for which, as David here says, he had sworn to him by the Lord he would not put him to death. The behaviour thus imputed to the king and prophet, and which would be justly censurable if true, should be examined very carefully as to the ground it stands upon: and, when the passage is duly considered, I presume it will appear highly probable that an injury has been here done to this illustrious character. The point to which I now beg the reader's attention is this:—That it is not uncommon in the Hebrew language to omit the negative in a second part of the sentence, and to consider it as repeated, when it has been once expressed, and is followed by the connecting particle. And thus on Isai. xiii. 22, the late learned annotator says, "The negative is repeated, or referred to by the conjunction *vau*, as in many other places." See also Isai. xxiii. 4. The necessity of so very considerable an alteration, as inserting the particle *NOT*, may be here confirmed by some other instances. Thus, Ps. i. 5: "The ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, *NOR* (the Hebrew is *AND*, signifying *and not*) sinners in the congregation of the righteous." Ps. ix. 10: "The needy shall not alway be forgotten (and then the negative understood as repeated by the conjunction *now* dropped): the expectation of the poor shall (*NOT*) perish for ever." Ps. xxxviii. 1: "O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath; *NEITHER* (*AND*, for *AND NOT*) chasten me with thy hot displeasure." Ps. lxxv. 5: "Lift not up your horn on high (and then the negative understood as repeated by the conjunction *now* dropped); speak *NOR* with a stiff neck." Prov. xxiv. 12, our version is this: "Doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth the soul, doth (*NOR*) he know it? and shall (*NOR*) he render to every man according to his works?" And Prov. xxx. 3: "I neither learned wisdom, *NOR* (*AND*, for *AND NOT*) have the knowledge of the holy." If, then, there are in fact many such instances, the question is, whether the

* Bishop Horne's Letters on Infidelity, pp. 261—265.

negative, here expressed in the former part of David's command, may not be understood to be repeated in the latter part; and if this *may* be, a strong reason will be added why it *should* be, so interpreted. The passage will run thus: "Behold, thou hast with thee Shimei, who cursed me: but I swore to him by the Lord, saying, I will not put thee to death by the sword. Now, therefore, hold him not guiltless (for thou art a wise man, and knowest what thou oughtest to do unto him), but bring not down his hoary head to the grave with blood." Now, if the language itself will admit this construction, the sense thus given to the sentence derives a very strong support from the context. For, how did Solomon understand this charge? Did he kill Shimei in consequence of it? Certainly he did not. For, after he had immediately commanded Joab to be slain, in obedience to his father, he sends for Shimei; and, knowing that Shimei ought to be well watched, confines him to a particular spot in Jerusalem for the remainder of his life. See ver. 36—42.*

CHAPTER IV.

94. "And Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots."—Ver. 26.

In 2 Chron. ix. 25, we read of but *four* thousand stalls for horses and chariots, whence occasion has been taken to affirm a contradiction between the passages; to get rid of which, some critics have supposed a corruption of one of the texts; and others, after Capellus, that the word *arba'im* in Kings does not really signify *forty*, but *four* only. A careful inspection of the texts, however, will relieve us from both these alternatives, by showing that the author of Kings speaks of *horses*, and the author of Chronicles of the *stalls* or *stables* in which they were kept. In each stall there were probably *ten* distinct places for the horses.

CHAPTER V.

95. "And Solomon gave Hiram twenty thousand measures of wheat for food to his household, and twenty measures of pure oil," &c.—Ver. 11.

In 2 Chron. ii. 10, twenty thousand baths of oil are mentioned, and some of the ancient Versions have here "twenty thousand measures." But as barley and wine are also spoken of there, it has been thought probable that the wheat and the small quantity of fine oil mentioned here, and which are said to have been for Hiram's household, were intended for the use of his *own family*, while that in Chronicles was for his own *workmen*, which indeed it is there expressly stated to have been.

CHAPTER VII.

96. "For he cast two pillars of brass, of eighteen cubits high apiece."—Ver. 15.

In 2 Chron. iii. 15 it is said, these two pillars were thirty-five cubits high, and Tremellius reconciles the two places by observing that the common cubit was but one half of the cubit of the sanctuary; so that eighteen of the one would make thirty-six of the other; from which, if we deduct one cubit for the plinth or base, there would remain thirty-five. This solution of the difficulty is adopted by L'Empereur,† and many subsequent writers. As there is much difference of opinion, however, among biblical writers, as to the existence of this distinction between the *common* and the *sacred* cubit, the most satisfactory mode of reconciling the passages, perhaps, is that proposed by Abarbanel, and adopted by Bishop Patrick, namely, that the writer of the Kings speaks of the length of the pillars singly, whereas the writer of the Chronicles speaks of the length of them together. In this case, as in the former one, a cubit must be allowed for the base.

* Remarks on Select Passages, pp. 131—133.

† Pref. Codex Middoth.

CHAPTER VIII

97. "Since the day that I brought forth my people Israel out of Egypt, I chose no city out of all the tribes of Israel to build a house, that my name might be therein; but I chose David to be over my people Israel."—Ver. 16.

Mention is here made of some one *place* and some one *person* preferred before all others; and the preference is that of *Jerusalem* to all other places, and of *David* to all other men. In consequence of this remark, we shall see the necessity of correcting this passage by its parallel, in 2 Chron. vi. 5, 6, where the thirteen Hebrew words which Dr. Kennicott supposes it to have lost,* are happily preserved.

K.	Since the day that I brought forth my people				
C.	<i>Since the day that I brought forth my</i>				
K.	Israel out of	Egypt, I			
C.	<i>people</i>	<i>out of the land of Egypt, I</i>			
K.	chose no CITY out of all the tribes				
C.	<i>chose no CITY among all the tribes</i>				
K.	of Israel to build an house, that				
C.	<i>of Israel to build an house in, that</i>				
K.	my name might be therein;	*	*		
C.	<i>my name might be there; neither</i>				
K.	*	*	*	*	*
C.	<i>chose I any MAN to be a ruler over</i>				
K.	*	*	*	*	*
C.	<i>my people Israel; but I have</i>				
K.	*	*	*	*	*
C.	<i>chosen JERUSALEM, that my name</i>				
K.	*	*	but I	chose DAVID	
C.	<i>might be there; and I have chosen DAVID</i>				
K.	to be over my people Israel.				
C.	<i>to be over my people Israel.†</i>				

98. "If they sin against thee (for there is no man that sinneth not)."—Ver. 46.

On this translation Dr. A. Clarke has observed, that the second clause renders the *supposition* in the first clause entirely nugatory; for if there be *no man that sinneth not*, it is useless to say, *if they sin*; but this contradiction is taken away by reference to the original *לֹא יִשְׁכַּח לָךְ* *ki yechetau lak*, which should be translated—*If they shall sin against thee*: or, *should they sin against thee*, *לֹא יִשְׁכַּח לָךְ* *ki ain adam asher la yecheta*, "For there is no man that MAY not sin;" that is, there is no man *impeccable*, none *infallible*, none that is not *liable* to transgress. This is the true meaning of the phrase in various parts of the Bible; and so our translators have understood the original; for ven in the 31st verse of this chapter, they have translated *יִשְׁכַּח* *yecheta*, *IF a man TRESPASS*; which certainly implies he *might* or *might not* do it: and in this way they have translated the same word, *IF a soul SIN*, in Lev. v. 1, vi. 2, 1 Sam. ii. 25, 2 Chron. vi. 22, and in several other places. The truth is, the Hebrew has no mood to express words in the *permissive* or *optative* way; but to express this sense it uses the *future* tense of the conjugation *kāl*.†

CHAPTER X.

99. "And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, and linen yarn: the king's merchants received the linen yarn at a price. And a chariot came up and went out of

* It is very questionable whether these words were ever part of the text in Samuel; but as they fill up the sense, the collation is important.

† Kennicott's Remarks, p. 134.

‡ Comment. *in loco*.

Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and an horse for an hundred and fifty: and so for all the kings of the Hittites, and for the kings of Syria, did they bring them out by their means."—Ver. 28, 29.

This passage is very obscure, and various have been the conjectures of the learned as to its meaning. Without fatiguing the reader with these, we will give Mr. Charles Taylor's interpretation, which is at least as unexceptionable as any other which has been proposed. It will be perceived that he discards the *linen yarn*, and restricts the passage to *horses*. "And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt, even (literally, *drawings out, prolongations*) *strings*, that is, of horses, and the king's mother received the *strings*, that is, of horses—in *commutation*, exchange, barter. And a chariot, or set of chariot-horses (that is, *four*) came up from Egypt for six hundred shekels of silver, and a single horse for one hundred and fifty." As the whole context, he remarks, seems rather applicable to horses than to linen yarn, the idea preserves the unity of the passage, while it strictly maintains the import of the words.*

CHAPTER XIII.

100. "And it came to pass, as they sat at the table, that the word of the LORD came unto the prophet that brought him back," &c.—Ver. 20, 21.

A great clamour, says Dr. Kennicott, has been raised against this part of history, on account of God's denouncing sentence on the *true* prophet by the mouth of the *false* prophet; but if we examine with attention the words of the original, they will be found to signify either, *he who brought him back*, or, *whom he had brought back*; for the very same words אשר השיב *asher hashibo*, occur again, ver. 23, where they are now translated, *whom he had brought back*; and where they cannot be translated otherwise. This being the case, we are at liberty to consider the words of the Lord as delivered to the *true* prophet, thus brought back; and then the sentence is pronounced by God himself, calling to him out of heaven, as in Gen. xxii. 11. And that this doom was thus pronounced by God, not by the false prophet, we are assured in ver. 26: "The Lord hath delivered him unto the lion, according to the word of the Lord, which HE spake unto him.†"

CHAPTER XIV.

101. "Rehoboam was forty and one years old when he began to reign," &c.—Ver. 21.

There is no doubt that the number of years in this verse, and in the parallel place, 2 Chron. xii. 13, is incorrect, though found in all the copies, and in all the ancient Versions; except, that in a fragment of the Vatican and Aldine Septuagint, it is said, after chap. xii. 24, that "he was sixteen years old" when he began to reign, and he reigned, as the former copy says, "twelve years;" but, according to the latter, "seventeen years," in Jerusalem. Houbigant decides for this reading, which he supports with some strong arguments. That Rehoboam was a young man when he came to the throne, is evident from his consulting "the *young men* that were brought up with him," 2 Chron. x. 8, 10. They were *young men* then; and, if *he was brought up with them*, he must have been *young then* also. Besides, Abijah, in his speech to Jeroboam (2 Chron. xiii. 7) says, that at the time Rehoboam came to the throne he was tender-hearted, and therefore could not withstand the children of Belial raised up against him by Jeroboam; but surely at that time no man, as Dr. Wall suggests, could be reputed *young* and *tender-hearted*, quite devoid of experience, who was above *forty* years of age. Besides, if this reading were allowed, it would, as Dr. A. Clarke remarks, prove that Rehoboam was born *before* his father Solomon began to reign, for Solomon reigned only *forty* years, and Rehoboam immediately succeeded him.

102. "And Abijah his son reigned in his stead."—Ver. 31.

Among the various corruptions to which ancient MSS. have been liable, says Dr. Kennicott, none have happened more easily than the corruptions of *numbers* and *proper names*: and yet, as no

* Fragments to Calmet, No. 290.

† Remarks, p. 134.

words are of greater consequence to the sense, proportionable care should be taken for the correction of such mistakes. The name of this king of Judah is now expressed *three* ways. Here, and in four other places, it is *Abijam* or *Abim*; in two other places it is *Abihu*; but in eleven other places it is *Abiah*, as it is expressed by St. Matthew, chap. i. 7. It is remarkable, that in this first instance, *Abijam* is *Abiah* in our oldest Hebrew MS., supported by ten other copies. Note, also, that it is here *Abiah*, and in the Greek and Syriac Versions; and though the *printed* Vulgate has *Abiam*, yet it is *Abia* in the only Latin MS. consulted on this occasion.*

But it has so happened, that our translators have frequently rendered a name variously, where there is no diversity of reading in the original text; this has greatly added to the evil, and gives rise to much inconvenience. In another part of his work Dr. Kennicott has supplied two lists of names, one of which comprises those that differ in the Hebrew text, and the other, those which are varied in the English translation. It might be well for a person to correct the Bible which he uses from these lists; by so doing he would avoid much perplexity, since the name of a person is now found so greatly to vary, that it is difficult to persuade ourselves that the same person is really meant. The following are the tables to which we refer:—

I. SAME NAMES DIFFERING IN HEBREW.

Gen. iv. 18.	Mehujael	- - -	Mehijael	in the same verse.
— x. 3.	Riphath	- - -	Diphath	1 Chron. i. 6.
— x. 4.	Tarahiah	- - -	Tarshishah	— i. 7.
— x. 4.	Dodanim	- - -	Rodanim	— i. 7.
— x. 23.	Mash	- - -	Meashech	— i. 17.
— x. 28.	Obal	- - -	Ebal	— i. 22.
— xxxii. 30, 31.	Peniel	- - -	Penuel	in the next verse.
— xxxvi. 11.	Zepho	- - -	Zephi	1 Chron. i. 36.
— xxxvi. 23.	Shepho	- - -	Shephi	— i. 40.
— xxxvi. 39.	Pau	- - -	Pai	— i. 50.
— xxxvi. 40.	Alvah	- - -	Aliah	— i. 51.
— xlv. 10.	Jemuel	- - -	Nemuel	Numb. xxvi. 12.
— xlv. 10.	Jachin	- - -	Jarib	1 Chron. iv. 24.
— xlv. 10.	Zohar	- - -	Zerah	Numb. xxvi. 13; 1 Chron. iv. 24.
— xlv. 11.	Gershon	- - -	Gershom	1 Chron. vi. 1, 16.
— xlv. 13.	Job	- - -	Jashub	Numb. xxvi. 24.
— xlv. 16.	Esbon	- - -	Ozni	— xxvi. 16.
— xlv. 21.	Huppim	- - -	Huram	1 Chron. viii. 5.
— xlv. 21.	Ard	- - -	Addar	— viii. 3.
— xlv. 23.	Huahim	- - -	Shuham	Numb. xxvi. 42.
Exod. iv. 18.	Jether	- - -	Jethro	in the same verse.
Numb. i. 14.	Deuel	- - -	Reuel	Numb. ii. 14.
Deut. xxxii. 44.	Hoshea	- - -	Joshua	Deut. xxxiv. 9.

II. NAMES, SAME IN HEBREW, YET DIFFERENT IN ENGLISH.

Gen. v. 3.	Seth	- - -	Sheth	1 Chron. i. 1.
— v. 6.	Enos	- - -	Enosh	— i. 1.
— v. 9.	Cainan	- - -	Kenan	— i. 2.
— v. 15.	Jared	- - -	Jered	— i. 2.
— v. 18.	Enoch	- - -	Henoch	— i. 3.
— v. 21.	Methuselah	- - -	Mathushelah	— i. 3.
— x. 6.	Phut	- - -	Put	— i. 8.
— x. 14.	Philistim	- - -	The Philistines	— i. 12.
— x. 14.	Capthorim	- - -	Caphthorim	— i. 12.
— x. 16.	Emorite	- - -	Amorites	Gen. xv. 16, 21.

* Remarks, p. 135.

Gen. x. 16.	Girgasite	- - -	Girgashites	Gen. xv. 21.
— x. 19; Jer. } xlvii. 5. }	Gaza	- - -	Azzah	Deut. ii. 23; Jer. xxv. 20.
Gen. x. 22.	Ashur	- - -	Asshur	1 Chron. i. 17.
— x. 24.	Salah	- - -	Shelah	— i. 18.
— xiv. 2, 8.	Zebaiim	- - -	Zeboim	Deut. xxix. 23.
— xiv. 5, xv. 20.	Rephaims	- - -	Giants	— ii. 20, iii. 11, 13.
— xxv. 15.	Naphiah	- - -	Nephiah	1 Chron. v. 19.
— xxix. 6.	Rachel	- - -	Rahel	Jer. xxxi. 15.
— xxxvi. 34.	Temani	- - -	The Temanites	1 Chron. i. 45.
— xxxvi. 37.	Saul	- - -	Shaul	— i. 48.
— xxxvii. 25, 28.	Ishmeelites	- - -	Ishmaelites	Judg. viii. 24.
Exod. i. 11.	Raameses	- - -	Rameses	Exod. xii. 37.
— vi. 18.	Izhar	- - -	Izehar	Numb. iii. 19.
— vi. 19.	Mahali	- - -	Mahli	1 Chron. vi. 4, 19.
Lev. xviii. 21.	Molech	- - -	Moloch	Amos v. 26.
Numb. xiii. 8, 16.	Oshea	- - -	Hoshea	Deut. xxxii. 44.
— xiii. 16.	Jehoshua	- - -	Joshua	Numb. xiv. 6.
— xxi. 12.	Zared	- - -	Zered	Deut. ii. 13.
— xxxii. 3.	Jazar	- - -	Jaazer	Numb. xxxii. 35.
— xxxiii. 31.	Bene-Jaakan	- -	{ Children of Jaakan }	Deut. x. 6.
Deut. iii. 17.	Ashdoth-pisgah	- -	{ Springs of Pisgah }	— iv. 49.

Nothing can be more clear, adds the doctor, than that these *fifty-four* proper names (at least, the far greater part of them) should be expressed with the very same letters, in the places where they are now different. In the second list, instances, six, ten, and thirteen, have been corrected, and expressed uniformly in the English Bible, printed at Oxford in 1769. And surely the same justice in the translation should be done to the rest of them, and to all others through the Bible, at least, where the original words are now properly the same. Who would not wonder at seeing the same persons named both *Simon* and *Shimon*, *Richard* and *Ricard*? And can we then admit here both *Sah* and *Shah*, *Rachel* and *Rahel*? Again: whoever could admit (as above) both *Gaza* and *Azzah*, with *Raameses* and *Rameses*, should not object to *London* and *Ondon*, with *Amsterdam* and *Amatradam*. In short, in a history far more interesting than any other, the names of *persons* and *places* should be distinguished accurately, and defined with exact uniformity. And no true critic will think lightly of this advice of Origen: *Contemnenda non est accurata circa NOMINA diligentia ei, qui voluerit probe intelligere sanctas literas*? “No person who desires thoroughly to understand the sacred writings, should undervalue a scrupulous attention to the proper names.”

CHAPTER XV.

103. “And his mother’s name was Maachah, the daughter of Abishalom.”—Ver. 10.

There is a very remarkable variation in the name of king Abijam’s (or Abijah’s) mother: in the book of Kings she is called *Maaca*, the daughter of *Abesalom*; and even in 2 Chronicles (xi. 20), she is also called by this same name; but in chap. xiii. 1, 2, it calls her by the name of *Micayau*, the daughter of *Uriah*, of *Gibea*.

To solve this difficulty, Mr. Baruh suggests, that the title, אמ המלך *am he melak*, *king’s mother*, and that of הנביא *he gebireh*, translated *queen* (2 Kings x. 13; 2 Chron. xv. 16), describe one and the same thing: that is, that the phrase, “And his mother’s name was,” &c., when expressed on a king’s accession to the throne, at the beginning of his history, does not always imply that the lady whose name is then mentioned was the king’s [natural] mother. He conceives, that אמ *amu*, “the king’s mother,” when so introduced, is only a title of honour and dignity enjoyed by one lady, solely of the royal family, at a time, denoting her to be the first in rank, chief sultana, or queen dowager, whether she happened to be the king’s [natural] mother or not. This remark seems to be

corroborated by the history of king Asa (1 Kings xv. 10; 2 Chron. xv. 16), who was Abijah's son. In the Book of Kings, at his accession, this same Maaca, Absalom's daughter, is said to be his mother; and Asa afterwards deprived her of the dignity of גְּבִירֶה *gebireh*, or chiefest in rank, on account of her idolatrous proceedings; but it is certain that Maaca was his grandmother, and not his mother, as here described: therefore, if we look upon the expression of the *king's mother* to be only a title of dignity, all the difficulty will cease: for this Maaca was really Abijah's mother, the dearly beloved wife of his father Rehoboam, who, for her sake, appointed her son Abijah to be his successor to the throne; but when Abijah came to be king, that dignity of *the king's mother*, or the first in rank of the royal family, was, for some reason, perhaps for seniority, given to Micayau, the daughter of Uriel of Gibeas; and afterwards, on the death of Micayau, that dignity devolved to Maaca, and she enjoyed it at the accession of Asa, her grandson, who afterwards degraded her for her idolatry. This Mr. Baruh suggests as a rational way of reconciling all these passages, which seem so contradictory and repugnant to each other. The better to prove this, he observes, that in 2 Kings xxiv. 12 it is said, "And Jehoiachim, the king of Judah, went out to the king of Babylon, he and *his mother*, and his servants, and his princes, and his officers; and the king of Babylon took him," &c.; and ver. 15, "And he carried away Jehoiachim to Babylon, and the *king's mother*, and the king's wives, and his officers," &c. And Jeremiah (chap. xxix. 2), mentioning the same circumstances, says, "After that, Jeconiah the king, and *the queen*, and the eunuchs, the princes of Judah, &c., departed from Jerusalem:" but it is evident that the *queen* in this verse cannot mean the king's wife, as it would seem by the translators' rendering always the word *he gebireh*, *queen*; but means the lady that is invested with the dignity of being called the *king's mother*; the phrase *he gebireh* in Jeremiah corresponding with *am he melek*, *the king's mother*, and *amu*, *his mother*, in Kings. The Vulgate translates the word *gebireh*, 1 Kings xi. 19, and 2 Kings x. 13, *reginas*; 1 Kings xv. 13, *princeps*; 2 Chron. xv. 16, *deposuit imperio*; Jer. xxix. 2, *domina*; xiii. 18, *dominatrix*; and the English translators always render it *queen*.

That "king's mother" was a title of dignity, is obvious by 1 Kings ii. 19: "Bathsheba therefore went in to king Solomon, to speak unto him for Adonijah; and the king rose to meet her, and bowed himself unto her, and sat down on his throne, and caused a seat to be set for *the king's mother*, and she sat on his right hand;" for it was better to say, "and caused a seat to be set for *her*:" but he says, "for *the king's mother*:" and perhaps it was on this occasion that Bathsheba was first invested with the honour of that dignity.*

These conjectures of Mr. Baruh are established beyond any reasonable doubt by the following extracts, made by the late editor of Calmet: "The *oloo kani* (not *oloo kanai*) is not governess of the Crimea. This title, the literal translation of which is "GREAT QUEEN," simply denotes a dignity in the Harem, which the khan usually confers on one of his sisters; or, if he has none, on one of his daughters or relations. To this dignity are attached the revenues arising from several villages, and other rights.† On this occasion the king crowned his mother Malacotawit, conferring upon her the dignity and title of ИТЕГНЕ, the consequence of which station I have often described; that is, as king's mother, regent, governess of the king when under age," &c.‡ "Gusho had confiscated, in the name of the king, *all the queen's* [that is, the ИТЕГНЕ] or king's mother's *villages*, which made her believe, that this offer of the king to bring her to Gondar was an insidious one. In order to make the breach the wider, he had also prevailed upon *the king's* [natural] *mother* to come to Gondar, and insist with her son to be crowned, and take the title and estate of ИТЕГНЕ. The king was prevailed upon to gratify his [natural] mother, under pretence that the *iteghe* had refused to come upon his invitation; but this, as it was a pretence only, so it was expressly a violation of the law of the land, which permits of but *one iteghe*, and never allows the nomination of a new one, while the former is in life, however distant a relation she may be to the then reigning king. In consequence of this *new* coronation, two large villages, Tshemmera and Tocussa, which belonged to the *iteghe*, as appendages of her royalty, of course devolved upon the king's own mother, newly crowned, who, sending her people to take possession, the inhabitants not only refused to admit her officers, but forcibly drove them away, declaring they would acknowledge no other mistress but their old one, to whom they were bound by the laws of the land."||

From these extracts, we perceive, (1) That the title and place of "king's mother" is of great

* Critica Sacra Examined, pp. 131—135.

† Baron du Tott, vol. ii., p. 64.

‡ Bruce's Travels, vol. ii., p. 581.

|| Ibid., vol. iv., p. 244.

consequence; and in reading Mr. Bruce, we find the *iteghe* interfering much in public affairs, keeping a separate palace and court, possessing great influence, authority, &c. (2) That while any *iteghe* is living, it is contrary to law to crown another; which accounts at once for Asa's *iteghe*, or king's mother, being his grandmother, the same person as held that dignity before he came to the crown. (3) That this title occurs also in other parts of the East; and is given without consideration of natural maternity. (4) It should seem that "queen," in our sense of the word, is a title and station unknown in the royal harem throughout the East. If it be taken at all, it is by that wife who brings a son after the king's coronation: such son being presumptive heir to the crown, his mother is sometimes entitled "Sultana Queen," or "prime Sultanness;" but not with our English ideas annexed to the title *queen*. (5) That this person is called indifferently "queen," or "*iteghe*," or "king's mother," even by Mr. Bruce; whence arises the very same ambiguity in our extracts from him, as has been remarked in Scripture.

This illustration also sets in its proper light the interference of the "queen" in the story of Belshazzar (Dan. v. 10), who, by her reference to former events, appears not to have been any of the wives of Belshazzar; neither, indeed, could any of his wives have come to that banquet (see Esth. iv. 16), or have appeared there under those circumstances, even had such a one been acquainted with the powers and talents of Daniel, as a prophet, or as a public man, or servant of the king; or if intelligence of what passed at the banquet had been carried into the harem, both of which ideas are very unlikely; whereas the queen evidently speaks with much influence, if not authority, and was a proper person to be informed, and consulted also, on any emergency: beside, as her palace was separate and distant from the king's (though it might be within the circuit of Babylon, and certainly was, at this time, as Babylon was now under siege), it allows for the interval of confusion, conjecture, introduction of the wise men, &c., &c., before the queen's coming. Accounts must have been carried to her, and her coming from her own palace to the king's must have taken up time. In order, therefore, to determine who was this "queen," which has been a *desideratum* among learned men, it is not enough to know who might be Belshazzar's wife or wives at the time, but also who was *iteghe* or king's mother before he came to the crown; and who, therefore, being well acquainted with former events, and continuing in the same dignity, might naturally allude to them on this occasion. Had inquiry into this matter been conducted on these principles, in all probability it had been more conformable to the manners of the East, and had superseded many ineffectual conjectures.*

CHAPTER XVI.

104. "In the thirty and first year of Asa king of Judah began Omri to reign over Israel, twelve years: six years reigned he in Tirzah."—Ver. 23.

There must be a mistake here in the number thirty-one: for in ver. 10 and 15, it is said that Zimri slew his master, and began to reign in the *twenty-seventh* year of Asa; and as Zimri reigned only *seven days*, and Omri *immediately* succeeded him, this could not be in the *thirty-first*, but in the *twenty-seventh*, year of Asa, as related above. Rabbi Solomon Jarchi reconciles the two places thus: "The division of the kingdom between Tibni and Omri began in the *twenty-seventh* year of Asa: this division lasted *five years*, during which Omri had but a share of the kingdom. Tibni dying, Omri came into possession of the *entire* kingdom, which he held *seven years*: this was in the *thirty-first* year of Asa. *Seven years* he reigned *alone*; *five years* he reigned over *part* of Israel; *twelve years* in the whole. The two dates, the *twenty-seventh* and the *thirty-first* of Asa, answering, the first to the beginning of the division, the second to the sole reign of Omri.

CHAPTER XVIII.

105. "He [Elijah] answered him, Go tell thy lord, Behold, Elijah is here. And he said, What have I sinned, that thou wouldest deliver thy servant into the hand of Ahab, to slay me?"—Ver. 8, 9.

* Fragments to Calmet, No. 16.

It has been inquired why Obadiah should fear that Ahab would slay him, for telling him that Elijah was in such a place? The reason is implied in the 12th verse; namely, that Obadiah feared the providence of God would direct the prophet to avoid the search of Ahab, as he hitherto had done; and that Ahab would put Obadiah to death, for not securing him when he had it in his power.

CHAPTER XX.

106. "So the prophet departed, and waited for the king by the way, and disguised himself with ashes upon his face."—Ver. 38.

It is certainly difficult to conceive how the prophet could conceal himself by spreading ashes over his face, as the text imports. But it would be a very easy matter, for a transcriber to mistake *אֶפְחָד* *aphad*, a fillet or bandage, for *אֶפְחָר* *aphar*, dust, the former of which was probably the original reading. Montanus and Houbigant have so rendered the text, and they are supported by the Vatican copy of the LXX., and the Chaldee.

CHAPTER XXI.

107. "And Naboth said to Ahab, The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."—Ver. 3.

Some persons have found it difficult to justify the conduct of Naboth on this occasion, considering all the circumstances of the case, as far as they are suggested in the narrative of the sacred historian. But his determination will appear perfectly just, when it is recollected, that under the Mosaic law the Lord had commanded that no inheritance should pass out of the family or tribe to which it was originally given, Lev. xxv. 23, &c. Our translation would be improved, however, if it were rendered thus:—"And Naboth said to Ahab The Lord HATH forbidden to me my giving the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."

CHAPTER XXII.

108. "And the king said unto him, Micaiah, shall we go against Ramoth Gilead to battle, or shall we forbear? And he answered him, Go, and prosper: for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king."—Ver. 15.

Those persons who have clamoured against the prophet Micaiah for having told "A LIE in the name of the Lord," might have saved their pains, by a slight inspection of the passage upon which their accusation has been founded. True, Micaiah did reply to Ahab in the words quoted at the head of this article, but that he spoke an irony is too manifest to escape the notice of the most superficial observer. The words are precisely those of the false prophets (ver. 6), and were doubtless intended by Micaiah to reprove the king for his infidelity and impiety. That the design of the prophet was perceived by Ahab is evident from his afterwards adjuring him to "speak nothing but the truth" (ver. 16); that is, to discover to him what really would be the result of the expedition; upon which the prophet assumed another tone, and related to him his vision.

THE SECOND BOOK OF KINGS.

CHAPTER II.

109 "And as he was going up by the way, there came forth little children out of the city, and mocked him, and said unto him, Go up, thou bald head. And he turned back and looked on them, and cursed them in the name of the Lord," &c.—Ver. 23, 24.

The prophet Elisha has been reproached, in no very measured terms, for having *cursed* these *little children*; or, perhaps, we should rather say, that occasion has been taken from the narrative of this occurrence, to scoff at and condemn the sacred book in which it is contained. But we apprehend that there are circumstances connected with the case, as given by the sacred writer, which will satisfy every honest mind of the righteousness of the prophet's conduct; and also of the justice of the punishment which was inflicted on these persons. In the first place, it is to be remarked, that the Hebrew words נַעֲרִים קְטַנִּים *naarim ketenim*, not only signify *little children*, but *young men*, also; *ketenim* being used to denote not only *little*, but *young*, in opposition to *old*; and *naar*, to denote, not only a *child*, but *young man*, *grown to years of maturity*; thus Isaac is called *naar*, when *twenty-eight years* old; Joseph, when *thirty-nine*; and Rehoboam when *forty*. In our old English language the word *child* means a person of such an age. Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, were doubtless *men* when they were set over the affairs of the province of Babylon; yet what they sung in the fiery furnace is called, "The song of the three *children*."

Another thing to be remarked, is, that these idolatrous young men did not merely insult Elisha, but they derided his *prophetic* character; both by the mode in which they referred to the ascent of Elijah to heaven, "Go up, thou bald head; Go up, thou bald head;" that is, follow the example of your master, and ascend to heaven in our sight; and also, by the use of the epithet which they applied to him—thou "*BALD HEAD*."—For it does not appear that Elisha was at this time an *old man*; he had no doubt shaved his head, either under a religious vow, or as an indication of his prophetic character; and it was no doubt with reference to this that the expression was employed.

With regard to the curse or imprecation pronounced by Elisha, the *event* shows it to have been uttered under a divine influence, and therefore does not at all involve the question of the prophet's humanity. Those persons who take one part of the narrative to suit their own purpose, and reject the other, because it removes the difficulty that is otherwise involved in the transaction, act a most unwise and unfair part.

But there is yet another consideration in reference to this narrative that should not be passed by. Did these two bears really *DEVOUR* the two and forty children, as some have represented? Certainly not; the supposition is not credible, and neither the original nor our translation represents this to have been the case. It is merely said, "They *TARE* them," which might have been done in various degrees, without depriving a single person among the forty-two of life.

CHAPTER VI.

110. "And there was a great famine in Samaria; and, behold, they besieged it, until an ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver."—Ver. 25.

The ass being an unclean animal, whose flesh was prohibited by the Mosaic law, renders this passage somewhat difficult to be understood. To enter into an examination of the various interpretations which have been entertained, would require more space than we can devote to the passage. It must therefore suffice to say, that the interpretation which appears to be the most probable is that which takes the Hebrew words, ראש־חמור *rash chemor*, not for an *ass's head*, but for a *pile of bread* or some such article of food.* Some of our readers may smile at this essentially different rendering; but it is, nevertheless, a correct representation of the original. The other expression, translated, "dove's dung," denotes, as Bochart, Schleusner, and other learned men have thought, a kind of *pulse* or *vetches*, which is now called by the Arabs, *pigeon's dung*.

CHAPTER VII.

111. "And one of his servants answered and said, Let some take, I pray thee, five of the horses that remain, which are left in the city (behold, they are as all the multitude of

* The reasons for this translation may be seen in "Scripture Illustrated by Natural Science," Expository Index, p. 116; or in Carpenter's "Scripture Natural History," p. 70, 71.

Israel, that are left in it : behold, I say, they are even as all the multitude of the Israelites that are consumed) ; and let us send and see.”—Ver. 13.

This is a very difficult passage ; and the great variety of explanations given of it cast but little light on the subject. Dr. Kennicott and many other learned men think that there is an interpolation which puzzles, if not destroys, the sense. The exact English of the text, as we now have it, is this, “ And the servant said, Let them take now five of the remaining horses, which remain in it ; behold they are as all the multitude of Israel, which [*remain in it ; behold they are as all the multitude of Israel which*] are consumed ; and let us send and see.” Whoever considers that the *second set* of the *seven words* is neither in the Septuagint nor Syriac Versions, and that those translators who suppose these words to be genuine, alter them to make them look like sense, will probably allow them to have been at first an improper *repetition* ; consequently, to be now an *interpolation*, strangely continued in the Hebrew text. They are wanting in more than forty of the MSS. collated by Kennicott and De Rossi. In some others they are left *without points* ; in others, they have been *written in*, and afterwards *blotted out* ; and in others *four*, in others *five*, of the *seven* words are omitted. They stand on little authority ; and the text should be read, omitting the words inclosed by brackets, as above.

CHAPTER VIII.

112. “ And in the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab king of Israel, Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah began to reign.”—Ver. 16.

This verse, exactly rendered, reads thus, “ And in the fifth year of Joram, son of Ahab, king of Israel, and of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, reigned Jehoram,” &c. The three Hebrew words יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה *yayehoshephat melech yehudah*, and of Jehoshaphat king of Judah, greatly disturb the chronology in this place. It is certain that Jehoshaphat reigned *twenty-five* years, and that Jehoram his son reigned but *eight*, 1 Kings xxii. 42 ; 2 Kings viii. 17 ; 2 Chron. xx. 31, xxi. 5. So that he could not have reigned during his father's life, without being king *twenty* years, and *eight* years ! But these words are wanting in *three* of Kennicott and De Rossi's MSS., in the Complutensian and Aldine editions of the Septuagint, in the Peshito Syriac, in the Parisian Heptaplar Syriac, the Arabic, and in many copies of the Vulgate, collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, both printed and manuscript ; to which may be added, in Dr. A. Clarke's library, one of the fourteenth, and the other of the eleventh century, and what he judges to be the editio princeps of the Vulgate.

CHAPTER XV.

113. “ Azariah, son of Amaziah, king of Judah.”—Ver. 1.

We have already noticed the confusion arising from a corruption of proper names. The person here mentioned is a king of Judah, and yet we can scarcely tell, as Dr. Kennicott remarks, what his real name was ; at least, it would be very difficult, if we consulted only the printed Hebrew text ; for there it is expressed *four* different ways in this same chapter—*Ozriah*, *Ozriku*, *Oziah*, and *Ozihu* ! The doctor's oldest Hebrew MS. happily relieves us from this difficulty, by reading truly, in ver. 1, 6, 7. *וּזְיָהוּ Ozihu (Uzziah)*, where the printed text is differently corrupted. This reading is called *true*, because it is supported by the Syriac and Arabic Versions, in these three verses ; because the printed text itself has it so, in ver. 32 and 34 of this very chapter ; because it is so expressed in the parallel place in Chronicles ; and because it is not *Azarias*, *Αζαρις*, but *Ozias*, *Οζίας*, in St. Matthew's genealogy.*

114. “ And Hoshea the son of Elah, made a conspiracy against Pekah the son of Remaliah, and smote him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, in the twentieth year of Jotham the son of Uzziah.”—Ver. 30.

* Kennicott's Remarks, p. 140.

Here it is said that Hoshea slew Pekah, in the *twentieth* year of Jotham ; and to have reigned in his stead. The *twentieth* of Jotham was certainly the *fourth* of Ahaz. But it is said, chap. xvii. 1, that in the *twelfth* year of Ahaz, Hoshea began to reign. How is this difficulty to be removed ? The answer is, that the beginning of Hoshea's reign may be considered in a double respect. From the fourth of Ahaz to the twelfth, he reigned as sovereign ; whereas, after the twelfth of Ahaz he was subject to the king of Assyria, and paid him tribute. See chap. xviii. 10, 11.

CHAPTER XIX.

115. "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the LORD went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand : and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."—Ver. 35.

In this passage, as in several others, the verb, not having a nominative, should be rendered impersonally :—"And at the time of rising in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses." Thus the absurdity of *dead men* rising up in the morning will be avoided.

CHAPTER XXI.

116. "And he set a graven image of the grove that he had made in the house," &c. —Ver. 7.

It does undoubtedly seem a strange thing for Manasseh to have made the *image* of a *grove*, and place it in the house of the Lord, as an object of religious worship. But the fact is, that the Hebrew word *אשרה asherah*, although it does sometimes denote a *grove*, seems more frequently employed to signify an *idol*, an image carved out of wood. Perhaps *Astarte* or *Venus*.* See chap. xxiii. 6, 7.

CHAPTER XXIII.

117. "And as Josiah turned himself, he spied the sepulchres that were there in the mount, and sent, and took the bones out of the sepulchres, and burned them upon the altar, and polluted it, according to the word of the Lord, which the man of God proclaimed, who proclaimed these words."—Ver. 16.

The Septuagint, and the Hexaplar Syriac Version of Paris, have the following words inserted immediately before the last member of this verse :—"When Jeroboam stood by the altar, at the feast. And (king Josiah) turning about, cast his eyes on the sepulchre of the man of God."

THE FIRST BOOK OF CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER I.

118. There are many variations in the names of persons mentioned in this chapter, compared with the genealogies preserved in the Book of Genesis. Several of these arise merely from the mutation of certain Hebrew letters ; others from the want of an uniform method of rendering the

* See Selden, de Diis Syris, Synt. ii., c. 2.

Hebrew by the translators ; and some others, probably from the circumstance of the same person having two or more names ;—no uncommon thing.

CHAPTER VI.

119. "And the sons of Samuel ; the first-born Vashni, and Abiah."—Ver. 28.

There is a double error in this verse. The word *Joal* has dropped out (see 1 Sam. viii. 2) ; and the Hebrew *vashni*, which signifies *the second*, and which refers to *Abiah*, is turned into a proper name. The Syriac and Arabic read as in 1 Sam. viii. 2.*

CHAPTER VII.

120. "The sons of Manasseh, Ashriel, whom she bore (but his concubine the Aramitess bare Machir the father of Gilead : and Machir took to wife the sister of Huphim and Shuphim, whose sister's name was Maachah) ; and the name of the second was Zelophehad : and Zelophehad had daughters."—Ver. 14, 15.

These verses are extremely obscure. Dr. Geddes translates them thus : "And the sons of Manasseh were, Ashriel, whom his Syrian concubine bore to him ; and Machir Abi Gilead, whom bare to him. Machir took for a wife Maacha, sister to Huphim and Shuphim." The clause following the parenthesis is, in this connexion, evidently incorrect, for it makes Zelophehad to be a son of Manasseh, whereas he was removed from him three generations. How this fragment got in here it is impossible to say ; it does not appear to be connected, as Dr. Geddes remarks, with any part of the genealogy.

CHAPTER IX.

121. "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies ; and, behold, they were written in the book of the kings of Israel and Judah, who were carried away to Babylon for their transgressions."—Ver. 1.

It is not true that Israel and Judah were carried away to Babylon, and therefore Dr. Geddes renders this verse, "Thus were all the Israelites reckoned by genealogies : and lo ! these *were found* written in the registers of the kings of Israel and Judah, when *the Judahites* were, on account of their transgressions, removed to Babylon. Houbigant makes a full stop at Israel, and reads, "But Judah was carried away to Babylon," &c.†

CHAPTER XI.

122. "Now three of the thirty captains," &c.—Ver. 15.

There are many variations in this catalogue, compared with the parallel passage, in 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, &c. ; and, as Dr. Kennicott remarks, one, at least, of the two places must have been corrupted. This learned critic has collated and corrected the accounts, according to his well-known skill, and to his works the reader is referred.‡

* Mede, Kennicott, Dr. A. Clarke, *et alii*.

† In Poole's Synopsis a similar mode of reconciling the text is proposed by other critics.

‡ First Dissertation, pp. 128–144 ; and "Remarks," pp. 141–143.

CHAPTER XVIII.

123. "And David smote Hadarezer king of Zobah unto Hamath, as he went to stablish his dominion by the river Euphrates. And David took from him a thousand chariots, and seven thousand horsemen, and twenty thousand footmen: David also houghed all the chariot *horses*, but reserved of them an hundred chariots."—Ver. 3, 4.

In 2 Sam. viii. 4, the number of horsemen taken by David from the king of Zobah is stated to be *ONE thousand seven* hundred, whereas it is here stated to be *SEVEN thousand*. To remove this discrepancy between the two statements, Mr. Baruh has remarked, that the author of Samuel does not take any notice of the number of *chariots** taken by David on that occasion, although he mentions that he *destroyed* all the chariots,† one hundred excepted; which omission is supplied by the author of Chronicles, by recording that the number of chariots taken was one thousand; and, as in the same idiom, as well as in the Arabic, the noun *was peresh*, is equally applied to horses of a generous breed,‡ as to horsemen (sometimes meaning the one, and sometimes the other), it is probable that the author of Samuel takes notice only of the number of *horsemen* taken, and not of the number of *horses*, which naturally must have been employed for the use of the chariots, and of course must have been taken with them. And the author of Chronicles, without any view of altering what was recorded by the author of Samuel, but only with a design to supply that omission, records that the number of horses taken were *seven thousand*, and perhaps in this number are also included those of the horsemen.||

CHAPTER XIX.

124. "So they hired thirty and two thousand chariots, and the king of Maachah and his people," &c.—Ver. 7.

The parallel passage, 2 Sam. x. 6, mentions thirty-two thousand soldiers, exclusive of the thousand sent by the king of Maachah; but of *chariots* or cavalry no mention is made; besides which, the number of chariots here given is utterly incredible. It should be remarked, therefore, that the word *rechab* denotes not only a *chariot*, but also a *rider* (Isai. xxi. 7), and in this sense it is probably employed in the above-quoted text; or rather, in a collective sense, *cavalry*. If so, it will make the number of troops agree exactly with the statement in Samuel.

CHAPTER XX.

125. "And he brought out the people that were in it, and cut them with saws," &c.—Ver. 3.

See the remarks on 2 Sam. xii. 21.

CHAPTER XXI.

126. "And Joab gave the sum of the number of the people unto David," &c.—Ver. 5.

See the remarks on 2 Sam. xxiv.

* Our translators have inserted "*chariots*," but by printing it in Italics have indicated that it is not in the Hebrew.

† Our translators have here inserted "*horses*" in Italic letters.

‡ See Ezek. xxvii. 14; Isai. xxi. 7, xxxi. 1, in all which places *horsemen* should be understood of *horses* of a generous breed.

|| *Critica Sacra Examined*, p. 85.

THE SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES.

CHAPTER I.

127. "And Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt," &c.—Ver. 16.

See the remarks on 1 Kings x. 28, 29.

CHAPTER IV.

128. "And under it [the molten sea] was the similitude of oxen."—Ver. 3.

In the parallel passage of Kings, instead of בָּקָרִים *bekarim*, *oxen*, we have פְּקַיִם *pekaim*, *knops*, in the form of *colocynths*, which is supposed by able critics to be the reading that ought to be received here; the one word having been mistaken for the other. Houbigant, however, contends that the words in both places are right; but that בָּקָר *bekar* does not signify an *ox* here, but a large kind of *grape*, according to its meaning in Arabic. But this is contested by Dr. A. Clarke, who states that *bekar*, or בָּקָרֶת, *bekareth*, has no such meaning in Arabic, though the phrase עֵץ אֲלֵבֶתָר *ain albetar*, or *ox-eye*, signifies a species of black grape. Houbigant's criticism, therefore, must be abandoned, and a change of letters in the passage admitted.

129. "And it received and held three thousand baths."—Ver. 5.

This molten sea is said, in 1 Kings vii. 26, to have held but *two* thousand baths; and various solutions have been offered of the difficulty involved in the variation. Our limits will not permit us to enumerate these, nor is it at all necessary that we should do so. From ch. iii. 3, it is evident that the cubit in use at the time the books of Chronicles were written, differed from that used in the time of Moses, and it is extremely probable that a similar alteration had been made in measures of capacity, so that two thousand of the old baths might have been equal to three thousand of those used after the captivity. The editor of Calmet has offered another, and a most ingenious solution, in Fragments, No. ccliii.

CHAPTER VI.

130. Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple.

There are some remarkable variations in this prayer, as recorded here and in 1 Kings viii.; and the method of accounting for them adopted by Mr. Baruh seems very plausible. He conceives that, as it was an extempore public speech or oration, afterwards committed to writing from recollection, it is probable that several copies were made by the scribes, differing in some particulars from one another, though agreeing in essentials, and, in general, in the identical words: the copy recorded by the author of Kings might be the only one known to him, or it might be then deemed the most authentic. But the author of Chronicles, being possessed of another copy, thought fit to insert it entire, not with any intention of depreciating or correcting the former copy, but to preserve so valuable a fragment, especially as it coincided, in a great measure, with his general plan; being thereby furnished with ample matter to illustrate and explain the copy registered in the Book of Kings. It may be well to observe, as the same writer suggests, that ver. 13, in 2 Chron. vi., is no part of the prayer, but only an explanatory parenthesis, to describe the place on which Solomon stood when he uttered it.

CHAPTER XIII.—Ver. 1, 2.

131. See remarks on 1 Kings xv. 1, 2.

Ver. 3.

132. On the number of men in the armies of Abijah and Jeroboam, see the remarks on Numb. i.

CHAPTER XVI.

133. "In the six and thirtieth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha, king of Israel, came up against Judah," &c.—Ver. 1.

Baasha died in the *twenty-sixth* year of the reign of Asa, and therefore could not have come against Judah in the *thirty-sixth*. Hence Usher, agreeably to the marginal reading, reckons it to be the thirty-sixth year after the division of the kingdom into Israel and Judah.

CHAPTER XX.

134. "And after this did Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, join himself with Ahaziah, king of Israel, who did very wickedly. And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish: and they made the ships in Ezion-gaber. Then Eliezer, the son of Dodavah of Mareshah, prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath broken thy works. And the ships were broken, and they were not able to go to Tarshish."—Ver. 35—37.

The following observations are from the Examination of the Critica Sacra, by Mr. Baruh.

By the First Book of Kings (chap. xxii. 48, 49) it seems that Jehoshaphat made some ships to go to Tarshish on his own sole account; but the expedition was frustrated, because the ships were wrecked in the port of Ezion-geber. After this accident, Ahaziah, the king of Israel, proposed to Jehoshaphat to enter into an association for another expedition, and to send on board the ships his own servants along with those of Jehoshaphat, who rejected the proposal. But by the Book of Chronicles, the case seems to be quite the contrary, for the first expedition is there said to have been in company between the two kings, and God had caused the ships to be wrecked on account of such an association with a wicked prince. In answer to this, it is presumed that the real fact was, that Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah were associated in the first expedition in this manner: that the ships and men belonged entirely to Jehoshaphat, and that the king of Israel was to contribute half the expenses of the undertaking, as an associate; and afterwards, when the ships were destroyed, Ahaziah proposed to make another expedition, the ships to be manned with the subjects of both kings; which proposal was rejected by Jehoshaphat. On this supposition it is reasonably said, that the design of Chronicles in registering this transaction was to make the necessary addition to the record found in Kings, to explain that the fact was as above described; the author of Kings attributes the expedition to Jehoshaphat alone ("Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not;") to hint that the first expedition was attempted with Jehoshaphat's own shipping and men; but in this account the circumstance of its being in association with the king of Israel was wanted, which is supplied in the Chronicles: "And afterwards did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel," &c.; and again, "and he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish, and they made the ships in Ezion-geber," meaning that Jehoshaphat associated Ahaziah with him; that is to say, agreed to grant him a share in the expedition that he intended to make, which ships, indeed, were wrecked according to Eliezer's prediction. The whole serving as an additional note to the records of the Book of Kings; and to render this more intelligible, it may be proper to blend the two accounts, by which it will appear that the additions in Chronicles are only illustrations.

CHRONICLES.—"And after this did Jehoshaphat king of Judah join himself with Ahaziah king of Israel, who did very wickedly. And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to Tarshish; and they made the ships in Ezion-geber."

KINGS.—"*Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold.*"

CHRONICLES.—“Then Eliezer, the son of Dodavah of Mareshah, prophesied against Jehoshaphat, saying, Because thou hast joined thyself with Ahaziah, the LORD hath broken thy works. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish.”

KINGS.—“*Then said Ahaziah the son of Ahab unto Jehoshaphat, Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships ; but Jehoshaphat would not.*”

In short, the chief object of the author of Chronicles was to explain ver. 48 in the account in Kings, “Jehoshaphat made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold,” by the verses 25, 36, 37, adding the circumstance of the prophecy of Eliezer, and thereby hinting that Ahaziah's proposal to Jehoshaphat, and by him rejected, was for a *second* expedition.

It would be too much to expect that this illustration of the sacred history should satisfy a captious objector ; but it will show to every other person, whether it be thought altogether satisfactory or not, that there may be a great number of circumstances now unknown to us, which, were it otherwise, would clear up most of those passages of Scripture which are now difficult or obscure.

CHAPTER XXII.

135. “Forty and two years old was Ahaziah when he began to reign.”—Ver. 2.

In 2 Kings viii. 26, we read that Ahaziah was TWENTY-TWO years old when he began to reign. But this difficulty is solved by Lightfoot, who suggests that the author of Chronicles computed from the accession of the house of Omri, his mother's name being Athaliah, the daughter of Omri. The original properly signifies, “Ahaziah was the son of the two and forty years,” namely, of the house of Omri. A similar mode of reckoning is adopted in 2 Kings xxiv. 8, compared with 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9.

136. “And he sought Ahaziah : and they caught him (for he was hid in Samaria), and brought him to Jehu ; and when they had slain him, they buried him : Because, said they, he is the son of Jehoshaphat, who sought the Lord with all his heart. So the house of Ahaziah had no power to keep still the kingdom.”—Ver. 9.

This differs in some particulars from the account given in 2 Kings x. 12, &c. Dr. Lightfoot thus gives “the current of the story :” Jehu slayeth Joram in the field of Jezreel, as Ahaziah and Joram were together : Ahaziah, seeing this, flies and gets into Samaria, and hides himself there. Jehu marcheth to Jezreel, and makes Jezebel dogs' meat : from thence sends to Samaria for the heads of Ahab's children and posterity, which are brought him by night, and showed to the people in the morning. Then he marcheth to Samaria, and by the way slayeth forty-two of Ahab's kinsmen, and findeth Jehonadab, the father of the Rechabites. Coming into Samaria, he searcheth for Ahaziah : they find him hid, bring him to Jehu, and he commands to carry him towards Gur, by Ibleam, and there to slay him. They do so : smite him in his chariot, and his charioteer driveth away to Megiddo, before he dies.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

137. “And Tiglath-pilneser king of Assyria came unto him, and distressed him, but strengthened him not.”—Ver. 20.

This has been thought to contradict 2 Kings xvi. 9 ; but it has been from a want of attention to the scope of the writer. Tiglath-pilneser did assist Ahaz against the king of Syria ; but this did little service to the king of Israel : he did not assist him to recover the cities which had been taken from him by the Philistines, nor did he lend him any forces to join to his own. On the contrary, he rather weakened him, by exhausting his treasury, and destroying Samaria, by which the way was opened to spoil the country more easily in the next reign.

138. "For he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus, which smote him."—Ver. 23.

It is not credible that the inspired writer should represent the false gods—idols, vanities, nothings—as smiting Ahab. Some critics have therefore very judiciously proposed to read, with the old Hebrew copies from which the Septuagint was made, "And king Ahaz said, I will seek to the gods of Damascus which have smitten me."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

139. "Jehoiachin was eight years old when he began to reign."—Ver. 9.

See the remarks on chap. xxii. 2.

THE BOOK OF EZRA.

CHAPTER II.

140. "The whole congregation together was forty and two thousand three hundred and threescore."—Ver. 64.

Though the sum total, both here and in Nehemiah, is equal, namely, forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, yet the particulars reckoned up only make twenty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, in Ezra; and thirty-one thousand and eighty-nine, in Nehemiah: and we find that Nehemiah mentions one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five persons which are not in Ezra, and Ezra has four hundred and ninety-four not mentioned in Nehemiah. This last circumstance, which has seemed to render all hope of reconciling them impossible, Mr. Altling thinks is the very point by which they may be reconciled; for if we add Ezra's *surplus* to the *sum* in Nehemiah, and Nehemiah's *surplus* to the *number* in Ezra, they will both amount to thirty-one thousand five hundred and eighty-three; which, subtracted from forty-two thousand, three hundred and sixty, leaves a deficiency of ten thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, which are not named because they did not belong to the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, or to the priests, but to the other Israelitish tribes.*

THE BOOK OF JOB.

CHAPTER III.

141. "Let them curse it that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning."—Ver. 8.

This translation is scarcely intelligible; nor is the original free from obscurity. Schultens, Rosenmüller, and, after them, Dr. Good, have laboured much to make it plain. They think the custom of *sorcerers*, who had *execrations* for peoples, places, things, days, &c., is here referred to; such as Balaam, Elymas, and many others were: but, as Dr. Clarke suggests, it cannot be thought that a man who knew the Divine Being and his sole government of the world, so well as Job did, would make such an allusion; who must have known that such *persons* and their *pretensions* were impostors and execrable vanities. The Doctor gives the following translation and paraphrase of the words, which closely resembles the sense given in Coverdale's Bible.

* See Comprehensive Bible, *in loco*.

"Let them curse it who detest the day ; them who are ready to raise up the leviathan." That is, Let them curse my birth-day who hate day-light, such as adulterers, murderers, thieves, and banditti, for whose practices the *night* is more convenient ; and let them curse it, who being, like me, *weary of life*, are desperate enough to provoke the leviathan, the crocodile, to tear them to pieces."

By *leviathan* some understand the greatest and most *imminent dangers* ; and others, the *devil*, whom the enchanter is desperate enough to attempt to raise by their incantations.

CHAPTER V.

142. "But he saveth the poor from the sword, from their mouth, and from the hand of the mighty."—Ver. 15.

To avoid the harsh construction of this verse, Dr. A. Clarke translates, upon the authority of eleven MSS. and four of the ancient versions, as follows :—

He saveth from the sword of their mouth ;
The poor from the hand of the mighty.

Or thus—

He saveth from the sword of their mouth ;
And with a strong hand the impoverished.

CHAPTER VI.

143. "To him that is afflicted pity should be shewed from his friend ; but he forsaketh the fear of the Almighty."—Ver. 14.

This is much better translated by Mr. Good, according to the reading of thirty-two of Kennicott and de Rossi's MSS.—

"Shame to the man who despiseth his friend,
He indeed hath departed from the fear of the Almighty."

THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

PSALM XXVII.

144. "When thou saidst, Seek ye my face ; my heart said unto thee, Thy face, Lord, will I seek."—Ver. 8.

Much labour and skill have been expended in attempts to make sense of this verse, as it stands in our English Bible, and various conjectural emendations have been made of the original text to support the sense which has been assigned to it. Dr. A. Clarke has, we think, given a good sense to the passage, without attempting a single alteration in the text : this we subjoin :—

"Unto thee, my heart, he hath said, Seek ye my face : Thy face, O Jehovah, I will seek. O my heart, God hath commanded thee to seek his face : *Then*, his face I will seek."

This translation may be thus paraphrased :—Unto thee, *his church*, God hath said, Seek ye, *all who compose it*, my face. *To which I, his church, have answered*, Thy face, O Jehovah, I will seek. Archbishop Secker and Bishop Horaley concur with Dr. Clarke in this sense.

PSALM XXVIII.

145. "The Lord is their strength, and he is the saving strength of his anointed."—Ver. 8.

The Lord is *their* strength—whose strength? This is not clear. Several of the MSS. collated by Kennicott and De Rossi, however, for לָבֵם *lemoo*, to them, read לָבֵם *laamoo*, to his people, which lection is confirmed by six of the ancient Versions, and gives much more precision to the sense.

PSALM XXXVI.

146. "The transgression of the wicked saith within my heart, that there is no fear of God before his eyes."—Ver. 1.

It is difficult to conceive of the transgression of the wicked speaking or operating within the heart of the Psalmist. According to the reading of four of Kennicott and De Rossi's MSS., however, the text reads, "The speech of transgression to the wicked is in the midst of his heart;" and this agrees with six of the ancient Versions. The meaning is, that the wicked man says in himself that he will sin; that is, he determines upon it, he makes up his mind to it; the reason of which is, "God's fear is not before his eyes."

PSALM XLIX.

147. "Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil, when the iniquity of my heels shall compass me about?"—Ver. 5.

Taking the Hebrew word *akebi*, which we render, *my heels*, as the contracted plural of *akebim*, *supplanters*, Dr. Kennicott translates the passage—

"Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil,
Though surrounded by the wickedness of my enemies?"

PSALM LXII.

148. "God hath spoken once; twice have I heard this, that power belongeth unto God. Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy: for thou renderest to every man according to his work."—Ver. 11, 12.

Except some of the ancient Versions, almost every Version, translation, and commentary, says Dr. A. Clarke, have missed the sense and meaning of this verse. Of the former verse the doctor offers the following translation: "Once hath God spoken; these two things have I heard." But what are the two things the Psalmist had heard? 1. כִּי עַל לֵאֲלֵהִם *ki az lealehim*, "That strength is the Lord's;" that is, he is *the origin of power*. 2. וְלִךְ אֲדֹנֵי חֶסֶד *velach adoni chesed*, "and to thee, Lord, is mercy;" that is, he is *the Fountain of mercy*. These, then, are the *two* grand truths that the *law*, yea, the whole *revelation* of God, declare through every page. He is the *Almighty*—he is the *most merciful*; and hence the *inference*,—the powerful, just, and holy God, the most merciful and compassionate Lord, *will* by and by *judge the world*, and *will render to man according to his works*. How this beautiful meaning, adds the doctor, should have been unseen by almost every interpreter, is hard to say; but these verses contain one of the most instructive truths in the Bible.

PSALM LXXIII.

149. "Therefore his people return hither, and waters of a full cup are wrung out to them."—Ver. 10.

There are very few verses in the Bible, says Dr. A. Clarke, that have been more variously translated than this ; and, like the man in the fable, they have blown the *hot* to *cool* it, and the *cold* to *warm* it. It has been translated, "Therefore God's people fall off to them ; and thence they reap no small advantage:" and, "Therefore let his people come before them ; and waters in full measure would be wrung out from them." That is, should God's people come before them, they would squeeze them to the utmost ; they would wring out all the juice in their bodies. The Chaldee has, "Therefore are they turned against the people of the Lord, that they may bruise and beat them with mallets ; that they may pour out to them abundance of tears." The Vulgate, "Therefore shall my people return here, and days of abundance shall be found by them." The Septuagint is the same. The Ethiopic, Arabic, and Syriac, nearly the same. After having noticed these various renderings, Dr. Clarke gives his own sense of the passage thus :—The Hebrew text is—"Therefore shall my people be converted, where they shall find abundance of waters." That is, the people, seeing the iniquity of the Babylonians, and feeling their oppressive hand, shall be converted to me ; and I will bring them to their own land, where they shall find an abundance of all the necessities of life. This is believed to be the meaning ; and thus we find their afflictions were sanctified to them ; for they obliged them to return to God, and then God caused them to return to their own land.

PSALM CIX.

150. "Let this be the reward of mine adversaries from the LORD, and of them that speak evil against my soul."—Ver. 20.

This verse, properly translated, becomes, as Dr. A. Clarke suggests, a key to the meaning of all that precedes it ; and will relieve us from all those difficulties which have resulted from construing the imprecations of verses 6—19, as being those of the Psalmist with reference to his enemies. The twentieth verse, fairly interpreted, reads thus :—"This is the work of my adversaries before the Lord ; and of those who speak evil against my soul," or *life*. That is, all that is said from the sixth verse to the twentieth, are the evil words and imprecations of my enemies against my soul, labouring to set the Lord, by imprecations, against me, that their curses may take effect. We cannot omit to copy the doctor's closing remarks on this interpretation of the passage. "Surely," he observes, "the curses contained in it are more like those which proceed from the mouth of the wicked, than from one inspired by the Spirit of the living God. Taking the words in this sense, which I am persuaded is the best, and which the *original* will well bear, and several of the Versions countenance, then our translation may stand just as it is ; only let the reader remember, that at the *sixth* verse David begins to tell *how his enemies cursed HIM, while he prayed for THEM.*"

THE BOOK OF ECCLESIASTES.

CHAPTER II.

151. "For who can eat, or who else can hasten hereto, more than I?"—Ver. 25.

Instead of *חַי חַי חַי chootz memeni*, "more than I," eight MSS., the LXX., Syriac, and Arabic read *חַי חַי חַי chootz memenu*, "without him." This connects much better, and is probably the true reading : "This also I saw, that it was from the hand of God : for who can eat, and who can relish (or enjoy), without him ? For he giveth to man that is good."

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH.

CHAPTER VII.

152. "Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign; Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," &c.—Ver. 14.

This passage is adduced in the Gospel of Matthew as having been fulfilled in the formation of the human body of Christ, out of the established course of nature; but to discover the mode of fulfilment, and the principle on which the correspondence is founded between the prophetic declaration and the circumstances of our Saviour's birth, is, as Dr. Pye Smith, from whom we borrow these remarks, suggests, attended with considerable difficulty. It seems to be as clear as words can make it, that the son promised was born within a year after the giving of the prediction; that his being so born, at the assigned period, was the "sign" or pledge, that the political deliverance announced to Ahaz should certainly take place; and that such deliverance would arrive, before their child should have reached the age in which children are commonly able to discriminate the kinds of food. Hence Dr. Smith conceives the most plausible solution to be this: that since the promise of the Messiah, in the fulness of time to be born, included an assurance of the preservation of the Jewish nation, and the royal house of David, till that time; that promise was, by inference, a sign of deliverance from the present Syrian invasion.

The divine declaration seems to have been calculated for two classes of persons, and therefore intended to comprise two very different subjects. The first class consisted of Ahaz and his family, together with those among the Jews whose minds regarded only temporal enjoyments, and whose wishes rose no higher than to a political deliverance. The other was, the class of pious persons who knew the value of spiritual blessings, and who regarded the promises and the providence of God with an especial view to the consolation and redemption of Israel by the Messiah.

To the former description of persons, the birth of a male child,—at the close of the usual period of gestation, reckoned from the giving of the prediction, and born of the person directly pointed out,—would be a manifest proof of divine omniscience and agency, and would be a sufficient sign to ensure their reliance on the accomplishment of the rest of the prediction within the specified time.

The other class, aided by their knowledge of divine truth and grace, so far as then made known by revelation, *might* attach to the proximate design of the expressions a reference to their most exalted hopes, and an assurance that God would "raise up a horn of salvation in the house of his servant David, as he had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets." This supposition is rendered the more probable by the consideration that it was the usual custom of the prophets, particularly of Isaiah, when commissioned to administer encouragement to their countrymen, under some actual or threatened calamity, to derive the chief topics of consolation from the great "hope of Israel," the promise of the Messiah.

After having offered some additional and equally judicious observations on the definitive appellation, "The Virgin," and justified by sound philological arguments the extended sense of the term *almah*, Dr. Smith quotes the following passages from two of the most rational, moderate, and candid among the German Scripture critics.

"That this passage has a respect to the Messiah, both the terms of the passage and the testimony of St. Matthew (i. 23) require us to admit. I am aware, indeed, that a late English writer, one Williams, if I mistake not,* to escape the difficulties of this passage, has preferred to reject as spurious the first two chapters of Matthew. But a thinking man will employ every fair means of restoration, rather than have recourse to the desperate measure of excision. Commentators of this more sober description, though adopting different opinions, have proved that a respect to the Messiah may be justly attached to these words, either, as some maintain, *properly* and *directly*, or, according

* "Thus slightly does the German critic speak of the late Dr. John Williams, of Sydenham. His pamphlet was entitled, 'A Free Enquiry into the Authenticity of the First and Second Chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel. London, 1771; and 2nd edit. 1789.'"

to the larger number, by a *symbolical allusion* to the birth of the blessed Redeemer. I shall sketch the arguments on each side.

"Those who affirm that the passage refers *directly* to the Messiah, chiefly rest their opinion upon (1) The noun מָלַךְ, which they contend can be applied only to a miraculous event. (2) The actual fulfilment of the prediction, which cannot be pretended in any other than in Christ, and which the testimony of inspiration expressly affirms, not merely comparing, but arguing, 'this came to pass, *iva*, IN ORDER THAT the word might be fulfilled.' (3) The name IMMANUEL, which, they affirm, cannot be applied to any mere human being. (4) The supposed allusion to this passage in Mic. v. 1—3. (5) The scope of the prophet, who, by announcing the future nativity of the Messiah as a descendant of the house of David, afforded to the distracted monarch an assurance that the royal family should infallibly be preserved.*

"The other hypothesis maintains that the *sign*, promised by the prophet, actually took place at the time; namely, that a virgin (either shortly after married to some person, perhaps to Isaiah himself, or in some preternatural way) did bring forth a son, to whom the name Immanuel was given, as a figure and assurance of *God being with them* by his almighty protection. This they support by these considerations: (1) Another instance of prophetic significance in marriages, and in the births and names of children; Hos. i., ii., iii. [Isa. viii. 1—4, is more to the purpose]. (2) The circumstances which necessarily require an application to the then existing time; for example, ver. 15, compared with 21. (3) The design of the prophet; which was to show to the distressed and distrustful king, that, in this extremity of his affairs, there was no reason to despair, and that the country should not be subdued. This, they suppose, the prophet declares by a significant name, to show that Judæa was not abandoned, but that, according to the signification of the word IMMANUEL, God was on its side; and he adds a promise, that, within so many years as usually elapse between the birth of a child and its early attainments of knowledge and conversation, the two monarchs who were so formidable to the Jews would be driven from their thrones. No person, say they, could conceive the hope of speedy deliverance from the prophecy of a Messiah to be born of a virgin seven hundred years after. The apprehension was not for the extermination of the royal family, but for the ruin of the nation. The assurance of the Messiah was satisfactory against the former apprehension: but it was no security against the latter, the evil really in question. The kingdom both could have been ruined, and in fact was so, long before the birth of the Messiah. These interpreters add, that another of the prophet's children, by having a significant name, was a figure of the near destruction of the same two kingdoms, those of Israel and Syria (chap. viii. 3); and that he therefore justly declared that his children were *for signs*, viii. 18. Faber's Notes in the German translation of Harmer's Observations. Isenbiehl's New Essay on the Prophecy of Immanuel, 1778. But Professor Isenbiehl does not admit the symbolical sense."†

"I cannot pass over the late essay, &c. of Prof. Isenbiehl of Mentz, in which that learned writer labours hard to prove that this prophecy has no reference to the miraculous birth of the Messiah, and that the citation of it by Matthew is nothing but an accommodation, or a comparison of two similar events. The allegation of this passage by Matthew appears to me to be very different from an accommodation, or comparison of similar events. The mode of citation which the evangelist uses (i. 22, 'All this came to pass, IN ORDER THAT the word might be fulfilled,' &c.) is manifestly a formula of an argument, not for a comparison; and is extremely different from the other mode often used by the sacred writers of the New Testament: for example, chap. ii. 17, 'Then was fulfilled the word;' which, and similar phrases, I acknowledge to have been frequently used when only an accommodation is intended. Though, on account of the allegation by Matthew, I conceive that this prophecy of Isaiah respects the nativity of the Messiah from a virgin, yet I regard this sense as belonging to the words of the prophet, not literally, but *TYPICALLY*. Those who explain it in this application literally, are reduced to constructions extremely forced, and to which the whole context is repugnant. It is clear that the prophet promises a sign to be very shortly given, from which Ahaz was to know that his deliverance would very shortly take place. Such was not the promise of the Messiah, to be born of a virgin above seven hundred years after. The solutions which have been devised for answering this objection, are extremely improbable, and manifestly wrest the prophet's words. I think, then, the weight of evidence to be in favour of those who

* See Crusius's Gnomon, Bishop Lowth, &c., &c.

† Doederlein's Version and Notes on Isaiah, Altorf, 1780, pp. 30—33.

interpret the passage thus; that the prophet pointed out some virgin who was present and well known to all the persons addressed; that he predicted that she should, in a miraculous manner, bring forth a son, for a confirmation of the promise given; and that this miracle, while it *immediately* respected the times of the prophet, was a TYPE of the birth of Christ of the Virgin Mary. As the brazen serpent was a type of the crucifixion of Christ, and Jonah of his being three days in the grave; is it incredible that God should have been pleased thus to prefigure his miraculous birth?*

THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH.

CHAPTER XVIII.

153. "Will a man leave the snow of Lebanon, *which cometh* from the rock of the field? or shall the cold flowing waters that come from another place be forsaken?"—Ver. 14.

This passage is obscure; and hence various interpretations have been proposed. Dr. Roberts gives the meaning of the prophet thus: "Will any one in his senses go from better to worse? and yet ye have deserted me, says Jehovah, to serve idols!" Upon this idea a comparison is instituted: "Will any man leave the snow of Lebanon for the rock of the field?" Snow† was most refreshing in the heat of summer: a naked rock in the field must have retained intense heat: therefore, "Will any one leave the refreshing snows of Lebanon to bask upon a hot rock in the middle of a field? shall distant waters be dug‡ up in preference to cold streams|| that flow naturally?"

CHAPTER XX.

154. "O Lord, thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived."—Ver. 7.

This translation is harsh and faulty. Meeting with an ill return for the discharge of his office, the prophet appeals to God, that it was not his own ambition which led him to it, but only obedience to the Divine command; therefore he says, "Thou hast *רָמַמְתָּ*, *over-persuaded* me, and I was over-persuaded.

CHAPTER XXVII.

155. "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim," &c.—Ver. 1.

It is evident that this prophecy was delivered about the fourth year of ZEDEKIAH, and not of *Jehoiakim*, as in the text. Three of Kennicott's MSS. have *Zedekiah*; so likewise have the Syriac and the Arabic. Houbigant, Lowth, Blayney, Dahler, Dr. A. Clarke, and others, declare for this reading, against that in the present text. And it is clear, from the third and twelfth verses, where Zedekiah is expressly mentioned, as the last-mentioned critic suggests, that this is the true reading.

* Dathis: *Prophetae Majores*; Halm, 1785, pp. 22—25 Dr. J. P. Smith's *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, vol. i., pp. 266—281.

† See Prov. xiv. 13, 25, xvi. 1.

‡ See Taylor's *Concordance* in *וְיָרַם*.

|| Dr. Roberts suspects that an *ו* prefixed to *עַרְפָּ* has been lost from the text, on account of the final *ג* of the preceding word.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Ver. 15.

156. The incoherence and embarrassment introduced into this place, are got rid of by Dr. Blayney, who removes ver. 15 hence, and places it between the twentieth and the twenty-first verses. This is its place in the Septuagint also.

CHAPTER XXXII.

157. "And Zedekiah—shall surely be delivered into the hand of the king of Babylon, and shall speak with him mouth to mouth, and his eyes shall behold his eyes."—Ver. 4.

Some superficial or inattentive readers of the Bible have supposed this prophecy, which declares that Zedekiah should *behold* the king of Babylon, to be contradictory to Ezek. xii. 13, where it is said, that he should be brought to Babylon, but should *not see it*; and, indeed, Josephus tells us, that the seeming inconsistency of the two prophecies determined Zedekiah to believe neither of them. Both of them, however, were literally fulfilled. Zedekiah was taken in the plains of Jericho, and sent to the king of Babylon to Riblah (2 Kings xxv. 5, 6), where he then resided, whom he *saw* and spoke to, and who caused *his eyes to be put out*. He was then sent to Babylon, which he could *not see*, and was there imprisoned and died.

CHAPTER LI.

158. "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his city is taken at *one end*."—Ver. 31.

It seems a contradiction to say, one post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to show the king of Babylon that his kingdom is taken (not at *one end*, as our translation says, but) at *the extremity*. Yet this was strictly true; for Babylon was taken at each end at the same time; so that the messengers, who carried the news to the king, at his palace in the middle of the city, did run to *meet* each other, as coming from opposite quarters.—Cooper.

CHAPTER LII.

159. "And there were ninety and six pomegranates on a side; and all the pomegranates upon the net-work were an hundred round about."—Ver. 23.

In 1 Kings vii. 42, and 2 Chron. iv. 13, it is said, there were four hundred pomegranates for the two net-works or wreaths, two rows of pomegranates for each net-work or wreath. The mode of expression here is different, but amounts to exactly the same. For, divide the two pillars into four quarters, according to the four winds [as the text, literally translated, reads]; and let ninety-six pomegranates stand opposite to each of the four winds upon the two pillars; the whole number in front of the four winds, taken together, will be three hundred and eighty-four. But they were in four rows, two on each pillar: and in each row must have been four angular pomegranates, that could not be said to be opposite to any one of the four winds, consequently sixteen angular ones in the four rows; which sixteen being added to three hundred and eighty-four, make up the number of pomegranates in all four hundred; that is, one hundred in a row upon the wreathen work round about.—Blayney.

THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL.

CHAPTER XII.

160. "And I will bring him [Zedekiah] to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there."—Ver. 13.

See the remarks on Jeremiah xxxii. 4.

CHAPTER XX.

161. "Wherefore I gave them statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live."—Ver. 25.

What a foolish noise has been made about this verse, says Dr. Clarke, by *critics*, believers, and infidels! How is it that God can be said to give a people statutes that were *not good*, and judgments whereby they could *not live*? He answers, in *their sense* of the words, God never gave any such, at any time, to any people. Let any man produce *an example* of this kind, if he can; or show even the *fragment* of such a law, sanctioned by the Most High. The simple meaning of this place, and all such places, is, that when they had rebelled against the Lord, despised his statutes, and polluted his sabbaths—in effect, cast him off, and given themselves wholly to their idols—then he *abandoned* them, and they abandoned themselves to the customs and ordinances of the heathen. That this is the meaning of the words, requires no proof to them who are the least acquainted with the *genius* and *idiom* of the Hebrew language, in which God is a thousand times said *to do* what in the course of his *providence* or *justice* he only *permits* to be done. It follows, in the 26th verse, "And I polluted them in their own gifts, in that they caused to pass through *the fire* all that openeth," &c.; but who supposes that God ever gave them a *statute* or *judgment* to this effect? No: he ever inveighs against such things, and they have his heaviest displeasure and curse.

CHAPTERS XL.—XLVIII.

162. Scarcely any part of Scripture, if we except the Book of Revelation, has so exercised and defied the learning and ingenuity of critics as this portion of Ezekiel's prophecies. The Jew and the Christian have equally failed in their attempts to define the prophet's terms, or to conceive any thing like an adequate idea of the structure of the building, the several parts of which he has with such minuteness described. Expositors, generally, have therefore offered a few passing remarks upon the vision, and, insisting upon the impossibility of explaining some of its parts otherwise than allegorically, have come to the sweeping conclusion, that the whole is to be understood only in a figurative or spiritual sense. But such a conclusion seems inconsistent with the great minuteness of description observed throughout the vision. This principle of interpretation has been chiefly induced, it would seem, by an expression in ch. xlv. 4, concerning the oblation of land: "And of this measure shalt thou measure the length of *twenty-five thousand*," &c., making in the whole a square of *twenty-five thousand*, which has been supposed to mean, twenty-five thousand times five hundred square reeds (see ver. 1), one and a half square Hebrew mile; making a square of thirty-seven thousand five hundred Hebrew miles. Under this impression, the learned Lightfoot has remarked—and he has been followed by most subsequent writers—that "Ezekiel's temple is larger than all the earthly Jerusalem, and his Jerusalem larger than all the land of Canaan!" This construction of the passage, however, is altogether unauthorized by the text, which, properly understood, makes the oblation of land to consist of but twenty-five thousand reeds of six cubits each, making *seventy-five* Hebrew miles, or fifty-six and a quarter English miles. It seems, therefore, more consonant with the descriptions of the prophet to consider this temple as the model of one which will yet be raised in the Holy Land, after the return of the Jews thither.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW.

CHAPTER II.

163. "That it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, Out of Egypt have I called my son."—Ver. 15.

To account for the application of this passage to God's calling his son *Jesus* out of Egypt, we must refer to Exod. iv. 22, 23, where God commands Moses, "Thou shalt say unto Pharaoh, Thus saith the Lord, Israel (is) *my son*, (even) *my first-born*. And I say unto thee, *Let my son* go, that he may serve me." Now, under the patriarchal dispensation, every *first-born son* in the holy line, reckoning from the *father*, was a type of the *great first-born*, the *Messiah* (see Rom. viii. 29; Col. i. 18); and, no doubt, was regarded as such by the pious believers of those times. The people of Israel, then, being thus solemnly declared by God himself to be his *son*, even his *first-born*, must have been considered, in some respects, an eminent *type* of the same exalted personage. Hence, in Isai. xlix. 3, *Israel* is put for *Messiah*, in these words: "Thou art my servant, O Israel, in whom I will be glorified." And let it be particularly observed, that Jehovah gave to Israel this high title, on occasion of his calling him out of Egypt. Believers, therefore, might naturally expect that something similar to the calling of Israel out of Egypt would happen to him whom Israel represented. If *Jesus*, then, was indeed the *Messiah*, the *Son of God*, the *great first-born*, Matthew very pertinently applied Hosea's words concerning God's calling Israel when a child (that is, in a political sense, as not yet being formed into an independent nation) out of Egypt, to his recalling the antitype of Israel, even his beloved child *Jesus*, out of the same country.—*Parkhurst*.

CHAPTER VII.

164. "And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you."—Ver. 23.

The verb *to know* is frequently used in Scripture in the sense *to appropriate*; as Ezek. xix. 7; Ps. i. 6; Amos iii. 12; Rom. vii. 15; Rev. ii. 17; and so in the text: "I never *know*," that is, *appropriated*, "you as my disciples."—Preachers, and workers of miracles, real or pretended, under Christ, yet disapproved! "Reprobate silver shall men call them, because the Lord hath rejected them," Jer. vi. 30. Vain will be the plea of ecclesiastical office in that day.

CHAPTER VIII.

165. "And when he was come to the other side, into the country of the Gergesenes."—Ver. 28.

St. Mark (chap. v. 1), and St. Luke (chap. viii. 26), say the country of the *Gadarenes*; but this is no contradiction, for the country of the *Gadarenes* was included in the region of the *Gergesenes*. One evangelist names the entire region; the other two, only the particular part of it in which the miracle was performed.

166. "There met him two possessed with devils," &c.—Ver. 28.

The other evangelists, above referred to, speak but of *one* demoniac on this occasion, whence a contradiction in this part of the evangelical history has been affirmed to exist. But it is much to be wished that a little more caution had been exercised by those persons to whom we are chiefly indebted for such discoveries, before they had ventured to impugn the writings of men in whom there is at least no apparent *intention* to deceive. If the subsequent writers had never seen the Gospel of Matthew, how will the unbeliever account for the substantial agreement between their history and his, in this and every other circumstance which they have in common? If they had

seen the earlier Gospel of Matthew, and had compiled theirs from it, with the design, as the objector urges, to deceive the world, how came they to be so careless or so unwise as to deviate, in any circumstance, from their copy? The fact is, that even if such discrepancies as that under consideration could in no way be removed, the difficulties involved in a rejection of the gospel history would by far outnumber those involved in its reception.

But we are not reduced to this alternative, for there are, in fact, at least two ways of reconciling the evangelists, without offering any violence to the text. The first of these is that which supposes the use of the *dual* number, employed here and in several other passages by St. Matthew, to be a common Syriacism; his gospel being originally written in this language. The other is, that there were *two* demoniacs healed, as related by St. Matthew, one of whom was a Jew, and the other a Gadarene. Mark and Luke, writing more particularly for the *Gentile* converts, omit to mention the former, because the cure of a *Gentile* by our Lord, being a more remarkable occurrence than the cure of a Jew (many of whom had been the favoured objects of his healing power), and also more adapted to encourage the faith of Gentile believers, they were desirous to fix their undivided attention on that fact, which they have now more effectually done than if they had mentioned the two persons concerned.

CHAPTER X.

167. "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword."—Ver. 24.

No remark would have been offered on this passage, had we not heard a respectable Jew urge it as a proof that Jesus could not have been the Messiah! The Messiah, he justly observed, was promised to introduce and perpetuate universal peace; but since Jesus declared that his object was not such, but the reverse, it was plain that he made no pretensions to the character so delineated. But the fact is, that the declaration of our Lord in this place is nothing more than a forcible and oriental mode of expressing the certainty of a foreseen *consequence* of any measure, by representing it as *the purpose* for which the measure was adopted.* It may be further remarked, however, that the Hebrew word *shalom*, rendered by the Greeks *εἰρήνη*, was used to express all possible blessings, temporal and spiritual; but especially the former. The expectation of the Jews was, that when the Messiah should come, all temporal *prosperity* should be accumulated on the land of Judæa; and therefore, as Dr. A. Clarke suggests, *τὴν γῆν* in this verse, should not be translated *the earth*, but *this land*. The import of our Lord's teaching will then be this: "Do not imagine, as the Jews in general vainly do, that I am come to *send forth* (*βαλεῖν*), by forcing out the Roman power, that *temporal prosperity* which they long for; I am not come for this purpose, but to send forth the Roman *sword*, to cut off a disobedient and rebellious nation, the cup of whose iniquity is already full, and whose crimes cry aloud for speedy vengeance."

CHAPTER XX.

168. "To sit on my right hand, and on my left, is not mine to give, but *it shall be given to them* for whom it is prepared of my Father."—Ver. 23.

This translation utterly changes and destroys the sense of Christ's words. It represents him as having nothing to do in the dispensing of rewards and punishments, which is, nevertheless, a doctrine pervading every other part of the New Testament. See Rev. iii. 21, &c., *ἀλλά*, here, says Grotius, as in other places, is for *εἰ μὴ*, thus Matt. xvii. 8: *εἰ μὴ* is expressed Mark ix. 8, by *ἀλλά*:—"not mine to give, unless for whom it is prepared," &c. Implying, as Dean Stanhope remarks, that the honours and degrees of happiness "in his kingdom" are not the Son's to give, in the sense in which the apostles supposed; that is, he does not give them absolutely and arbitrarily; not led by partiality or respect of persons, or vanquished by importunities, as earthly princes are; but that he is limited by considerations of equity and strict justice, from which it can never be consistent with the perfections of his nature to depart. The expression argues no defect in the power of

* See Wetstein and Campbell.

Christ, but only a perfect conformity to his Father's will, says Whitby: perhaps we should more correctly say, to the plan of the Christian economy.

CHAPTER XXIII.

169. "Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel."—Ver. 24.

This passage conveys no sense as it is now printed; but Dr. A. Clarke and others have shown, that a typographical error had crept into one of the early English translations, which has gradually been received into all the present editions, by which *at* has been substituted for *out*. The allusion is evidently to the custom which prevailed of straining the liquor which was to be drank, for the purpose of ejecting those insects which so swarm in some southern countries, and hence, easily fall into wine vessels. Some of the commentators have been very desirous to get rid of the *camel* in the text, from a notion that our Lord could not have united so large an animal with so small an insect; they therefore understand a larger species of *fly* or *beetle*;^{*} but this is not necessary. The expression, as Bloomfield observes, must be taken *hyperbolically*. To make the antithesis as strong as may be, two things are selected as opposite as possible; the *smallest* insect, and the *largest* animal.†

CHAPTER XXVI.

170. "Which is shed for many for the remission of sins."—Ver. 28.

The *participles* here, and in the preceding part of the verse, though in the *present* tense, are to be understood, as Dr. Hales insists, in the *future*, according to the frequent usage of the evangelists, and the best classic authors. And the propriety of his reasoning is confirmed by the *Romish Antwerp Missal* of 1628, "published according to the decree of the Council of Trent, by command of Pius V., and revised by authority of Clement VIII.," which thus renders the words of the consecration of the elements into Latin:

Hoc est enim *corpus meum*—et hic est enim calix *sanguinis mei, novi [et æterni] testamenti, [mysterium fidei] qui, pro volus et pro multis, effundetur, in remissionem peccatorum.*

Here the expression *qui effundetur*, "which shall be shed," critically renders the Greek of St. Paul, *το ἱχθυόμενον*, incorrectly rendered in our English Bible, "which is shed."[‡]

171. "But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."—Ver. 29.

On the interpretation of this verse, and especially on the formula, "in the kingdom of my Father," there has been much diversity of opinion. The mode of explanation pursued by Le Clerc and others seems most satisfactory; namely, that it denotes that celestial kingdom, the heaven itself, where God is in a peculiar manner supposed to be present. The future felicity to be enjoyed in Christ's kingdom is frequently adumbrated by images derived from a feast; and was not less frequently used by our Saviour than by the Jewish writers, to designate the felicity of the future life. After removing the imagery, says Kuinoel, as cited by Mr. Bloomfield, to whom we are indebted for the preceding remarks, the following sense will arise: "I shall no longer eat and drink with you on earth: from this time all participation in the affairs of this life will be at an end, and the society which I have hitherto had with you, until finally I shall taste of happiness with you in heaven, and enjoy everlasting bliss." It is true, indeed, adds Mr. Bloomfield, that after his return to life our Saviour is said (Acts x. 41) to have eaten and drunk with his disciples: but wine is not there mentioned; and, indeed, he seems to have eaten and drunk with them merely that they might believe him to be really alive; and, as to society, that was short, interrupted, and transient.

172. "Then cometh he to his disciples, and saith unto them, Sleep on now, and take your rest;—Rise let us be going," &c.—Ver. 45, 46.

^{*} See Doddridge, *in loco*.

[†] See Wetstein.

[‡] Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii., p. 848, note.

It seems strange that our Lord, after having twice roused his disciples and enjoined them to watch, should in these words grant them permission to take their repose; and then immediately after add, "Rise, let us be going." Whitby paraphrases, "Sleep on now, and take your rest (for by your watching you can show no further kindness to or concern for me;) behold the hour," &c. So also Grotius understood it. Others conceive that a censure, by sarcasm, is couched under the words: *q. d.* "Since you have *thus far* failed to watch, sleep on the *rest of the time*, and take your rest, *if you can.*" But many other interpreters, with the Vulgate, make the sentence interrogative: "Do ye now sleep on, and take rest? Behold, the hour," &c., which sense is confirmed by Luke xxii. 46.*

CHAPTER XXVII.

173. "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremy the prophet," &c.—Ver. 9.

The words following being found, not in Jeremiah, but in *Zechariah*, has given rise to much speculation, and several hypotheses have been framed for the purpose of reconciling the statement of the evangelist with the actual fact. Some critics suppose that the formula usually employed by Matthew, viz., "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by the prophet, saying," &c., was the original reading of this place, and that some copyist wrongly supplied the word Jeremiah. The name is omitted in two MSS. of the twelfth century, in the Syriac, later Persic, two of the Itala, and in some other Latin copies. Still, however, it is hardly conceivable that any, desirous to render the text more full and complete, should commit so palpable an error as this supposes. Others have imagined that the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of the Book of *Zechariah* were written by Jeremiah. But the evidence by which it has been attempted to support this opinion is too vague and indeterminate to be relied upon. Other conjectures have been advanced, with which it is not necessary that we should trouble the reader. The solution proposed by Dr. Lightfoot is, we think, more satisfactory than any of them, and is as follows:—

It was an ancient custom among the Jews, to divide their Scriptures into three parts: the first, beginning with the law, was called *THE LAW*; the second, beginning with the Psalms, was called *THE PSALMS*; the third, beginning with Jeremiah, was called *JEREMIAH*. Thus, the writings of *Zechariah*, and the other prophets, being included in that division which began with *Jeremiah*, all the quotations made from it would go under the name of this prophet. In support of this statement, Dr. Lightfoot cites the *Bava Bathra*, and Rabbi D. Kimchi's Preface to Jeremiah; authority against which, it is presumed, no exception can be taken.

174. "They gave him vinegar to drink, mingled with gall."—Ver. 34.

In Mark xv. 23, it is said, they offered to our Lord at this time *wine* mingled with *myrrh*; and not, as Matthew has it, *vinegar* mingled with *gall*. Hence it has been supposed, that two different potions are spoken of by the evangelists; or that Matthew, writing in Syriac, used the word *ܡܪ* *mor*, which signifies any bitter ingredient, and that his translator into the Greek mistook this for *ܡܪ* *mur*, myrrh. Michaëlis proposes another solution of the difficulty, and offers the following remarks: "That St. Mark's account is the right one, is probable from this circumstance, that Christ refused to drink what was offered to him, as appears from both evangelists. *Wine mixed with myrrh* was given to malefactors at the place of execution to intoxicate them, and make them less sensible to pain. Christ, therefore, with great propriety, refused the aid of such remedies. But, if vinegar was offered to him, which was taken merely to assuage thirst, there could be no reason for his rejecting it. Besides, he tasted it before he rejected it; and, therefore, he must have found it different from that which, if offered to him, he was ready to receive. To solve this difficulty, we must suppose that the words used in the Hebrew gospel of St. Matthew were such as agreed with the account given by St. Mark, and at the same time were capable of the construction which was put on them by St. Matthew's Greek translator. Suppose St. Matthew wrote *חַיָּא בַּמְרִירָא* *chelia bamrira*, which signifies, *sweet wine with bitters*, or *sweet wine and myrrh*, as we find it in Mark; and Matthew's translator, overlooking the *יֹד* in *chelia*, took it for *חַיָּא* *chela*, which signifies *vinegar*; and *bitter* he translated by *χολη*, as it is often used in the Septuagint: nay,

* See Schleusner, *in voce*, *λοιπηνη*.

St. Matthew may have written *chala*, and have still intended to express *sweet wine*; if so, the difference only consisted in the *points*; for the same word which, when pronounced *chalē*, signifies *sweet*, denotes *vinegar* as soon as it is pronounced *chala*.* With this criticism Bishop Marsh is justly dissatisfied, and accordingly proposes one much more ingenious.† This we shall not transcribe, as we fear it would give little satisfaction to the majority of our readers. The solution proposed by Grotius is supported by good evidence, and is therefore highly preferable to all the speculations and ingenious hypotheses of these learned men, which are built upon a foundation that is by no means settled. This learned critic has shown, that by the word *ὄξος*, which is that used by St. Matthew, is not meant *vinegar*, but a very inferior *wine*, used only by the meanest persons. It was so called from its acidity, on account of which it was used well spiced with myrrh, frankincense, and sometimes wormwood. This potion, then, Mark not improperly calls *ὄξος ἐσμυρισμένον*.

175. "Now from the sixth hour, there was darkness over all the land unto the ninth hour."—Ver. 45.

There can be little doubt that the phrase *πασαν την γην* does not mean all the world, but only the land of Judea, as we have had occasion to remark in our observations on the twenty-fourth chapter of this gospel. Beza translates this passage, *super universam REGIONEM*, "over the whole country." Besides, it is evident, as several critics have remarked, that the evangelist speaks of things that happened in Judea, the place of his residence, and the scene of the occurrences of which he was writing.

176. "And many women were there (beholding afar off), which followed Jesus from Galilee, ministering unto him; among which was Mary Magdalene," &c.—Ver. 55, 56.

In John xix. 25, it is said that some of these women, namely, Mary the mother of Jesus, Mary of Cleopas, and Mary Magdalene, were standing so near to the cross that our Saviour held a conversation with his mother while suspended on it. But this is by no means inconsistent with what Matthew says. The crucifixion was a work of time, and lasted for several hours; and it is most likely that the women had withdrawn from their former situation near the cross at the time of which Matthew speaks; for it will be observed that it was after our Lord had dismissed his spirit. The executioners were probably preparing to take the body down from the cross, which will readily suggest the reason for the withdrawal of the female attendants, who might at the same time, without any appearance of indelicacy, linger at some convenient distance from the spot, that they might have the last sad sight, as they thought, of the remains of the blessed Jesus.

THE GOSPEL OF ST. MARK.

CHAPTER II.

177. "How he went into the house of God, in the days of Abiathar the high priest."—Ver. 26.

From 1 Sam. xxi. 2, it appears that at the time of the occurrence here referred to, *Ahimelach* and not *Abiathar*, filled the office of high-priest. To detail the various hypotheses which have been framed for the purpose of accounting for this discrepancy would answer little purpose; some of them are extremely plausible, while others are very far-fetched. The difficulties which commentators attribute to the phrase of Matthew, would have been avoided, says Dr. Owen, had they attended properly to the force and signification of the preposition *ἐν* *τῷ* *ἐν*, which they here make to signify *under*, or *in the days of*, should have been rendered *about*, *near upon*, or *a little before*. Thus, Matt. i. 11, *ἐν τῇ μετοικισίᾳ βαβυλωνος*, "*about*, or *a little before*, the time of the Babylonish captivity." So in this place, *ἐν Ἀβιαθαὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* should be construed, "*a little*,

* Marsh's *Michaelis*, vol. iii. pt. 1, pp. 158—160

† *Ibid.*, pt. ii., pp. 127, 128.

or a little before, the time that Abiathar was made high-priest." By this construction, he remarks, the whole becomes conformable to the truth of the case, and stands clear of all objections. Abiathar, he adds, is mentioned as making, in the Scripture history, a more considerable figure than his father Ahimelech.* In this solution Mr. Bloomfield acquiesces, but without rejecting altogether the opinion of those commentators who maintain that the father and the son had two names, and that the father was also called Abiathar. For *Abiathar* is called the son of Ahimelech in 2 Sam. viii. 17, and in 1 Chron. xviii. 16, *Abimelech*, son of Abiathar. That many Jews bore one or even two surnames, is certain. This, he adds, will permit the *ἐκ* to be taken in its frequent sense of sub. *scil. tempore*.†

CHAPTER IX.

178. "For every one shall be salted with fire, and every sacrifice shall be salted with salt."—Ver. 49.

This is a very difficult passage, as the numerous interpretations that have been given of it sufficiently prove. Without referring to the earlier commentators, we may notice the most plausible interpretations of the moderns.

Bishop Mann, Beausobre, and Gilpin suppose it to mean: "Every Christian is purified by the difficult or fiery trials of life, in the same manner as every sacrifice is salted with salt." So Beza understood it.

Dr. S. Clarke would read: "Every wicked man shall be consumed by fire, as every sacrifice is salted by salt."

Macknight understands it thus: "Every Christian is salted and prepared for the fire;" that is, by the apostles for the fire of the altar—as an holy sacrifice to God.

Grotius says: "Every wicked man shall be consumed like the whole burnt-sacrifice, yet with unquenchable fire."

Lightfoot and Doddridge: "He that is a true sacrifice to God shall be seasoned with the salt of grace, to the incorruption of glory; and every victim to divine justice shall be salted with fire, to endure for ever." Similar to this is Whitby, who paraphrases, "For every one [that thus offends] shall be salted with fire, [so as to endure for ever in a state of torment,] and every sacrifice [saith the Scripture, even the whole burnt-offering,] shall be salted with salt, [the symbol of incorruption.]"

Pearce, Boothroyd, and Bloomfield understand the words to the same effect as Grotius, and render, "For every one shall be salted with fire, as every sacrifice is salted with salt;" that is, punished with fire; but not destroyed: it shall preserve while it punishes.

Without affirming that the following interpretation is in every respect satisfactory, it is submitted to the reader as affording a good sense of the passage; it will be seen to accord with Lightfoot, Doddridge, Whitby, and the authorized English version.

In the preceding verse we read that offenders shall be cast into the Gehenna of fire, where the fire shall perpetually torment them. For every one, that is, for every one who is cast into the Gehenna of fire, shall be seasoned, shall be *preserved*, in this fire. This fire shall act upon the wicked, who are thrown into it, as brine acts upon the meat, over which it is poured. It shall consolidate, not consume, them. Unlike all other fires, it shall not destroy life, but prolong it. Such is the state of every incorrigible offender. It remains to be shown what is the portion reserved for the faithful. Every faithful disciple, who is so truly devoted to the Christian cause as to be ready to die in its defence, is here represented under the figure of a sacrifice, *seasoned with salt*. *Πασα θυσια*, every sacrifice, says Christ, thus prepared for and devoted to me, shall be considered as seasoned with salt. The Jews were taught to understand that sacrifices, so seasoned, were *acceptable* to the Lord. Every sincere disciple is here, by anticipation and prolepsis, denominated a *sacrifice*, *θυσια*. By this appellation he was forewarned of an event which the sword of persecution would not fail to accomplish. With a like view to *sacrifices*, St. Paul thus writes to the Philippians: "*If I be poured out*"; and to Timothy, "*For I am now ready to be poured out*."

Thus the punishment hereafter to be inflicted on the wicked, and the recompence reserved for the faithful, are expressed in terms fetched from those sacrificial rites with which the Jews were con-

* Apud Bowyer's Conjectures, in loco.

† See Critical Digest, in loco.

versant. Some commentators, conceiving the sense to be *consumed* by fire, have proposed to read, instead of ἀλισθῆναι, *shall be salted*, ἀναλωθῆναι, *shall be destroyed*. But the very reverse of *consumed* is the sense intended. A learned critic has indeed said, that "as to salting with fire, nothing can be made of it." Much, and much more to the purpose, however, may be made of it, than can be made of any word which criticism, in its ardour to amend, may have undertaken to substitute. Salt is good; but if the salt (ἀναλον γινῆται) should have become insipid, οὐ γινῆται ἀγρυπνῶν, quo condimento *salem ipsum condidit*.*

THE GOSPEL OF ST. LUKE.

CHAPTER III.

181. "Annas and Caiaphas being the high-priests."—Ver. 2.

To enter into an examination of the various interpretations which have been given of this passage, forms no part of our business here; the reader who desires may see enough in Hammond, Lardner,† and Elsley. We shall only quote the following remark from Dr. Paley. There is an indeterminateness, he remarks, in the use of the title of high-priest in the gospels. Sometimes it is applied exclusively to the person who held the office at the time; sometimes to one, or (perhaps) to two more, who probably shared with him some of the powers or functions of the office; and sometimes to such of the priests as were eminent by their station or character. And there is the very same indeterminateness in Josephus; so that the evangelists only follow the manner of speaking then in use.‡

THE GOSPEL OF ST. JOHN.

CHAPTER I.

182. "Art thou [John Baptist] Elias? And he saith, I am not."—Ver. 21.

This answer of John to the priests and Levites, sent from Jerusalem to inquire into his character and pretensions, has been supposed to contradict the language of our Lord in Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 12, 13, in which he declares that John was the Elias who was to come. But the passages may be reconciled without any difficulty. The Jews had an expectation, founded on a literal interpretation of the prophet Malachi, that before the Messiah came *that* very same Elias or Elijah, who lived and prophesied in the reign of Ahab, would rise from the dead, and appear again on the earth. John, therefore, might very truly say that he was not *that* Elias. But yet, as he resembled Elias in many striking particulars; as the angel told Zacharias that he should come in the spirit and power of Elias; and as he actually approved himself, in the turn and manner of his life, in his doctrine and his conduct, the very same man to the latter Jews, which the other had been to the former our Saviour might with equal truth assure his disciples that John was *that* Elias, whose coming the prophet Malachi had in a figurative sense foretold.||

CHAPTER VIII.

183. "And Jesus said unto her, Neither do I condemn thee: go, and sin no more."—Ver. 11.

That is, "Neither do I *pass sentence* of condemnation on thee. Go, sin no more." We are not to take this for a remission of her sins, says Mr. Bloomfield, from Lampe, which, as supreme Lord,

* Critica Biblica, vol. ii., p. 264.

‡ Evidences of Christianity, b. ii., c. vi.

† Works, vol. i., p. 383, &c., 8vo.

|| Bishop Porteus. See also Campbell and Macknight, *in loco*.

Jesus *might* have pronounced; but simply a declaration that, since his kingdom was not of this world, so he would not discharge the duty of temporal magistracy. False, therefore, he adds, is the conclusion hence drawn by some, who infer that our Lord did not approve of adultery being punished with death. For upon the same principle they might argue, that, when our Lord declined to act as a judge between the brothers disputing about an inheritance (Luke xii. 15), he did not approve of inheritances being divided, and did not care that the dispute thence arising should be amicably settled. By *go* is meant, go where *she pleased*; which, by the connivance of the judges, she was at liberty to do. Lest, however, his motives should be misrepresented, and his clemency construed into an extenuation of the crime of adultery, Jesus adds, "Do not continue to sin;" which must have especial reference to the crime for which she was brought before him, namely, adultery.*

THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

CHAPTER I.

184. "And falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out."—Ver. 18.

Much has been written on this controverted passage, and many expedients have been tried to reconcile the account here given by St. Luke with that of St. Matthew, chap. xxvii. 5. But, fortunately, the two evangelists are not at variance. The misapprehension arose from considering that they are stating the same event; whereas the fact is, that Matthew gives an account of the traitor's death, and Luke relates what happened afterwards. The latter does not recapitulate what the former had said, but gives additional facts by way of supplement. Matthew, having related that Judas "departed, and went and hanged himself," Luke had not the least doubt respecting the fact, but knew that all suicides who hang themselves are cut down sooner or later by those who happen to find them. It is at this point that the short supplementary narrative in the Acts may be supposed to begin. The rope being cut or untied, *κρηνης γυμνωτος*, "falling headlong," or, rather, falling on his face, "he burst asunder," &c. It was perfectly natural for St. Luke on this occasion, if not as an evangelist, yet as a physician, to relate by way of parenthesis the pathological fact here recorded; which is so far from being incredible, that it appears to be very natural, and not unlikely to happen. A skilful and learned physician informed Mr. Hewlett, to whom we are indebted for these observations, that in cases of violent and painful death there is usually an effusion of lymph, or of lymph mixed with blood, into the cavities of the chest and abdomen. If the body be kept till putrescence takes place, a gas is evolved from the fluid in such quantity as to distend enormously, and sometimes to rupture the peritonæum and abdominal muscles: this effect has been observed in bodies hung on gibbets in England; and it would take place much more readily in warmer climates. How very soon it might have happened in Judæa, we may conclude from the history of Lazarus, whose dead body we find in less than four days became quite offensive. See John xi. 39. Twelve hours, it is thought, might be quite sufficient to produce the effect here described.

But the latter part of the text, "he burst asunder," &c., will admit of a different interpretation, which may deserve some notice, though not, perhaps, a preference. The verb *ελακησι* often means "to burst" or "explode with noise;" so Aristophanes uses it, compounded with the preposition *δια*,† to express the accidental bursting of what we should now call "a haggis." It is not improbable, therefore, that the Greek expression may mean nothing more than that a relaxation of the sphincter ani had taken place, and that a copious evacuation of the contents of the alvus had followed; for the aorist is sometimes rendered by the preter-pluperfect tense in English, and the effects here noticed are by no means uncommon in cases of violent death.

This conjecture will derive some countenance from the consideration of Jehoram's case (2 Chron. xxi. 18, 19), whose disease was certainly a violent dysentery; and in describing it, it is said that "his bowels fell out." The Greek scholar will also observe, that it is not *ελακησι εν μεσσω*, as our translation leads one to infer, but *ελακησι μεσσω*.

* Recens. Synop. in loco

† In Nub. Act. i. 4.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER VII.

185. "Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law; for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet."—Ver. 7.

It could scarcely have been the design of St. Paul to affirm that a Jewish Christian would not have known inordinate desires, if it had not been for the law of Moses. Something is wanted to complete the sentence. The Vulgate has *nam concupiscentiam nesciebam*; but Wicklif has departed from it, on this as well as on other occasions, and has supplied the ellipsis: "For I wiste not that covetting was synne, but for the law saide." Wakefield has rendered *την τε γαρ εαυθυμιαν ουκ ιγνων* after the same manner: "For I had not known the wickedness of desire, unless the law had said, Thou shalt not covet." This seems to be the best mode of clearing up the sense of the passage.*

CHAPTER IX.

186. "For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."—Ver. 3.

Few passages in the sacred writings have occasioned more perplexities to commentators than this. Chrysostom represents the apostle as praying for his own everlasting ruin; a view of the passage which has been adopted by some subsequent writers, although they have manifested much anxiety so to mystify and obscure this sense as to put its harshness and unreasonableness out of sight. Others, seeing the absurdity of so understanding the apostle's language, have variously translated it as may be seen by a reference to almost any of the commentaries.

To produce and examine the various interpretations which have been advanced, would answer little purpose; several of them have but slender claims to notice, although the product of much ingenious labour. We shall, therefore, only notice the three following ones, which appear to be entitled to the preference.

I. Whitby, taking the word *anathema* in its utmost latitude, "utterly cursed," "finally and eternally separated from Christ," supposes the apostle to express himself thus, "I could wish—that is, if it were proper to make such a wish,—if it would be of any avail," &c.

II. Hammond, Locke, Macknight, Adam Clarke, and others, take the word *anathema* in a lower sense, as denoting anything devoted to God, so as to be destroyed; that is, for the public safety. "Devoted to destruction and extermination," says Locke. "The apostle was willing to suffer death, if thereby he could have prevented the terrible destruction which was coming upon the Jews," says Macknight. "Paul desired to be devoted to destruction, as the Jews then were," says Dr. A. Clarke, "in order to redeem his countrymen from this most terrible excision. He was willing to become a sacrifice for the public safety, and to give his life to redeem theirs. And as Christ may be considered as devoting them to destruction (see Matt. chap. xxiv.), Paul is willing that in their place Christ should devote him; for *I could wish myself anathema ειναι αφο* (α, as some excellent MSS. have it, *αφο*) *του Χριστου, to be devoted BY Christ to that temporal destruction to which he has adjudged the disobedient Jews, if, by doing so, I might redeem them. This, and this alone, seems to be the meaning of the apostle's wish.*"

In a former part of this work we have acquiesced in this interpretation;† but a closer investigation of the subject has induced us to give a preference to that which follows.

III. This interpretation was proposed by Dr. Bandinel, in his Bampton Lectures, and republished in the *Classical Journal*, No. 1, and the *Christian Observer*, vol. ix.

1. The verb *ηυχουμην*, Dr. Bandinel observes, is not potential, nor has it any particle joined with it which can give a potential sense to an indicative verb. It seems, therefore, to be improper, and bringing a sense to the words, instead of eliciting one from them, to render it, *I could wish*: its simple meaning is, *I did wish*; or, as it may be rendered with equal strictness, *I did glory*. The tense also is past, not present: *I did* [once] *wish*, or glory; not, *I could* [now] *wish*.

* Symonds' Observations on the Epistles, p. 84.

† See op. Laod. xxiii. 32.

2. The pronoun rendered *myself*, should rather be referred to the principal verb *ἡυχόμεν* as its nominative, than attached, as it is in the translation, to the infinitive *εἶναι*, which follows it.

3. The doctor observes, what will be familiar to every reader of Homer, that, though *εὐχόμεναι* means to *wish*, or *pray for*, it also means to *glory*, to *profess*, or *avow*, as something on which a man values himself. The great father of profane poetry constantly makes his heroes, and the various persons whom he introduces, *εὐχισθῆναι εἶναι*, *boast* or *declare* themselves to be the sons of certain parents, or the natives of certain countries.

Thus, then, Dr. Bandinel would render the passage in its present connexion, including it in a parenthesis, as a very natural and forcible aggravation of the poignancy of the apostle's feelings for his brethren; namely, *that he himself had once been all that they now were*, and which he now perceived to be nothing short of being *an accursed outcast from Christ*, their long looked-for Redeemer, and from all the blessings of his salvation, though he, too, like them, had been so blinded as even to *glory* in that his sad state.

But how will the connexion agree with this interpretation? This is a very important question, and the doctor has not overlooked it; he maintains that the contexture of the apostle's discourse is improved by such a mode of rendering as he has proposed. As the passage at present stands, there seems to be an air of *inconsequence* about it. The apostle's anguish of mind is set forth with peculiar care and prominence; but the objects of it, though fully noticed, are noticed only *indirectly*—not in connexion with his sorrow, but only with the wish, which he could find in his heart to form, of being himself accursed. But if the words are inclosed in a parenthesis, all flows on naturally and smoothly: "I have great heaviness, and continual sorrow in my heart—for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh." The parenthesis intervenes, and, in the most delicate and tender manner possible, points out the cause of his distress on their account, not by *naming* them as accursed from Christ, but only by naming the apostle himself as *having been* so, and therefore being capable of appreciating and deeply compassionating the misery of *their* state, who, it is *implied*, were *now* so situated. They might "glory" in holding no communion with Jesus, but this was in fact to be accursed outcasts from Christ (the Messiah) himself and all his blessings.

Thus, then, the passage will read: "I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart (for I myself *once* was, and *even* gloried in being, an accursed outcast from Christ) on account of my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh."

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

CHAPTER I.

187. "I thank God that I baptized none of you, but Crispus and Gaius, lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name."—Ver. 14, 15.

According to this mode of translating, the apostle would not baptize any others, for fear it should be said that he baptized into his own name, that is, into his particular faith. This obscurity would vanish, however, if the words *ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ*, were translated, *so that no one can say*.

188. "For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God," &c. Ver. 21.

There is much diversity of opinion among the commentators as to the meaning of the phrase, "the wisdom of God," in this passage, which is certainly difficult of interpretation. It seems evident that it cannot refer either to that perfection of the Divine Being so called, or to that wisdom among men which had God for its author: in neither of these senses would it suit the apostle's argument. We think, therefore, with Lightfoot, that there is an allusion to the distinction which the heathen philosophers had made between *σοφία τῆς φύσεως*, *wisdom about natural things*, that is, *philosophy*; and *σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *wisdom about God*, that is, *divinity*. The meaning will then be, that the world, in its *divinity*, could not, by wisdom, know God:—a truth too familiar to every person conversant with history to need proof or illustration here.

CHAPTER X.

189. "And did all drink the same spiritual drink: for they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them: and that rock was Christ."—Ver. 4.

"And they were supplied with drink from the spiritual rock which followed them, even Christ." Such, says Mr. Bloomfield, is the literal sense of the passage; but it has perplexed the commentators not a little to show what is meant by *spiritual rock which followed them*. To remove the difficulty, some take it to denote, literally, the water thus miraculously drawn from the rock, which was conveyed miraculously through the desert. But this is embarrassed with many difficulties. It has been objected that there is no evidence of the *fact*, and water could not, in those parched countries, be preserved potable so long, without a perpetual miracle; neither is it certain that ἀκολούθησεν will admit the sense *conveyed*. Yet this seems to be proved from Ælian* (cited by Wets.) καὶ οὕτως καὶ ὕδωρ ἠκολούθησεν τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Χυδάστου; and so Judith xiii. 2. Nevertheless, on account of the above and other objections to which this interpretation is liable (which may be seen in Wolf), it seems to be untenable.

Others are of opinion, that the apostle has reference to some rabbinical stories, which relate that after the water had first flowed from the rock, it perpetually followed them afterwards through the desert.† The rabbinical passages containing this notion may be seen in Wetstein and Schoettgen. But this is liable to numerous objections;‡ and why embarrass ourselves unnecessarily with Jewish fables? Crellius, indeed, argues that "the water *must* have flowed with them, or other water must have been supplied by a new miracle; which, had it been the case, would have been recorded." That, however, does not follow: and besides, we know that it *was* obtained in time of need, and divinely furnished to them.

Upon the whole, the best founded interpretation Mr. B. thinks to be that of Calvin, and others, who understand the ἕνους ἐκ πέτρας, not of a natural rock, "tanquam causa materialis (to use the words of Wolf) *ex qua*," but a spiritual rock, "tanquam causa efficiens, *a qua* illa aqua et potatio profecta sit." This signification of ἐκ is found in Matt. i. 20; John vi. 25, xviii. 3; Rom. xi. 36. And for examples of this signification Rosenmüller refers to Matt. xxi. 25; John i. 13; Rom. v. 16. "Here, therefore," Wolf observes, "Christ, who with his omnipotent and gracious presence attended the Israelites, is represented as the author and fountain of the miraculously produced water." And Krause remarks: "This signal goodness of God was shown to them in the same manner on other occasions (compare Exod. xvii. 9; Numb. xx. 10); so that the water never failed them, but as it were, *followed* them. Hence by the usus loquendi, either popular or poetical, this rock might be represented ἀκολουθήσαι, for ἀκολουθεῖν signifies *sequi, comitari*." This interpretation is, moreover, confirmed by the Greek commentators.

But if this interpretation be true, it requires that we should depart from the sense usually given to the words ἡ δὲ πέτρα ἥν ὁ Χριστός, "This rock *signified* Christ," and, with the ancient commentators and many modern ones, understand Christ himself, who, according to the opinions of the Jews invisibly accompanied the Israelites through the desert;|| or suppose a metonymy, with this sense: "That rock, from which the water flowed, was a sign and indication of the Messiah present and assisting." This interpretation is supported by the authority of the ancient commentators.§

CHAPTER XI.

190. "For this cause ought the woman to have power on *her* head because of the angels."—Ver. 10.

No passage in the sacred writings, perhaps, has given rise to so many conjectures and explanations as this verse. Merely to detail these would occupy by far more space than we can appropriate to the subject, and we must therefore refer such of our readers as desire an acquaintance with them to the commentators, particularly Dr. A. Clarke, Slade, and Mr. Bloomfield. Upon a passage so very obscure, and which has baffled the learning and ingenuity of most of the critics, some of whom have ingenuously acknowledged that they could not understand it, it will not be expected

* Var. Hist., 12, 40.

† See Shuckford; Wall, in his Crit. Not. 1, 106; and Macknight.

‡ See Wolf.

|| See the Targum on Isai. xvi. 1.

§ Bloomfield, *in loco*.

that we should speak with confidence; we will therefore only say, that of the numerous interpretations which have been given of the word *ἐξουσία*, *power*, we prefer that of Bishop Pearce, who understands it to be used by a common metonymy for its sign or token, which was a *covering* or *veil*.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

CHAPTER IV.

191. "Do ye think that the Scripture saith in vain, The spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy? But he giveth more grace: wherefore he saith, God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace unto the humble."—Ver. 5, 6.

This passage is very obscure, and has baffled the skill of every critic who has yet encountered it. One great difficulty is, that the words to which *ἡ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν* belong, are not found in Scripture (though many commentators refer to Gen. vi. 3, 5, viii. 21; Numb. xi. 29; Prov. xxi. 10); to avoid which, some understand them *interrogatively*, taking the first clause as a general intimation of the infallibility of God; i. e., "Do ye think that the Scripture can speak falsely? or does the Spirit which dwelleth in us incline us to vehement envy and rage?" The best commentators are agreed that *ἡ γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν* must refer to some passage of Scripture; and Semler and Knatchbull fix on some *apocryphal* book, as Test. Simeonis, sect. 3, which treats of the baleful effects of envy. But the two passages have nothing common between them but the *subject*; and to suppose an *apocryphal* book referred to as a passage of *Scripture*, says Mr. Bloomfield, is not to be thought of. Mr. Slade treats the words *ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ—χάριν* as parenthetical; and he translates thus: "Think ye that the Scripture saith falsely (the Spirit that hath taken up his abode in us, resisteth and subdueth the feelings of envy, and gives us a more abundant supply of grace)? wherefore this Scripture saith, 'God resisteth,' &c." Or thus: "Does the Spirit, which has taken up his abode in us, lust unto envy; yea, rather, it gives us more grace." The *latter* mode is greatly preferable: indeed, the *former* (founded on a criticism of Schleusner) can by no means be admitted, as devoid of authority, and contrary to all analogy. One thing seems clear, that the words in question are the words of *St. James*, and that they must be divided into two clauses, each interrogative. As to the expedient of a *parenthesis*, suggested by Mr. Slade, it seems to be not only too arbitrary, but rather to tend to break up the construction, and yet *more* obscure the sense.

Mr. Bloomfield gives the preference to the first-mentioned interpretation, which is ably supported by Benson, who paraphrases thus: "Do you think the Scripture speaketh in vain, or without a very good reason, *when it condemns such a worldly temper*? No, *that you cannot rationally suppose*. Do you imagine that the Spirit of God, which dwelleth in us Christians, leadeth us to covetousness, pride, or envy? No, *by no means*. On the contrary, unto such as follow his guidance and direction, and excel in love, humility, and moderation, as to the things of this world, he sheweth greater favour. Wherefore, the Scripture saith," &c. But perhaps no commentator has so happily and so briefly expressed the sense as the venerable Bishop Hall, ap. D'Oyley and Mant, as follows: "This the Scripture beateth upon every where; and do ye think it speaketh thus in vain? Certainly every word thereof is to excellent purpose, and shall be verified upon us. Doth, then, that Spirit of God, which we profess to have dwelling in us, lust after envy, and envy the good things of others? Surely not: so far is he from that, as that he giveth more grace where he hath given some already."*

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

CHAPTER III.

192. "By which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison."—Ver. 19.

Perhaps few passages in the New Testament have been more tortured than this, for the purpose of diverting the words from their plain and obvious meaning, lest it should be thought to countenance the Roman Catholic doctrine of purgatory. But the dread of consequences should not deter the commentator from his obvious duty, which is merely to exhibit or expound the sense of Scripture, and not to build up or demolish a system of divinity. It would be a waste of time to examine the various interpretations which have been offered of these words, but it may not be superfluous to ask the reader—since it may have the effect of guarding him against so common an evil in interpretation—whether he can conceive that (apart from all theological prepossessions) the following is the real sense of the apostle in this and the following verse: “The inhabitants of the antediluvian world; who, having been *disobedient*, and convicted of the most flagrant transgressions against God, were sentenced by his just law to destruction. But their punishment was delayed, to see if they would *repent*; and the long-suffering of God waited one hundred and twenty years, which were granted to them for this purpose; during which time, as criminals tried and convicted, they are represented as being *in prison*, detained under the arrest of divine justice, which waited either for their *repentance*, or the expiration of the *respite*, that the punishment pronounced might be inflicted?” Away with such methods of treating the word of God, to which not only popish doctrines, but many other doctrines, also, might be easily traced up. Let the words of Peter be understood in their literal and obvious meaning, and we shall not be a whit the nearer to purgatory than we were before. Bishop Horsley has expounded what we believe to be the real sense of this important passage, and to his very interesting and able sermon we would refer the reader. After having fixed the exact meaning of the terms employed by the apostle, and shown that by the word *πνυμα* in the preceding verse, and by which [rather, *in which*] our Saviour is here said to have preached to the spirits in prison, we cannot, if the construction of the passage be regarded, understand the Holy Spirit, but the *human soul* of Christ, which was *quickened* or preserved against the stroke of death by which his body had fallen, he proceeds to state what he conceives to be the design of Christ in visiting the abode of departed spirits, and also the substance of his announcement to them. The souls in custody, he remarks, were those “which sometime were disobedient,” an expression which implies that they were recovered from that disobedience, and, before their death, had been brought to repentance and faith in the Redeemer to come. To such souls Christ went and preached. But what did he preach to them, and what could be the end of his preaching? Certainly he preached neither repentance nor faith; for the preaching of either comes too late to the departed soul. These souls had believed and repented, or they had not been, as the bishop observes, in that part of the nether regions which the soul of the Redeemer visited. Nor was the end of his preaching any liberation of them from purgatorial pains, of which the Scriptures know nothing. But if he went to proclaim to them the glad tidings that he had actually offered the sacrifice of their redemption, and was about to appear before the Father as their intercessor, in the merit of his own blood, this, says Bishop Horsley, was a preaching fit to be addressed to departed souls, and would give new animation and assurance to their hope of the consummation, in due season, of their bliss; and this, it may be presumed, was the end of his preaching.

193. “The like figure whereunto, *even* baptism, doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”—Ver. 21.

Wesley better translates this verse: “The antitype whereof, baptism, now saveth us (not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God), by the resurrection of Jesus Christ;” that is, he well observes, through the water of baptism we are saved from the sin which overwhelms the world as a flood; *not*, indeed, the bare outward sign, but the inward grace; a divine consciousness, that both our persons and our actions are accepted through him who died and rose again for us.

SELECT BOOKS ON SACRED LITERATURE; WITH CRITICAL NOTICES.

I. THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

§ 1. *Polyglott Bibles.*

BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA, complectentia Vetus Testamentum, Hebraico, Græco, et Latino idiomate; Novum Testamentum Græcum et Latinum; et Vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum Veteris Testamenti, cum Grammaticâ Hebraicâ, necnon Dictionario Græco: Studio, Operâ, et Impensis Cardinalis Francisci Ximenez de Cisneros. Compluti, 1514—1517: 6 vols., folio.

This great and valuable work was begun and carried through the press at the expense of Cardinal Ximenes, whom it is said to have cost about 50,000 ducats. The various texts are thus disposed: the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three distinct columns, and the Chaldee paraphrase, with a Latin interpretation, at the bottom of each page. The margin is filled with the Hebrew and Chaldee radicals. Various disputes have arisen as to the authenticity of the MSS. consulted in forming this edition: it has been asserted that the Hebrew text has suffered from the capriciousness of the editors, and that the Greek text was frequently interpolated according to the Latin Vulgate, which emendations could not be found in Greek MSS. In addition to this charge, may be added, that of altering the Greek according to the Hebrew. But both these accusations have been proved to be groundless by Michaëlis (*Orientalische und exeget. Bibliot.*, vol. ix., p. 162, and xii., 120); and Eichhorn (*Einleitung ins N. Test.*, vol. i., p. 351).

The learned Cæsar de Missy charges the editors with having antedated the New Testament, jealously aspiring to appear as earlier editors of so notable a work than Erasmus, whose edition was published in the beginning of 1516. Mr. de Missy has not, however, supported his assertions with any conclusive arguments; we, therefore, incline to think, with Mr. Dibdin, that he was mistaken in his conjectures. Cardinal Ximenes, whose favorite object was the completion of this Polyglott, did not live long after it was finished. He died in 1517, leaving behind him an unblemished character and an unspotted reputation. He was one of those great men who appear, as comets, but for a time; and he was one of the *very* few whose memory has been cherished and revered by all parties and all nations. Six hundred copies of his Polyglott were struck off on paper: it was not published until 1522, at the price of six dollars and a half—a large sum at that time. A copy is now worth from £30 to £60, according to its condition. Only *three* copies are known upon vellum; that belonging to Pinelli, said to be Cardinal Ximenes's own copy, was sold to M'Carthy for £483; and, at his sale, produced 16,000 francs. Another copy on vellum is in the Royal Library at Madrid, and the third at Turin. The British Museum has a copy on paper, as also the following colleges: CAMBRIDGE, the Public University Library, Trinity, King's, Queen's, and Corpus Christi:—OXFORD, All Souls, Queen's, St. John's, and the Bodleian; Sion College Library also possesses a copy.—CRIT. BIB.

BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA, Philippi II. Hispaniarum Regis jussu edita ac impressa; curâ Benedicti Ariæ Montani. Antuerpiæ Plantinus, 1569—1572. 8 vols., folio.

This splendid work, generally known as the Antwerp, Spanish, or Royal Polyglott, was edited by Arias Montanus, and printed by the celebrated Plantin, at the instigation and expense of Philip II. of Spain, as the title indicates; it contains the whole of the Complutensian edition, besides a Chaldee paraphrase of part of the Old Testament, which Cardinal Ximenes did not introduce in his edition, for particular reasons yet unknown, but deposited the MSS. in the theological library at Complutum. The New Testament has the Syriac Version, and the Latin translation of Santes Pagninus, corrected by Arias Montanus. The volumes were published at different periods; the first five comprising the sacred text, and the last three a large number of philological and other tracts. As there were only 500 copies of the work struck off, it is rare, and proportionately dear. A good copy is worth from fourteen to eighteen guineas.

BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA, Studio Guy Michaëlis Le Jay, Parisiis, apud Antonium Vitray, 1628—1645. 10 vols. fol. max.

This is, without question, the most splendid Polyglott extant, and utterly ruined its disinterested patron. It comprises all that is in the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglotts, with the addition of a Syriac and Arabic Version of the greater part of the Old, and of the entire New Testament. It contains also the Samaritan Pentateuch, with a translation of it into the Samaritan language. There

are also Latin translations of all the Oriental Versions. The Chaldee paraphrase, but not its corresponding Latin Version, is corrected from the Venetian and other editions; but the Hebrew text is extremely inaccurate. A good copy of the work is worth about twenty guineas; but it varies in price, according to its condition, from ten pounds to twenty-eight or thirty.

BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA, Complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateuco Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum, Versionumque antiquarum Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII. Interp. Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulg. Lat., quicquid comparari poterat. Cum Textuum et Versionum Orientalium Translationibus Latinis. Ex vetustissimis MSS. Undique conquisitis, optimisque Exemplaribus impressis, summâ fide collatis. Quæ in prioribus Editionibus deerant, suppleta; multa ante hac inedita, de novo adjecta; omnia eo ordine disposita, ut Textus cum Versionibus uno intuitu conferri possit. Cum apparatu, Appendicibus, Tabulis, Variis Lectionibus, Annotationibus, Indicibus, &c. Opus totum in sex Tomos tributum. Edidit Brianus Waltonus, S. T. D. Londini, Imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, MDCLVII.

However beautiful in typographical execution, and praiseworthy as regards critical acumen, the Polyglotts we have hitherto described may be reputed, they are, without doubt, eclipsed by this, on account of its vast utility. It possesses not the charm of elegant type, surrounded by a broad margin of clear paper; on the contrary, it is barbarously printed, and does not afford one page upon which the eye of the bibliomaniac may rest with satisfaction; but its contents are of that intrinsic value as fully to compensate for these defects. This immortal work was commenced in October, 1653, and completed in 1657; the first volume was finished in 1654; the second in July, 1655; the third in July, 1656; and the fourth, fifth, and sixth, in 1657; the whole having occupied but about four years, an exceedingly short time for so extraordinary and laborious an undertaking. Nine languages are used in this edition, yet, as Mr. Bowyer justly observes, there is no one book in the whole Bible printed in so many. In the New Testament, the four Evangelists are in six languages; the other books only in five; those of Judith and Maccabees only in three. The Version of the Septuagint is from the Roman edition of 1587; the Latin is the Vulgate of Clement VIII.; and the Chaldee paraphrase is much more complete than in any former printed publication.

A succinct recapitulation of the contents of each volume may be acceptable.

Vol. I. contains very learned and useful Prolegomena, and the Pentateuch; every page exhibits—(1st) The Hebrew Text with the Latin Version by Montanus. (2nd) The same verses in the Vulgate Latin. (3rd) The Greek Version of the Septuagint, according to the Vatican MSS., with a literal translation by Flaminius Nobilis, and the various readings of the Alexandrian MS. added at the bottom of the column. (4th) The Syriac Version, with a collateral Latin translation. (5th) The Targum, or Chaldee paraphrase, of Onkelos, with a Latin translation. (6) The Hebrew-Samaritan Text, and the Samaritan Version; and as both are nearly the same in sense, one Latin translation serves for both, with a few notes at the bottom of the column. (7th) The Arabic Version with a collateral Latin translation.

Vol. II. contains all the historical books from Joshua to Esther, in the same languages as Vol. I., except the Samaritan, which goes no further than the Pentateuch, and the Targum on the Book of Chronicles, which was not found until the Polyglott was in the press.

Vol. III. contains all the poetic and prophetic books from Job to Malachi, in the same languages as before, except that there is an Æthiopic Version of the Book of Psalms, and of the Song of Solomon, which is so similar to the Septuagint that the one Latin translation is applicable to both, with the assistance of a few notes in the margin.

Vol. IV. contains all the Apocryphal books, in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, with a duplex Hebrew Text of the Book of Tobit, the first from P. Fagius, the second from Seb. Munster. Immediately after the Apocrypha follows a triplex Targum of the Pentateuch: the first is in Chaldee, and is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel; the second is also in Chaldee, and is usually called the Jerusalem Targum; the third is in Persic, the work of Jac. Tawus, or Toosee. Each of these has a collateral Latin translation.

Vol. V. contains the whole of the New Testament; the Greek Text with the interlineary Latin translation of Montanus, the Syriac, the Vulgate, the Arabic, the Æthiopic, and, in the Gospels, the Persic, with a Latin translation to each, and under the Greek Text several readings from the Codex Alexandrinus are inserted.

Vol. VI. contains the first copious collection of various readings ever printed, with critical remarks on the preceding Versions. The work is also enriched with prefaces, prolegomena, treatises on weights and measures, geographical charts, and chronological tables.

Dr. Walton derived some assistance in this stupendous undertaking from Dr. Edmund Castell, who translated from the Syriac a portion of Daniel, the books of Tobit, Judith, the letters of Jeremiah and Baruch, and the first book of Maccabees; he also translated the Song of Solomon from the Æthiopic into Latin, and added notes to the Samaritan Pentateuch; but he contributed more effectually and considerably by his Lexicon Heptaglotton, which is a necessary supplement to this work, and which we shall have occasion to describe in order. Alexander Huisse collected the various readings at the bottom of each page, revised the Septuagint Version, the Greek Text of the New Testament, and the Latin Vulgate; he also collated the edition of the Old Testament printed at Rome, and the New Testament of Robert Stephens, with the Alexandrine MSS. Dr. Thomas

Hyde corrected the Arabic, Syriac, and Persic; and Loftus, the *Æthiopic Version* of the New Testament. Louis de Dieu and Samuel Clarke contributed, as did also the celebrated Dr. Lightfoot; he corrected the Samaritan, and borrowed some Syriac MSS., one of the prophets, and a Syriac lexicon, from the University of Oxford; he likewise procured subscriptions for the work, and sent in those chorographical observations which appear in Prolegomena, p. 51.

This Polyglott was published by subscription, and was the first work ever printed in that manner in England. It has been termed, by some, a new edition of Le Jay's, with great improvements and vast emendations and additions; but the idea entertained by Mr. Palmer (*History of Printing*), that it was printed from sheets surreptitiously obtained from the press at Paris, is now universally discarded; indeed, a casual collation of any part of the two editions will prove the contrary, if the dates did not, the one having been published in 1645, and the other not commenced until 1653, eight years subsequently. It is generally understood that Dr. Samuel Clarke had prepared a seventh volume for the press, comprising different portions of the sacred writings, in various languages; and the MSS. are said to be in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford.

We have mentioned the famous Lexicon of Castell, which forms an indispensable accompaniment to the Polyglott. It is, perhaps, the *chef-d'œuvre* of human learning and industry, and is a proud monument to the talents and enthusiasm of its learned projector and editor, who expended his fortune and consumed his life upon it. In the prosecution of his labours, he obtained some assistance in Arabic from Dr. Murray; from Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Beveridge, in the Syriac; and from Dr. Wansleb, in the *Æthiopic*. But he was chiefly indebted to Dr. Lightfoot, whose suavity of manners and profound erudition rendered him peculiarly qualified for an adviser. So implicitly did Dr. Castell rely on his judgment, that when he commenced his work, in 1657, he wrote to him for direction and advice, promising either to continue or abandon it, according to his determination. Dr. Lightfoot not only assisted by his advice and corrections, but he also contributed money and obtained subscriptions, so that Dr. Castell acknowledged that there was no man in the three kingdoms to whom he owed so much. The Persic Lexicon is the joint work of Castell and the celebrated Golius. Many of the words are printed in the Hebrew character, owing, possibly, to a want of type in the Persic character.

The marketable value of this, like all other books, depends upon its completeness and condition. A fine copy, comprising every thing necessary to its completion, and in good binding, is worth from forty to fifty guineas. Inferior copies may sometimes be obtained for from eighteen to twenty-five pounds.

(I.) BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA, Textus Archetypus Versionesque præcipuas ab Ecclesia antiquitus receptas complectentia, 4to., et 8vo., Lond., MDCCCXXI.

(II.) BIBLIA SACRA POLYGLOTTA, Gallice, Italice, Hispanice, et Germanice, Versiones præcipuas ab Ecclesiis CHRISTIANIS HODIE, receptus aut vulgo approbatas complectentia, 4to. et 8vo., Lond., MDCCCXXI.

The great rarity and value of all former Polyglotts being such as to preclude the greater portion of biblical scholars from obtaining the assistance so necessary to their studies, induced Mr. Bagster to undertake this beautiful and generally accurate edition, which is notorious for its accessible price to all descriptions of purchasers. It contains the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint Greek Version, the Vulgate Latin, and the authorised English versions of the entire Bible; the Greek text of the New Testament, and the Peschito or old Syriac Version of it. The types used in printing this edition are entirely new, and, with the paper, of great beauty and lustre. The Hebrew text is taken from Van der Hooght; the Samaritan Pentateuch, from Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible, is supplied in the shape of an appendix. The Septuagint is from Bos's edition of the Vatican text. At the end of the Old Testament are added various readings of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs, together with the Masoretic notes, termed Keri and Ketib, the various lections of the Alexandrine MS., as edited by Dr. Græbe, and the Apocryphal chapters of the Book of Esther. The New Testament (Greek) is printed from Mill's edition, celebrated as the Textus Receptus, with the whole of the valuable readings given by Griesbach in his edition of 1802; the Peschito or old Syriac Version is taken from Widmanstadt's edition, published at Vienna, 1555, collated with an edition since put forth under the sanction of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Apocalypse, and such of the epistles as are not found in the Peschito, are given from the Philoxenian or new Syriac Version. The Apocalypse is printed from the edition of that learned orientalist, Louis de Dieu, from the Elzevir press, Lugduni Batavorum, 1627; and the epistles from the edition of Dr. Pocock, Lugduni Batavorum, 1680. The Latin Vulgate is taken from that of Pope Clement VIII. The English Version is accompanied with the marginal renderings, and a valuable and copious selection of parallel texts. The second part contains, as expressed in the title, the modern Versions, viz., French, Italian, Spanish, and German, taken in both the Old and the New Testaments. The French Version is from the Basle edition, the Italian from Diodati, the Spanish from P. Scío, and the German from Luther's translation.

This polyglott, besides being printed in 4to. and 8vo., possesses this other singular advantage, that "a number of copies are printed, combining the original texts with one or other of the respective Versions; and others containing similar combinations of the Versions only;" an arrangement which affords abundant opportunity to the biblical student, to obtain such Versions of the

Holy Scriptures as he may require, at a reasonable rate, To show more fully the susceptible arrangement of languages in Mr. Bagster's editions, we annex the following diagram, by which it will be seen that either two of the languages may be united in one volume.

{ Hebrew	{ Greek	{ Latin	{ English	{ French	{ Italian	{ German	{ Spanish
{ Greek	{ Latin	{ English	{ French	{ Italian	{ German	{ Spanish	{ Concordance
{ Hebrew	{ Greek	{ Latin	{ English	{ French	{ Italian	{ German	
{ Latin	{ English	{ French	{ Italian	{ German	{ Spanish	{ Concordance	
{ Hebrew	{ Greek	{ Latin	{ English	{ French	{ Italian		
{ English	{ French	{ Italian	{ German	{ Spanish	{ Concordance		
{ Hebrew	{ Greek	{ Latin	{ English	{ French			
{ French	{ Italian	{ German	{ Spanish	{ Concordance			
{ Hebrew	{ Greek	{ Latin	{ English				
{ Italian	{ German	{ Spanish	{ Concordance.				
{ Hebrew	{ Greek	{ Latin					
{ German	{ Spanish	{ Concordance					
{ Hebrew	{ Greek						
{ Spanish	{ Concordance						
{ Hebrew							
{ Concordance							

So far as we have been able to discover, this edition is printed with great accuracy, singular pains having been taken in the editing, which has been respectively intrusted to several eminent and industrious scholars; we therefore unhesitatingly recommend it to persons who consider price an object in the purchase of a Polyglott Bible. We should add, that the Prolegomena are by Professor Lee, of the University of Cambridge.

These are the principal polyglotts extant; those who desire further bibliographical or critical notices of them, or wish for a list of the other polyglotts, *major* or *minor*, to be procured, may consult Dr. A. Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, and Dibdin's Introduction to the Classics.

§ 2.—*Hebrew Bibles.*

We have given some notice of the early printed editions of the Hebrew Bible, in page 13, *ante*. The following, in addition, are worthy of notice.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, secundum ultimam Editionem Josh. Athiæ, a Johanne Leusden denuo recognitam; Variisque Notis illustrata ab Everardo van der Hooght. Editio longe accuratissima Amstelædami et Ultrajecti. 1705, 8vo. maj.

This is a very beautifully printed book, and it is generally reputed correct.* It is now somewhat rare; and copies in fine condition bring high prices. Its value varies from *three to four guineas*, according to the preservation; and some most respectable booksellers affix the apparently exorbitant sum of *four guineas and a half*, and even *five guineas*, to a genuine and perfect copy. This edition has been frequently reprinted, or rather, has been used as a basis for other editions.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, ex aliquot MSS. et compluribus impressis Codicibus diligenter recensuit Cura ac studio Jo. Hen. Michaëlis, Halæ Magdeburg. typis et sumptibus Orphanotrophi, 1720, 8vo. maj.

This is the first edition of the Hebrew Bible with a collection of various readings, by a Christian editor. It evinces great care and research, is well and distinctly printed, and, though not wholly free from errors, is highly creditable to the care and perseverance of the learned editor. The text is formed upon the principal preceding editions, beginning with that of Bomberg, 1517, fol., down to that of Opitius, 1709. The editor availed himself of five Erfurt MSS. in particular; and it appears that he collated some other MSS.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, ad optimorum Codicum et Editionum fidem recensita et expressa, accurate M. Christiano Reineccio. Lipsiæ, apud B. C. Breitkopfium. 1725, 8vo.

The editor professes to have consulted MSS. in preparing this edition; it is, however, generally understood, that it is formed upon the best printed copies extant; and that the collation of MSS. is, in this instance, merely an idle boast. Reineccius has, nevertheless, some claim to our thanks for his labours, since, to adopt the words of Masch, "*Biblia manualia quotidiano usui accommodata, typis nitidis et luculentis at minoribus excerpta.*" And this, we apprehend, is far from a cold commendation. It may be observed, that G. J. Kehr read the sheets for press.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA ad optimas quasque Editiones recensita, cum Dictionario omnium vocum Veteris Testamenti Hebraicarum et Chaldaicarum, edita a Johanne Simonis. Halæ Magdeburg 1752, 8vo.

* Dr. Geddes informs us that this celebrated edition has many more errors than the earliest printed editions. Kennicot adds, that the variations between it and the first edition of 1488, amount to 12,000. It is, nevertheless, the text from which Houbigant and Kennicot printed their splendid editions.—See Orme's Bibl. Bibl., p. 237.

This is a very useful edition, formed upon that of Van der Hooght. It was reprinted at Halle, 1767, 8vo. maj.; and this latter is generally considered the better edition: it may be obtained for a *guinea*. It has annexed to it a valuable and compendious dictionary of all the Hebrew and Chaldaic words in the Old Testament; which was afterwards reprinted in a corrected and improved form, by J. G. Eichhorn, Halle, 1793, 2 vols., 8vo.

VETUS TESTAMENTUM HEBRAICUM, cum Variis Lectionibus. Edidit Ben. Kennicott. Oxonii, 1766—1780, 2 vols., folio.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, cum variis lectionibus, etc. Lipsiæ, 1793, 2 vols., 8vo.

This bible was edited by Doederlein and Meisner, and contains a selection of the chief various readings in the collections of Kennicott and De Rossi, whose expensive tomes it may supply the place of. The large paper copies are handsome books.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, digessit et graviores Lectionum varietates adjecit Johannes Jahn. Vienna, 1806, 4 vols., 8vo.

This is a very complete edition of the sacred text, and is correctly and distinctly printed, the principal Hebrew points being retained, and the poetical portions of the sacred books being metrically arranged. The books of Chronicles are synchronized with the other historical books, the entire text being divided into sections, to each of which is prefixed an analysis of the contents, and the verses marked in the margin. The editor has given the more important various readings from the collections of Walton, Grabe, Montfaucon, Kennicott, De Rossi, and Dr. Holmes, the text itself being that of Van der Hooght, with very few variations. The large paper copies are beautiful books.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, or the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament, without points, after the text of Kennicott; with the chief various readings, selected from his collection of the Hebrew MSS., from that of De Rossi, and from the ancient Versions; accompanied with English notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, &c. By B. Boothroyd, Pontefract, 1810—1816. 2 vols. 4to.

This is probably the most useful Bible that has been published for common use. Though not always accurate, it is sufficiently so for general purposes; and as it contains much matter that is dispersed through voluminous and expensive works, it is adapted to a wider circulation.—*Orme*.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA secundum Editionem Everardi Van der Hooght, denuo recognita et emendata à Juda D'Allemand, Linguae Sanctæ Doctore. Editio longè accuratissima. Londini, 1821, 8vo.

This edition of the Hebrew Bible is at once compendious and accurate. In addition to the care previously bestowed upon the text by the editor, who states that he discovered in it no fewer than two hundred errata, every page was revised four times, after the stereotype plates were cast, by persons familiar with the Hebrew language. The various readings and the masoretic notes are neatly exhibited at the foot of each page.

§ 3.—*Septuagint Version of the Old Testament.*

Besides those editions of the Septuagint comprised in the various polyglotts already noticed, we may enumerate the following:—

VETUS TESTAMENTUM GRÆCUM, &c. Joannes Ernestus Grabe. Oxon. 1707—20, 4 vols., folio, and 8 vols., 8vo.

The erudite projector of this work did not live to complete his laborious undertaking. He only published the first and the fourth volumes; the former comprising the Octateuch, in 1707; and the latter the metrical books, in 1709. The second volume, including the historical books, was edited by F. Lee, M. D., and published in 1719; and the third, comprising the prophetic, by W. Wigan, in 1720. It is a splendid work, and exhibits the text of the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus, where it was perfect, the imperfect passages being supplied partly from the Codex Vaticanus, and partly from the Complutensian edition, with the erroneous lections printed in the margin. Dr. Grabe's Prolegomena contain a treasure of sacred criticism.

Ἡ Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβραίων. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione Septuaginta interpretum secundum Exemplar Vaticanum Romæ editum, accuratissimè denuo recognitum; una cum Scholiis ejusdem Editionis, variis Manuscriptorum Codicum Veterumque Exemplarium Lectionibus, necnon Fragmentis Versionum Aquilæ, Symmachi, et Theodotionis. Summa cura edidit Lambertus Bos. Franequeræ, 1709, 4to.

This is an elegant and accurate edition, but is of no great critical value. In his preface, the editor has given an account of the principal editions that had already appeared, in addition to a critical dissertation on the Version itself, and its utility in sacred criticism.

Summa cura edidit Joannes Jacobus Breitinger, Tiguri Helvetiorum, 1730-2. 4 vols., 4to.

Michaëlis pronounces this to be the best edition of the Septuagint ever printed. It is Dr. Grabe's text, with the various readings of the Roman or Vatican edition added at the foot of the page.

VETUS TESTAMENTUM GRÆCUM, cum Variis Lectionibus. Editionem, a Roberto Holmes, S. T. P. inchoatam continuavit Jacobus Parsons, S. T. B.

§ 4.—*The Greek Testament.*

For some account of the principal editions of the Greek Testament see pp. 26—28, *ante*.

II.—GRAMMARS, LEXICONS, AND CONCORDANCES.

§ 1.—*Grammars and Lexicons ; Hebrew and Greek.*

For some account of the more useful of these works, the reader may consult pp. 64, 65, *ante*.

§ 2.—*Concordances to the Hebrew Bible.*

The first concordance to the Hebrew Bible was made by Rabbi Mordecai Nathan, and published at Venice, by Dan. Bomberg, in 1523. Its title is, "The Light of the Way." It was subsequently reprinted at Basle, in 1581, and afterwards translated into Latin, and published by Reuchlin, in 1556. It is a very unuseable book, however. Marius de Calasio, a Franciscan friar, made considerable improvements in it, and republished it in 1621, in 4 vols. folio, under the title of "Concordantiæ Sacrorum Bibliorum Hebraicorum et Latinorum." In its best form, however, it is more a work of curiosity than for use.

CONCORDANTIE BIBLIORUM EBRAICÆ, nova et artificiosa Methodo dispositæ, etc., Basil, 1632, folio.

This is the work of John Buxtorf, the elder, although published by his son. It is a great improvement upon the concordance of Rabbi Nathan; although it will be of but little service to those who are not familiar with the Masoretic system. An abridgment of it, by Christian Ravius, was published in 1677, 8vo.

THE HEBREW CONCORDANCE, adapted to the English Bible, disposed after the manner of Buxtorf.

By John Taylor, D. D. : Lond., 1754, 2 vols., fol.

This is, beyond all comparison, the best work of the kind that has yet appeared. The laborious editor bestowed great diligence upon his undertaking, which was patronized by all the English and Irish bishops.

CONCORDANTIE PARTICULARUM EBRAEO-CHALDAICARUM, in quibus partium indeclinabilium, quæ occurrunt in fontibus, et hactenus non expositæ sunt in Lexicis aut Concordantiis, natura et sensuum varietas ostenditur, etc. Hafniae, 1675, fol. ; 1679, 4to.

This concordance, the work of Christian Holdius, professor of Theology at Copenhagen, where he died in 1683, supplied an important desideratum. It contains the particles, or indeclinable words, omitted in former concordances. It investigates their various significations; points out the Greek particles which correspond with the Hebrew and Chaldaic ones; and explains the meaning of many passages of Scripture, which depend on the force and connective power of the indeclinable words. The best edition is that published at Jena, in 1734, 4to., under the care of Tympius. It contains as an appendix a Lexicon to the Hebrew particles, by John Henry Michaëlis, and Christ. Koerber. It is an exceedingly valuable work, and has been of great service to all who have since been employed on the critical examination of the Bible.—*Orme*.

§ 3.—*Concordances to the Septuagint.*

CONRADI KIRCHERI CONCORDANTIE VETERIS TESTAMENTI GRÆCÆ EBRAEIS VOCIBUS RESPONDENTIA, etc. Francof., 1607, 2 vols., 4to.

ABRAHAM TROMMII CONCORDANTIE GRÆCÆ VERSIONIS vulgo dictæ LXX. Interpretum, cujus voces secundum ordinem elementorum sermonis Græci digestæ recensentur, contra atque in Opere Kircheriano factum fuerat. Amst. 1718, 2 vols., fol.

This is to the Septuagint what Cruden's Concordance is to the English Bible; with additional references to the Greek Versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. There are two indices attached to the work, by one of which the Greek term used in the LXX. for any Hebrew or Chaldee word may be ascertained, with its Latin Version, and its place in the concordance; the other index contains a Lexicon to the Hexapla of Origen, and comprehends the Greek words in the fragment of the old Greek translators, published by Montfaucon. Michaëlis, speaking of this work, says, "By the help of it we may discover, at one view, not only the sense and construction of a word in dispute, but likewise the Hebrew expression of which it is a translation, and thus easily determine whether a phrase be a Hebraism or not. It is true," he adds, "the work is incomplete; the Septuagint Version of Daniel is totally wanting, being at that time unknown, and several words in the remaining books are omitted; but these omissions are not so numerous as might be expected in so many thousand words."

§ 4.—*Concordances to the Greek Testament.*

ERASMI SCHMIDII NOVI TESTAMENTI JESU CHRISTI, hoc est, Originalis Linguae, *rationes*, etc. Vitemb., 1638, fol. ; Lipsiæ, 1717, fol. ; Glasg. and Lond., 1819, 2 vols., 8vo.

This is an invaluable work of the kind; and the Glasgow reprint is very beautifully executed.

NOVI TESTAMENTI GRÆCI TAMEION; aliis Concordantiæ, ita concinnatum, ut et locos reperiendi, et vocum veras significationes, et significatorum diversitates per collationem investigandi, ducis instar esse possit. Ex opera Erasmi Schmidii, depromptum a Gulielmo Greenfield. Lond., 1830, sm. 8vo.

This is at once the most beautiful, the most economical, and the most portable Concordance that ever issued from the press. The learning and unwearied industry of the lamented editor have rendered it almost perfect.

§ 5.—*Concordances to the English Bible.*

Passing by the earlier and now obsolete works under this head, we at once come to

A COMPLETE CONCORDANCE TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS: or, a Dictionary and Alphabetical Index to the Bible.

This work is too well known to every student of the Bible, to need description or commendation. It has now been published nearly a century, and is not likely to be superseded by any similar work. It is at once full, accurate, and lucidly arranged. There are two or three 8vo. editions very beautifully printed. Mr. Bagster has published,

A CONCORDANCE TO THE ENGLISH TESTAMENT, of a Tom-thumb size, upon the basis of Oruden, "exhibiting all the appellative or common words in so full and large a manner, that their various senses may be clearly traced, and any passage be readily found by looking for any material word which occurs in it."

A CONCORDANCE OF PARALLELS collected from Bibles and Commentaries, which have been published in Hebrew, Latin, French, Spanish, and other languages, with the authorities of each. By the Rev. C. Cruttwell. Lond. 1790, 4to.

THE SCRIPTURE HARMONY; or, Concordance of parallel passages, being a commentary on the Bible, from its own resources, &c. Lond., 1818.

In addition to half a million of Scripture references, selected from the Latin Vulgate, Dr. Blayney, Canne, Browne, Scott, and other editors, which it is said to contain, this work comprises the "Various Readings," and the Chronology of Dr. Blayney. It is beautifully printed, and is the most judicious of the extensive collections of parallel passages extant. But, as the object of the compiler appears to have been rather to augment the number of his texts than nicely to weigh their appropriateness, the student will frequently be subjected to disappointments, when he searches out the passages referred to in his Bible.

SCIENTIA BIBLICA; being a copious collection of parallel passages, for the illustration of the New Testament, printed in words at length, the whole so arranged as to illustrate and confirm the different clauses of each verse; together with the text at large, in Greek and English, the Various Readings, and the Chronology. Lond., 1825, 3 vols., 8vo.

The following works consist of passages of Scripture arranged so as to form systems of divinity, and may, therefore, properly enough come under the denomination of Concordances of parallel passages.

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTES, or the Sincere Word of God, collected out of the Old and New Testaments, digested under proper heads, and delivered in the very words of Scripture. By Francis Gastrell, D. D., Bishop of Chester.

This work was first published in 1707, and has subsequently been reprinted in various editions. A very neat and handsome edition was published in 1822, in 2 vols., 18mo.

A COMMON-PLACE BOOK TO THE HOLY BIBLE; or, the Scripture's sufficiency practically demonstrated; wherein the substance of Scripture respecting doctrine, worship, and manners, is reduced to its proper heads. By John Locke, Esq. A new edition, revised and improved by the Rev. W. Dodd, D. D. Lond., 1805, 4to.

A SYSTEM OF REVEALED RELIGION, digested under proper heads, and composed in the express words of Scripture; containing all that the sacred records reveal with respect to doctrine and duty. By John Warden, A. M. Lond., 1769, 4to; 1819, 2 vols., 8vo.

COMMON-PLACE BOOK; or, Companion to the Old and New Testaments; being a Scripture account of the faith and practice of Christians; consisting of an ample collection of pertinent texts on the sundry articles of revealed religion. A new edition, corrected, compared, and enlarged, by Joseph Strutt. Lond., 1813, 8vo.

THE RULE OF FAITH: Its Divine authority, interpretation, sufficiency, and general design; exhibited in the language of the original record of Scripture, with a literal translation in parallel columns; and notes exegetical and illustrative, including the more valuable annotations of recent German writers, &c. By the Rev. Nathaniel Morren, A. M. Edinb., 1835, royal 8vo.

III. INTRODUCTORY WORKS.

§ 1.—*Introductions to the whole Scriptures.*

THE SACRED INTERPRETER; or, a practical Introduction towards a beneficial reading and thorough understanding of the Holy Bible. Lond., 1746; and Oxford, 1815, 2 vols., 8vo.

This was a most respectable performance for an early work; it is neither profound nor critical, but comprises much useful matter. It went through several editions in England, and was translated into the German language in 1750. Bishop Marsh says it is "a good popular preparation for the

study of the Scriptures;" but it is not likely to gain much favour, now that the science of hermeneutics has taken such rapid strides, and our biblical archaeology is so greatly improved.

CLAVIS SCRIPTURÆ SACRÆ; seu de Sermone Sacrarum Literarum. Basil, 1567, fol.; Edit. opt. Jenæ, 1574, fol.

This elaborate work is by Mathias Flacius, and considering the time when it appeared, affords a striking proof of his industry, learning, and knowledge of the Scriptures. It consists of two parts—1. A sort of Lexicon of the words and forms of speech used in the Scriptures. 2. A variety of tracts on the means of acquiring a knowledge of the sacred writings—on the opinions and rules of the Fathers on this subject—on the different parts of speech—on the figures and metaphors of Scripture—and on the peculiarities of its style. Flacius's work became the ground-work of many others that followed it.

SALOMONIS GLASSII PHILOLOGIA SACRA; qua totius S. S., Veteris et Novi Testamenti Scripturæ tum Stylus et Literatura, tum Sensus et Genuinæ Interpretationis Ratio et Doctrina, libris quinque expenditur ac traditur. Jenæ, 1623; Frankf. 1713; Lipsiæ, 1725, 4to.

The best edition of this inestimable work is that of 1713. It is divided into five books, which severally treat of sacred criticism (or the state of the Hebrew text), grammar, interpretation, and rhetoric. In these Glassius describes, with profound learning and great critical acumen, every thing relating to the original texts of Scripture, the grammatical principles of the Hebrew language, the modes and figures of speech peculiar to the Scriptures, and the great principles of biblical interpretation. Mosheim pronounces it "an inestimable and immortal work;" and to the present day it has not been superseded by any thing more calculated to explain and elucidate the Bible. In 1776, it was partly republished at Leipzig, differently arranged, and modelled by Dathe, and completed in 1795, by Bauer. This edition is entitled,

PHILOLOGIA SACRA, his temporibus accommodata. Post primum volumen Dathii in lucem emissum, nunc continuata, et in vovi plane operis formam redacta a Georg. Laurent. Bauero. Tomi Secundi Sectio posterior. Hermeneutica Sacra, 8vo.

In this edition, the history and present state of the sacred text are treated at great length, the mistakes of Glassius on this subject are corrected, and a much more luminous and satisfactory view of biblical criticism is given. There are many improvements in the other books also; and many things are left out and brought in which are not improvements. The sentiments of Glassius were strictly orthodox; those of Dathe very different. The author's own edition, therefore, must be consulted for his religious views; while the improved one of Dathe and of Bauer will be found more suited to the present state of biblical literature. Harwood states that the greater part of Glassius was translated into English by Dr. Taylor of Norwich, but what became of the MS. he knew not.—*Orme*.

FRANZII [WOLFGANGI] TRACTATUS THEOLOGICUS NOVUS et perspicuus de Interpretatione Sacrarum Literarum. Wittebergæ, 1619, 1634, 1644, 1668, 1693, 1708, 4to.

MANUDUCTIO AD LECTIONEM SCRIPTURÆ SACRÆ, à Aug. Her. Francke. Hallæ, 1693, 12mo.

A GUIDE TO THE READING AND STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, by Augustus Herman Francke, A. M., &c. Translated from the Latin, and augmented with notes and a list of books, by William Jaques, A. M. Lond. 1819, 12mo.

This is a valuable little work, imbued with a fervid spirit of piety, and exhibiting some admirable rules for the practical reading of the Holy Scriptures. The translation of Mr. Jaques is very faithful, his notes are pertinent, and his Appendix will be found of great utility to the young student.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE PROFITABLE READING OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, &c., by the Rev. William Lowth, B. D. London, 1708, and 1821, 12mo.

APPARATUS BIBLICUS: or an introduction to the Holy Scriptures, in three books. 1. Of the origin and antiquity of the Jews. 2. Of the canon, authors, original texts, versions, editions, and interpretations of Scripture. 3. Of the false gods, &c., mentioned in the Scriptures. From the French of Pere Lamy. With engravings. Lond. 1723, 4to. 1728, 2 vols., 8vo.

Though this is neither a profound nor a very accurate introduction to the Bible, it is a good popular book, and will supply important information in the absence of more learned performances. The plan is obviously defective; various topics are omitted which ought to have been inserted, and other things have found a place which are of small importance. The part on Jewish Antiquities is the best. The English translation is a considerable improvement on the French editions, as Bundy has inserted many passages from the learned work of the author, entitled "De Tabernaculo Fœderis, Sancta Civitate Jerusalem, et de Templo ejus," which has never been translated into English.—*Orme*.

INSTITUTES OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM; or heads of a course of Lectures on that subject, read in the University and King's College, Aberdeen, by Alexander Gerard, D. D.

"Of general and elementary treatises," says Bishop Marsh, "there is none which is more to be recommended, either for perspicuity or correctness, than the Institutes of Biblical Criticism by Dr.

Gerard." This does not over-estimate the character of the Institutes, we believe ; but, as Mr. Orme justly remarks, it is certainly one of the driest and most uninteresting books ever written on the Bible. It is quite a skeleton, destitute alike of flesh and spirit. Being the *heads* only of a course of lectures, this was perhaps unavoidable.

LECTURES ON THE CRITICISM OF THE BIBLE, &c. By Herbert Marsh, D. D., Bishop of Peterborough, 8vo.

A COURSE OF LECTURES, containing a description and systematic arrangement of the several branches of divinity ; accompanied with an account, both of the principal authors, and of the progress which has been made at different periods in theological learning. Camb. 1810—1825, 8vo.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By Thomas Hartwell Horne, A. M. 4 vols. 8vo.

This is beyond question the most complete work of its kind ever attempted, the object of its editor being to comprise within it, the substance of all preceding elementary works of the class to which it belongs. His anxiety to omit nothing has sometimes led him into a wearisome prolixity, and to the adoption of distinctions which are calculated to perplex rather than aid the student in his researches. The rules laid down for the interpretation of the Scriptures are distributed under separate heads ; as Doctrinal reading—Expository reading—Inferential reading—Historical reading, &c., after the fashion of Professor Franck ; with the addition of numerous canons for the interpretation of Scripture metaphors, tropes, parables, metonymies, prophecies, proverbs, allegories, &c. ; and these are sometimes divided and subdivided to such an extent as to confuse and bewilder the attention. The faults of the work bear no comparison with its merits, however, which are very great. The information it contains is varied and important.

A POPULAR INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES ; for the use of English readers. By William Carpenter. Lond. 1826, 8vo.

Mr. Carpenter's Popular Introduction is a well-written, sensible, judicious book ; combining a large portion of valuable matter, and calculated to afford important assistance to the humble inquirer, who only knows his mother tongue ; and containing many hints and remarks fitted to instruct readers of a higher grade.—*Eclectic Review*.

A HELP TO THE PRIVATE AND DOMESTIC READING OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By J. Leifchild. Lond. 1830, 12mo.

POPULAR LECTURES ON BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND INTERPRETATION. By William Carpenter. Lond. 1829, 8vo.

A GUIDE TO THE PRACTICAL READING OF THE BIBLE. By William Carpenter. Lond. 1830, 18mo.

To ministers who have recently left college, to students of theology, and to persons of intelligence fond of such inquiries, we most cordially recommend these unostentatious volumes.—*Congregational Magazine*.

BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS : or the art of Scripture Interpretation. From the German of George Frederick Seiler, D. D. ; with notes, strictures, and supplements, from the Dutch of J. Heringa, D. D. Translated from the originals, with additional notes and observations, by the Rev. William Wright, LL. D., of Trinity College, Dublin. Lond. 1835, 8vo.

This work comprises, both in the original text, and in the additions made to it by the Dutch and English editors, a large quantity of valuable information on sacred hermeneutics. It consists of two parts : 1. General rules for the interpretation of the Bible ; 2. Application of the general rules to the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. In the subdivision of these parts, we think the work is liable to the same objection as that which lies against Mr. Horne's work—unnecessary refinement, and an unnecessary and perplexing multiplication of rules. In despite of this, however, it is a book of singular utility and value.

INTRODUCTION TO SACRED PHILOLOGY AND INTERPRETATION. By Dr. G. J. Planck. Translated from the original German, and enlarged with notes. By Samuel H. Turner, D. D. Edinb. 1834, sm. 8vo.

This work forms part of the learned author's large and valuable Introduction to Theological Literature in general, and is enriched with much new matter, in the form of notes, by the translator, Professor Turner. It will be found an acceptable manual to those persons who are just entering on a course of critical and exegetical study ; giving a general view of the several topics, presenting in a clear light fundamental principles, and pointing out the sources whence more extended information may be derived.

INSTITUTIONES HERMENEUTICÆ SACRÆ veteram atque recentiorum et propria, quædam præcepta complexa, etc. Erlangæ, 1771, 8vo.

INSTITUTIONES HERMENEUTICÆ SACRÆ, variis observationibus, copiosissimisque exemplis biblicis illustrate. à J. J. Rambach.—Cum præfat. J. Franc. Buddæi. Jenæ, 1723, 8vo., best edit. 1752.

These institutions, soon after their appearance, became the principal work and manual of hermeneutics ; and, therefore, were not only often reprinted, but also illustrated by many divines, with particular commentaries. The work is divided into four parts, besides the prolegomena, in which

the author goes over, with great minuteness, all the usual topics of biblical interpretation, in a spirit of piety too often absent in similar works.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF SCRIPTURE INTERPRETATION, &c. By William Van Mildert, D. D. [late Bishop of Durham]. Oxford, 1815, 8vo.

An able work.

THE BAMPTON LECTURES for the year 1834; being an Attempt to trace the History and ascertain the Limits of the Secondary and Spiritual Interpretation of Scripture. By J. J. Conybeare, M. A. Oxford, 1834, 8vo.

§ 2.—*Introductions to the Old Testament.*

INTRODUCTIO AD LIBROS CANONICOS VETERIS TESTAMENTI OMNES, præcognita critica et historica ac Auctoritatis vindicias exponens. Adornata studio D. J. Gottlob Carpzovii. Lipsiæ, 1721 and 1741, 4to.

JOEL GOTTLÖB CARPZOVII CRITICA SACRA VETERIS TESTAMENTI. Lipsiæ, 1738, 4to.

Carpzov, says Bishop Marsh, was a man of profound erudition and indefatigable industry. His first-mentioned work consists of a series of disquisitions upon every book of the Old Testament, and a catalogue of the most approved writers upon them; embodying the principal materials which had been furnished by his predecessors, perspicuously arranged, and augmented by his own valuable observations.

The *Critica Sacra* consists of three parts: the first is on the original text of the Old Testament; the second, on the ancient Versions; and the third is a reply to Whiston's attacks on the Hebrew text, the purity and integrity of which Carpzov maintains. Both Walch and Bishop Marsh very highly commend the learning, judgment, and diligence displayed in this work.

J. G. EICHHORN EINLEITUNG INS ALTE TESTAMENT. Introduction to the Old Testament, by J. G. Eichhorn. Leipzig, 1787—1795, and 1803—12. 4 vols. 8vo.

J. G. EICHHORN EINLEITUNG INS NEUE TESTAMENT. Leipzig, 1804—15. 3 vols. 8vo.

Professor Eichhorn has been characterized as the Geddes of modern Germany. He possessed the erudition and diligence of Michaëlis, whom he succeeded in the divinity chair at Gottingen, and the bold freethinking of the Catholic heresiarch. His works are only to be recommended to the matured student.

A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES; with a critical history of the Greek and Latin Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the Chaldee Paraphrases. By George Hamilton, Dublin, 1813, 8vo.

A KEY TO THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE APOCRYPHA, &c. By Robert Grey, D.D. Lond. 1790, 8vo.

INTRODUCTIO IN LIBROS SACROS VETERIS FŒDERIS, in compendium redacta a Johanne Jahn; Vienna, 1804, 8vo.

This able work consists of two parts: in the first are discussed the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures, their principal editions and versions, their various readings, &c.; the second part comprises a series of dissertations on each book of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, which display great erudition. Professor Jahn possesses, in a very high degree, the faculty of condensation—no inconsiderable quality in a writer on biblical criticism or antiquities.

INSTITUTIO INTERPRETIS VETERIS TESTAMENTI, auctore Joanne Henrico Pareau, Literarum Orientalium Professore in Academia Rheno-Trajectina. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1822, 8vo.

PRINCIPLES OF INTERPRETATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT; translated from the *Institutio Interpretis Veteris Testamenti* of J. H. Pareau. By Patrick Forbes, D.D., Vol. I. Edinb. 1835.

§ 3.—*Introductions to the New Testament.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE READING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By M. M. Beausobre, and L'Enfant, 8vo.

JOANNIS ALBERTI BENGELII Apparatus Criticus ad Novum Testamentum, criseos sacræ compendium liniam, supplementum, ac fructum exhibens. Cura Philippi Davidis Burkii. Tubingal, 1763, 4to.

Bengel was a learned and pious man, and commenced his critical career with the view of satisfying various doubts that had arisen in his mind as to the integrity of the sacred text. This apparatus originally formed part of his edition of the Greek Testament, and in it "he treated of the MSS., Versions, and editions," says Michaëlis, "adding, at the same time, very rational critical rules; and he executed the whole in so clear and concise a manner, that the clergy in general, who had not directed their attention to sacred criticism, began to think that it was less dangerous than they had imagined. The writings of Bengel, therefore, he adds, "had more readers than those of most critics; and his readers have become in general his friends and disciples."

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, by Edward Harwood, D.D. London, 1767, 1771. 2 vols. 8vo.

Dr. Harwood's classical erudition and fine taste enabled him to produce a series of dissertations on some of the facts and characters of the New Testament, which rank higher as literary compo-

sitions, perhaps, than any thing else of their kind. This work, however, belongs more properly to archæology than to hermeneutics.

A KEY TO THE NEW TESTAMENT; giving an account of the several books, their contents, their authors, and of the times, places, and occasions on which they were written. By Thos. Percy, D. D., Bishop of Dromore. 12mo.

INTRODUCTIO IN LECTIONEM NOVI TESTAMENTI, in qua, quæ ad rem criticam, historiam, chronologiam, geographiam, varia antiquitates, tam sacras, quam profanas, pertinent breviter et perspicuè exponuntur, à D. J. G. Pritius. Lipsiæ, 1764, 8vo.

The first edition of this important work was published by Priti, in 1704. It was republished by him in 1722 and 1724, with additions by Knapp. On the death of the author, a much enlarged edition was published by Hofmann of Leipzig, which was still further improved in the edition of 1764. Perhaps no book of the same size contains so much important and accurate information on what relates to the interpretation of the New Testament, as this work of Priti and Hofmann. It is full, but not tedious; systematic, but not stiff or formal. Bishop Marsh says: "It deserves to be purchased by every student in divinity;" and Bishop Watson declares, that "he never met with any book superior to this, as an introduction to the New Testament."—*Orme*.

ERNESTI INSTITUTIO INTERPRETIS NOVI TESTAMENTI. Lipsiæ, 1761 and 1809. 8vo.

ELEMENTS OF INTERPRETATION; translated from the Latin of J. A. Ernesti, accompanied with notes. By Moses Stuart, Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theol. Sem. at Andover. Andover (Massachusetts) 1822. 12mo.

PRINCIPLES OF BIBLICAL INTERPRETATION, translated from the Institutio Interpretis of J. A. Ernesti, by Charles H. Terrot, A. M. Edinb. 1832. 2 vols., sm. 8vo.

Ernesti's is allowed to be one of the very best works on the principles of biblical interpretation extant. It consists of Prolegomena, and three parts: 1. On interpretation in general; 2. The means of discovering the meaning, kinds, and uses of words; 3. On the writing and judging of versions and commentaries: 4. On the nature and proper use of the hermeneutical apparatus; with 4. An appendix to the second part, on the interpretation of prophecy. "If the reader," says Dr. Magee, "should be desirous of seeing the style of the New Testament fully and satisfactorily handled, I refer him to Ernesti." Of the English translations, that by Mr. Terrot is incomparably the most complete. The edition used is the 5th, edited by Dr. Ammon of Gotha, 1809, the whole of whose notes are also translated, with occasional animadversions and additions by the translator.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT, by Professor J. D. Michaëlis, translated, with notes, &c.; by Herbert Marsh, D. D., Bishop of Peterborough, 6 vols., 8vo.

Of the learning and research displayed in this valuable work, both by its author and by the accomplished translator, it is impossible to speak in too strong terms. On the canonical authority, the criticism, the ancient versions, and the interpretation of the New Testament, no book supplies so much important instruction. The theological opinions of Michaëlis, however, are by no means to be trusted. He was deeply tinctured with the modern theology and philosophy of Germany. There is abundance of learning, but little appearance of piety or seriousness, in his writings.—*Orme*.

IV.—BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY, &c.

§ 1.—*Dictionaries of the Bible.*

DICIONNAIRE HISTORIQUE, CHRONOLOGIQUE, GEOGRAPHIQUE, et LITTERAL, de la Bible. Par Dom Augustin Calmet. Paris, 1730. 4 tomes, fol.

CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE, &c.; fifth edition, revised, corrected, and augmented; with an extensive series of plates, under the direction of Charles Taylor; and a series of fragments, elucidatory of ancient customs, &c., by the editor. Lond., 1829, 5 vols., 4to.

CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE, by the late Mr. Charles Taylor, with the fragments incorporated. The whole condensed and arranged in alphabetical order; with numerous additions. Lond., 1832; large 8vo.

Calmet's dictionary is a work of prodigious labour, and forms the basis of all subsequent undertakings of the same class. The great accession that has been made to the stock of information on subjects connected with biblical literature since the date of its publication, however, rendered it necessary—not only that it should pass under a diligent revision, but that it should also receive very large additions. This task was undertaken by the late Mr. Charles Taylor, whose ingenuity and diligence rendered his fourth edition a work almost as complete and perfect as could be desired. After his death, however, a fifth edition appeared, with very considerable improvements, and the addition of a very copious index, which greatly added to its value. In the 8vo. edition, the editor has effected a compendious and orderly arrangement of the materials which were thrown together in an arbitrary and desultory manner in all the preceding editions. Speaking of this, the Eclectic Review very justly says: "In the present beautifully printed edition, the substance of the five quarto volumes is, in a condensed form, brought under one alphabet, within the compass of a single volume, in imperial 8vo. In order to accomplish this, a large portion of the work has been re-written by the editor of the fifth edition, in a style somewhat more concise without being less

perspicuous; while such matter (and none but such) has been expunged, as could not be deemed indispensable by the biblical student, or to the general reader, or which might even mislead him. By means of wood-cuts, the most important graphic illustrations of the text have been preserved in this 'condensed edition,' which cannot fail to insure the publishers the warm thanks of many a student, as well as the more substantial reward which can alone indemnify them for the undertaking—an extensive circulation."

A BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY. By Richard Watson.

A THEOLOGICAL DICTIONARY. By John Buck.

A DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE. By the Rev. John Brown.

A THEOLOGICAL, BIBLICAL, AND ECCLESIASTICAL DICTIONARY. By John Robinson, D. D.

THE BIBLICAL CYCLOPEDIA; or Dictionary of the Holy Scriptures. By William Jones.

All these works, as their titles indicate, are more diverse and comprehensive in their object than the dictionary of Calmet; this being strictly confined to biblical topics, excluding theology, or "speculative opinions," as they are usually but improperly called; while the works just enumerated, embrace not only these, but various topics pertaining to early ecclesiastical history. Robinson and Watson are, upon the whole, entitled to rank the highest.

PARKHURST'S GREEK AND HEBREW LEXICONS partake, in a considerable degree, of the nature of biblical dictionaries.

§ 2.—*Sacred Geography.*

SAMUELIS BOCHARTI GEOGRAPHIA SACRA, sive Phaleg et Canaan.

This valuable treatise on biblical geography is found in the third volume of Bochart's collected works, Lugd. Bat., 1712. It comprises every thing relating to the subject, and is a treasure of sacred and classical learning.

HADRIANI RELANDI PALESTINA, ex monumentis veteribus et tabulis adcuratis illustrata, 4to., 2 vols. Traject. Batav., 1714.

This is one of the most elaborate and valuable works on Biblical Geography that has ever been published. It is divided into three books: the first treats of the names, situation, boundaries, divisions, rivers, mountains, and plains of Palestine; the second, of the distances of the principal places; and the third, of the cities and villages. Almost every thing in sacred and profane history relating to his subject is brought forward by this laborious writer. The work is illustrated by some excellent maps, tables, and engravings of coins. It is reprinted in the sixth volume of Ugolino's Thesaurus Antiquitatum Sacrarum.—*Orme.*

SACRED GEOGRAPHY of the Old and New Testament. By Samuel Wells, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo. Oxford.

THE SAME; edited by the editor of Calmet's Dictionary, 4to., and also 3 vols. sm. 8vo.

THE MODERN TRAVELLER. Palestine, 1 vol.; Arabia, 1 vol.; Syria and Asia Minor, 2 vols.

THE EDINBURGH CABINET LIBRARY. Palestine, 1 vol.

§ 3.—*Natural History.*

SAMUELIS BOCHARTI HIEROZOICON, sive de animalibus sacræ Scripturæ. Best edit. 3 vols. 4to. Lipsiæ, 1793.

This is a profoundly learned work, to which all subsequent writers on Scripture Natural History have been greatly indebted.

PHYSICA SACRA; hoc est, historia naturalis Bibliæ, a Joanne Jacobo Scheuchzero edita, et innumera iconibus æneis elegantissimis adornata.

This elaborate work, which has been printed in Latin, German, and French, forms a regular comment on all the books of the Bible, where any subject of natural history occurs. "The learned author has availed himself of all the researches of his predecessors on the same subject, and has illustrated his works with 750 engravings of the different subjects in the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, to which there is any reference in the Scriptures. The German edition was published in 1731, in 15 vols. folio; the Latin edition in 1731; the French in 1732, 8 vols. folio, often bound in four. The work is as rare as it is useful and elegant."—*Dr. Adam Clarke.*

PETRI FORSKAL descriptiones animalium, amphibiorum, piscium, insectorum, vermium, quæ in Itinere Orientali observavit, 4to. Hauniæ, 1775.

———— Ejusdem Flora Ægyptio-Arabica, 4to. Hauniæ, 1775.

———— Ejusdem Icones Rerum Naturalium, quas Itinere Orientali depingi amavit, 4to. Hanniæ, 1776.

These three works, published after the death of the learned Swede whose name they bear, comprise little more than the notes made by him during his tour in the East, whither he was sent by the king of Denmark, to obtain information illustrative of the sacred writings. They have done much towards elucidating the natural history of the Bible.

OLAI CELSII HIEROBOTANICON, sive de plantis sacræ Scripturæ, 8vo. Upsalæ, 1745—7.

WOLFFGANGI FRANZII ANIMALIUM HISTORIA SACRA, Amstel., 1643, 12mo, and 4 tom. Franc.

SCRIPTURE ILLUSTRATED BY NATURAL SCIENCE, by the editor of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, 4to., 1802.

This work comprises a large quantity of information connected with the natural history of the Scriptures, and also the first attempt made to arrange the various branches of the subject in systematic order. "The Fragments" by the same author, contain a good deal of matter of the same description, which, as well as that of the first-mentioned work, has been melted down and arranged in the fifth edition of Calmet's Biblical Encyclopædia.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE; in three parts. By the Rev. George Paxtón, 2 vols. 8vo.

This work contributes largely towards illustrating the natural history and geography of the sacred writings; while the strain of devotional piety which runs through it gives it a claim to rank very high among similar treatises.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE, &c. By Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D. 8vo., 1824; and small 8vo., with engravings, 1830.

A very learned work: somewhat dry and uninteresting, as a natural history, however, and too much prone to conjectural criticism. The small edition, edited by Mr. Conder, is a very beautiful book.

SCRIPTURE NATURAL HISTORY; or a descriptive account of the Zoography, Botany, and Geology of the Holy Bible. By William Carpenter, 8vo., and 12mo., with 40 engravings. 6th edition, 1836.

§ 4.—*Sacred Chronology.*

The following are the principal works on this branch of biblical antiquities.

LUDOVICI CAPELLI CHRONOLOGIA SACRA, 4to. Paris, 1655.

Capel was one of the most illustrious scholars of his time; and so highly did Bishop Watson think of this treatise, that he republished it in the first part of the apparatus to his Polyglott.

ANNALES VETERIS ET NOVI TESTAMENTI, a primâ mundi origine deducti. A. Jacobo Usserio, Archiepiscopo Armachano, fol. Genev., 1722.

The chronology of the archbishop is that adopted in the margin of our larger bibles.

THE SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY, demonstrated by astronomical calculations. By Arthur Bedford, folio. Lond. 1730.

This is a very learned work; but being based upon the accuracy of the Hebrew numbers, it is superseded by the following one, which stands on a more sure foundation.

A NEW ANALYSIS OF CHRONOLOGY, in which an attempt is made to explain the history and antiquities of the primitive nations of the world, and the prophecies relating to them, on principles tending to remove the imperfection and discordance of preceding systems. By the Rev. William Hales, D. D. 3 vols. 4to. Lond., 1809—12.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, and its connexion with profane history. By George Skene, Esq.

We have not seen this work: it was announced for publication just as this sheet was going to press.

§ 5.—*Biblical Archaeology in General.*

THE WORKS OF FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, the Jewish historian. Translated by William Whiston. 6 vols. 8vo.

The Jewish wars of Josephus are much more interesting than his Jewish Antiquities; the former supplies important information nowhere else to be found; but the latter is full of fables, except where it closely adheres to the Scriptures. The language of Josephus, being not only about the same age with the New Testament, but in style and structure very similar to it, much advantage may be derived from it in the interpretation of the sacred volume.

ORIGINES HEBRÆA: or the Antiquities of the Hebrew Republic. By Thomas Lewis, M. A. 4 vols. 8vo. Lond., 1724, 5.

This is a very elaborate work on every thing pertaining to the religious and political economy of the Hebrews, derived from the best authorities, Jewish and Christian, and put together with great care.

MOSES AND AARON: Civil and Ecclesiastical rites used by the ancient Hebrews, observed and at large opened, for the clearing of many obscure texts throughout the whole Scripture. By Thomas Godwyn, D. D. 4to. 1614, and subsequent editions.

This is a learned and generally accurate work, which has become a kind of text-book to subsequent compilers. The following may be said to be commentaries upon it.

APPARATUS HISTORICO-CRITICUS ANTIQUITATUM SACRI CODICIS ET GENTIS HEBRÆ. Uberrimis annotationibus in Thomæ Godwini Moſen et Aaronem ſubministravit Johannes Gottlob Carpzevius. 4to. Francofurti, 1748.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES; or a course of lectures on the three first books of Godwyn's Moses and Aaron. To which is annexed a dissertation on the Hebrew language. By David Jennings, D. D.

THE MANNERS OF THE ANCIENT ISRAELITES, containing an account of their peculiar customs, Ceremonies, Laws, Polity, Religion, Sects, Arts, and Trades, &c., &c. By Claud. Fleury.

This book contains a concise, pleasing, and just account of the manners, customs, laws, policy, and religion of the Israelites. It is an excellent introduction to the reading of the Old Testament, and should be put into the hands of every young person.—*Dr. Horna*. The best edition is that edited by Dr. Adam Clarke.

ARCHÆOLOGIA BIBLICA in Epitomen redacta a Johanne Jahn. 8vo.

JAHN'S BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY. Translated, with notes and additions, by M. Upham, assistant teacher of Hebrew and Greek in the Theological Seminary at Andover (Massachusetts). 8vo.

This is a valuable work, comprising almost everything that can be said upon the topics of which it treats. Mr. Upham has enriched his translation with many valuable additions.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, carefully compiled from authentic sources, and their customs illustrated by modern travels. By W. Brown, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1820.

A beautifully written, as well as an accurately compiled work.

§ 6.—*The Jewish ritual.*

LOWMAN'S RATIONALE OF THE HEBREW RITUAL. 8vo.

SPENCER DE LEGIBUS HEBRÆORUM RITUALIBUS. 2 vols. folio.

GULIELMI OUTRAMI DE SACRIFICIIS LIBRI DUO. 4to.

OUTRAM'S DISSERTATIONS ON SACRIFICES, translated, with notes, by William Allen, 8vo.

THE REASONS OF THE LAWS OF MOSES. From the More Nevochim of Maimonides. With notes, dissertations, and a life of the author. By James Townley, D. D. 8vo.

§ 7.—*Miscellaneous Illustrations of the Scriptures.*

OBSERVATIONS ON DIVERS PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE, placing many of them in a light altogether new, &c. By the Rev. Thomas Harmer. 4 vols. 8vo. With notes, &c., by Adam Clarke, L.L.D.

This work is almost too well known and appreciated to require distinct mention. Harmer was the first writer who availed himself of the information derived from modern histories and travels to illustrate the sacred writings. He thus opened a new source of criticism and illustration of the most extensive and satisfactory kind.

ORIENTAL CUSTOMS; or an Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, by an explanatory application of the customs and manners of the eastern nations. By the Rev. S. Burder. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE ORIENTAL GUIDE TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. With an Appendix, containing a general and descriptive catalogue of the best writers on the subject. By the same author. 8vo.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE, applied to the Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, in which the customs of Oriental nations are clearly developed by the writings of the most celebrated travellers. By the same author. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE EASTERN MIRROR; an illustration of the Sacred Scriptures, in which the customs of Oriental nations are clearly developed by the writings of the most celebrated travellers. By the Rev. W. Fowler. 8vo.

OBSERVATIONS ON SELECT PLACES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, founded on a perusal of Parson's Travels from Aleppo to Bagdad. By the Rev. William Vansittart. 8vo.

ORIENTAL ILLUSTRATIONS. By the Rev. William Roberts. 8vo.

FRAGMENTS TO CALMET'S DICTIONARY OF THE HOLY BIBLE: with engravings. By Charles Taylor. 3 vols. 4to.

BIBLICAL GLEANINGS; or a collection of passages of Scripture, that have generally been considered to be mis-translated in the received English Version, with proposed corrections: also the important various readings in both Testaments; and occasional notes interspersed, with a view to the illustration of obscure and ambiguous texts; with several other matters tending to the general elucidation of the sacred writings. By Thomas Wemyss. 8vo.

AN EXAMINATION OF SCRIPTURE DIFFICULTIES; elucidating nearly seven hundred passages in the Old and New Testaments, designed for the use of general readers. By William Carpenter. 8vo. Lond., 1828.

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THE END.

LONDON :

PRINTED BY JOHN HADDON, CASTLE STREET
FINSBURY.

